RECOMMENDATIONS

The staff of the Brotherhood of New Hope feels that the time has come when more community intervention is needed to enhance the objectives of the agency's program. To provide more effective and meaningful services for the social adjustment of the former prisoner, the community should be enlightened concerning the specific problems confronting the ex-offender. We feel that community involvement is needed and may be achieved by soliciting dues-paying members into the organization. Such action will enhance our capital outlay. Hence, we offer the following recommendations:

A. That membership be offered in five different categories.

1) Individual, $5.00
2) Group, classes or civic organizations, $10.00
3) Business and industry, $25.00
4) Sustaining, $50.00
5) Patrons, $100.00

B. That an annual dinner meeting be held during which time outstanding services rendered during the

year will be recognized by the awarding of plagues in several categories, namely, business, church participation, professional volunteer, and the lay volunteer.

C. That additional members be added to the Board at this meeting.

These recommendations may be considered relative to the new agency setting proposed for this year.

To be presented at 1-4-68 meeting (Advisory Board)

* B. excluded from official minutes

BROTHERHOOD OF NEW HOPE
QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME_____
Last First Middle

MEDICAL INFORMATION:

1. Is there any medical problem which needs attention?
   Yes____No____

2. If so, what is the problem?_____

3. Are you in need of glasses? Yes____No____

4. Are you in need of dental work? Yes___No___

PERSONAL INFORMATION:

1. Have you contacted any member of your family since your release? Yes___No___

2. Are you planning to continue your education or seek employment?_____

3. Are you in need of a social security number? Yes___No___

4. Are you in need of a driver's license? Yes___No___

5. Have you contacted the draft board since your release?
   Yes____No____

6. Who is your probation Officer?_____

##*#

October 13th
Constitution

Dear_____

Mr._____ has contacted our agency for help upon his release. We are aiding him in his readjustment to the community, in finding employment, in family readjustment so that he may be a useful and productive citizen rightfully taking his place in the community.

Inasmuch as we are a voluntary agency depending upon the support of citizens, any contribution for the maintainence of Mr._____ for personel articles will be appreciated. This contribution, however, is not compulsory.

We will be happy to maintain contact with you regarding Mr._____ progress and will be expecting to hear from you at your earliest convience.

Yours in New Hope,

L.A. Red Chatman

BROTHERHOOD OF NEW HOPE

WEEKLY PROGRAM (voluntary participation)

Sunday Chapel - 11:00am

Monday Night - 7:00-8:00pm Occupational Therapy ** (Group Discussion)

OBJECTIVES:

1. to explore feelings regarding applying for employment
2. to explore feelings regarding personal interviews
3. to discuss expected wages
4. to explore feelings regarding employer-employee relationship
5. to explore feelings regarding employee-employee relationship

Tuesday Night - 7:00-8:00pm Effects of Alcoholism and Narcotics (Group Discussion)

OBJECTIVES:

1. to explore the effects of alcoholism and narcotics
2. to explore the need for individual change
3. to explore more constructive and meaningful ways to solve problems other than the use of drugs and/or alcohol
4. to introduce group to resource persons and helping programs

Wednesday Night - 7:00-8:00pm Bible Class

OBJECTIVES:

1. to explore how Christian principles can be applied to everyday life
2. to explore the need for a meaningful faith in todays world

Thrusday Night - 7:00-8:00pm Social Enrichment (Group Discussion)

OBJECTIVES:

1. to channel and create new interests

2. to encourage self expression through painting, music, poetry, reading, sports, etc.

3. to stress personal hygiene

4. to encourage acceptable manner of presenting self

Friday Night - 7:00-8:00pm Citizenship and Responsibility (Group Session) **

OBJECTIVES:

1. to explore personal rights and responsibility as former prisoners (specific parole policies)

2. to encourage expression of feelings regarding societal norms

3. to explore how one may function (self-sustaining) under this present social system

** Inasmuch as these classes are essential for social adjustment, attendance is mandatory.

BROTHERHOOD OF NEW HOPE

Services Offered:

1. temporary lodging
2. clothing
3. individual counseling, group counseling and needed referrals
4. medical attention (referral)
5. planned recreation
6. employment evaluation and training (referral)
7. aid in securing employment (referral)
8. car fare and lunch money until paid

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please complete all questions and return to "The Brotherhood of New Hope," P.O. Box 971, Atlanta, Georgia 30301.

NAME_____
Last Middle Last

WEIGHT_____HEIGHT_____RACE_____

SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER_____DRIVER'S LICENSE NUMBER_____

AGE_____DATE OF BIRTH_____

NAME OF PRISON_____

YOUR PRISON NUMBER_____

AMOUNT OF TIME OF SENTENCED TO SERVE_____

MONTH AND YEAR ELIGIBLE FOR PAROLE OR DATE FOR RELEASE_____

PLACE OF OFFENSE_____

OFFENSE SENT UP FOR_____

ARE YOU: married_____single_____divorced_____separated___?

HOW MANY CHILDREN DO YOU HAVE_____

CITY AND COUNTY AND STATE WHERE YOUR FAMILY LIVES_____
_____

STREET ADDRESS_____PHONE NUMBER_____

IS YOUR FAMILY AWARE OF YOUR RELEASE DATE_____

HOW FAR DID YOU GO IN SCHOOL_____

DO YOU HAVE ANY SPECIAL JOB TRAINING_____IF SO, WHAT KIND_____
_____"

WHAT WAS YOUR OCCUPATION AS A CIVILIAN_____

HOW LONG HAS THIS BEEN YOUR OCCUPATION_____

WHAT TYPE OF JOB AND/OR TRAINING ARE YOU INTERESTED IN_____
_____

MILITARY SERVICE_____HOW LONG_____TYPE OF DISCHARGE___
_____

WHAT IS YOUR RELIGIOUS PREFERNCE_____

December 10, 1945

Mr. C. Ellis Nelson, Director
Dept. of Young Peoples' Work
Presbyterian Building
Richmond 9, Virginia

Dear Mr. Nelson:

Thank you for your letter of December 3. We are considering reprinting the pamphlet, Brothers in Black. If it were not for a rather crowded publicity budget for the coming year, we would not hesitate a moment, but this being the case, we have to consider the matter carefully. If we reduce the length of the pamphlet and omit the cover, we may be able to manage it.

In the meantime, could you give us a rough estimate of the probable demand for the pamphlet by Youth groups in addition to the 300 copies which you would like to have?

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Brothers in Black

EDWARD D. GRANT, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

JOHN L. FAIRLY, D. D., EDITOR IN CHIEF

6850-(71)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND PUBLICATION

The Presbyterian Church in the United States

★

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING · EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET

RICHMOND 9, VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF
YOUNG PEOPLE'S WORK
C. ELLIS NELSON, DIRECTOR

December 3, 1945

RECEIVED
DEC 5 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

We appreciate your letter of November 21 giving us information concerning the leaflet "Brothers in Black" and other leaflets available for youth groups on the subject of race.

Although we could not guarantee that 1,000 copies would be used in our Church, we would like for you to print the leaflet and have it available for our youth groups. Because of our printing schedule, we entered the leaflet "Brothers in Black" as being available and since it is authored by one of the members of our Church we would like to see that it got good distribution in our denomination. I assume that you would have it available in your office at the prices suggested: namely 5¢ each for small orders or $2.00 per 100 in quantity.

When the leaflet is reprinted I would like to have you send our Young People's Division 300 copies. I would distribute these to our leaders and indicate where they can obtain additional copies. I feel reasonably sure that our Church leaders will be interested in using this leaflet in many different ways in their youth groups.

With best wishes to you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Ellis Nelson

C. Ellis Nelson

CEN:rp

Church groups - Cities

November 21, 1945

Miss Ruth K. Parrish
Presbyterian Building
8 North Sixth Street
Richmond 9, Virginia

Dear Miss Parrish:

I am sorry that we have not been able to reply earlier to your letter of November 8. We have been so thoroughly immersed in activities in connection with our annual meeting that our office work was virtually at a standstill.

Unfortunately, the little pamphlet Brothers in Black is out of print. If you think that you might use as many as 1000 copies, we would consider reprinting it. If it is distributed on individual orders, I suppose we would have to set a price of .05 to cover postage and printing. On quantity orders the price would be considerably lower, say about $2.00 per hundred.

We now have available several leaflets which might serve for use in your young people's groups in place of Brothers in Black. Copies of these are enclosed. The best one is probably Unhealthy Roots by Mrs. Roberts. If you think well of it, we could make a special packet including such of the enclosed pieces as seem appropriate and distribute individual packets at 10¢.

We shall be glad to have your reply as to what you think will be most helpful.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosures

Roots, A. the W., ISQ, Dr. Alex

Vm

EDWARD D. GRANT, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

JOHN L. FAIRLY, D. D., EDITOR IN CHIEF

6746-(71)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND PUBLICATION

The Presbyterian Church in the United States

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PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING · EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET

RICHMOND 9, VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF
YOUNG PEOPLE'S WORK
C. ELLIS NELSON, DIRECTOR

November 8, 1945

RECEIVED
NOV 10 1945
Southern Regional Council

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Wesley Memorial Building,
Atlanta, Ga.

Gentlemen:

In a publication we are issuing for use in our young people's groups during the year 1946-47 we are listing a short bibliography. One of our secretaries has suggested listing the pamphlet "Brothers in Black" by Dr. J. McDowell Richards. We have written Dr. Richards if he could supply requests for this pamphlet, and he says he only has a limited number on hand, but suggests that we write you and that perhaps you could handle requests if they should come in. Would you be good enough to let me know at once if you could supply such requests, and also the price of the pamphlet should our youth leaders care to purchase it?

Thanking you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Ruth K. Parrish

Office Secretary, Young People's Division

rp

December 28, 1945

Dr. J. McDowell Richards
Columbia Seminary
Decatur, Georgia

Dear Dr. Richards:

Your sermon entitled "Brothers in Black", which was reprinted by the Interracial Commission in 1941, is out of print, but we are getting a number of calls for it. For example, the Committee of Religious Education and Publication of the Presbyterian Church in the United States would like to list it in their 1946-47 Handbook and distribute copies to youth leaders in the Southern Assembly.

We are inclined to reprint the pamphlet if you are willing. Would you kindly go over the enclosed copy and make any changed you wish? In places where you would like to see more recent statistical data introduced, just draw a circle around the figures and we will supply the data insofar as it is available.

With highest regards and best wishes for the new year,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

BmB
✓ m 12/28/45

BonB

December 28, 1945

Mr. C. Ellis Nelson
Presbyterian Building
8 North Sixth Street
Richmond 9, Virginia

Dear Mr. Nelson:

We are going ahead with the reprinting of Brothers in Black. I can't say just how soon the pamphlet will be off the press, but I hope that it will be ready within three weeks. We shall ship you 300 copies.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

EDWARD D. GRANT, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

JOHN L. FAIRLY, D. D., EDITOR IN CHIEF

6850-(71)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND PUBLICATION

The Presbyterian Church in the United States

★

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING · EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET

RICHMOND 9, VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF
YOUNG PEOPLE'S WORK
C. ELLIS NELSON, DIRECTOR

December 20, 1945

Rec. 12/22

Mr. Guy B. Johnson,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I have just read the leaflet entitled "Brothers in Black" and find that it is just the type of leaflet we desire for distribution to the youth leaders in our Southern Assembly. You indicated in your last letter that you would be willing to reprint this leaflet if it could be distributed at the rate of 5¢ a copy or $3.00 a hundred. These terms are agreeable to us, and I would like to place an order for 300 copies to be sent to our Young People's Division as soon as they are ready.

In addition to the listing of this leaflet in our Handbook for 1946-47, I will distribute a copy to the youth leaders in our synods and presbyteries with a notation that additional copies can be had from your office. I feel sure that there will be a demand for additional copies, and that your Southern Regional Council will not lose money in having them reprinted.

With best wishes to you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Ellis Nelson

C. Ellis Nelson

CEN:rp

Columbia Theological Seminary

Decatur, Georgia

January 10 1946

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
JAN 11 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am returning to you herewith a printed copy of my sermon entitled "Brothers In Black," having indicated on it in pen and ink the points at which changes appear to me to be desirable.

I am glad that there seems to be some demand for this sermon and shall be very glad indeed to have you reprint the pamphlet. I deeply regret the fact that I have been delayed so long in returning it to you.

With personal esteem and every good wish, I am

Cordially yours,

J. McDowell Richards

J. McDowell Richards

R:H
ENC

B

May 7, 1957

Mrs. Arthur Burdett
2485 Alton Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Burdett:

Mrs. Fred Patterson requested that we send you several items regarding Koinonia Farm in Sumter County. We are sending you the following items under separate cover:

"Full Text of Sumter County Grand Jury Presentments on Koinonia"

"Statement of Koinonia Farm in Response to Sumter County Grand Jury Presentments"

"Dare They Witness? The Story of Koinonia Farms."

Reprints of editorials from the Atlanta Constitution and the Macon News

"28 Pastors Ask: End Violence at Koinonia."

I trust that these materials will be of use to you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:mm

May 31, 1957

Mr. Robert A. Hoffman
Executive Director
Board of Community Relations
1502 City Hall
Buffalo 2, New York

Dear Bob:

Many thanks for the report of the Board of Community Relations - "Ten Years of Growth." It gives a comprehensive picture of the organizational structure of your organization. I was also interested in the address of "Sophie" Williams, for I believe he will play an increasing role on the national scene as time goes on.

"Soapy"

Perhaps sometime it would be helpful in one of the publications to show exactly what procedures the Board uses in investigating a case. The supplementary report on Crystal Beach is an approach in this direction, but I think it would be of interest to your constituency to follow through an investigation.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

City of Buffalo

BOARD OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS
1502 CITY HALL
BUFFALO 2, NEW YORK

Dear Friend:

The Board of Community Relations proudly presents its annual report covering the period July 1, 1955 through June 30, 1956.

The ordinance creating the Board, effective August 1, 1945, states in part:

> " . . . It shall be the duty of the Board to inquire into the cause of intergroup tensions which may exist and to recommend to the Mayor and Common Council the enactment of such ordinances and other legislation, and that such other actions be taken as, in the judgment of the Board, will tend:
>
> (1) To eradicate or lessen those irritations which threaten social harmony.
>
> (2) To promote amicable relations among racial, religious, and cultural groups of the City.
>
> (3) To encourage and foster the spirit of American democracy in keeping with the traditions which made this country great.

The report speaks for itself of the progress made during the period covered. We acknowledge the cooperation of the Mayor and the Common Council, public and private agencies, the press and others who made this progress possible. With increased staff and more adequate financing, even greater results can be accomplished.

We shall welcome comments on the report.

Sincerely,

Robert A. Hoffman

Robert A. Hoffman
Executive Director

Encl/

August 1, 1957

The Reverend William A. Buckhardt
187 South Main Street
New Canaan, Connecticut

Dear Reverend Buckhardt:

You may recall that some months ago, during your visit to Atlanta, you requested material on the Council and its activities. This we are sending under separate cover.

My apologies for having taken so long in this. But, very truthfully, my slightly inadequate personal filing system has just turned it up!

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

THE Seabury Press

TELEPHONE TOWNSEND 9-7400

HAVEMEYER PLACE · GREENWICH, CONNECTICUT

September 30, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

We are sending you separately a copy of BIGGER THAN LITTLE ROCK by Robert R. Brown, Bishop of Arkansas -- a book we believe to be an important contribution to the dialogue now taking place on the South's problems.

Mrs. Alexander generously referred your name to us as one who would be vitally interested in this book. We shall be very happy to receive any comments you may wish to make after your reading.

Cordially yours,

A. R. Buckley

Arthur R. Buckley
Associate Editor

ARB:es

Can you answer this? RHA

LWD ✓
PW ✓
SB ✓
VJ ✓

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In replying to our N.Y.C. office please refer to our number of your account:

#9649

November 26, 1963

file "Burr" gen. corresp.

how much longer continue now?

Southern Regional Council
Att. Miss Margaret Long
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Due to continued increases in our operating expenses we find it necessary to increase our service charge Five Dollars per month effective as of January 1 , 1964.

We are pleased to advise you that there will be no change in our price per clipping of fifteen cents.

Very truly yours,

Arthur V. Wynne, Sr.

Arthur V. Wynne Sr.

AVW/nw

It varies. So much per clipping. I don't have time to go back each month and check now. RHA

Make folder
Bunch, Fred B.

January 19, 1965

Mr. Fred B. Bunch, Jr.
President
Bunch Fabrics
P. O. Box 529
Statesville, North Carolina 28677

Dear Fred:

Enclosed is our check for your travel expenses. Thank you for sending them and thank you for coming. It was a profitable day for us as well as a pleasant one, and I hope it was for you. I look forward to hearing from you again after the 20th.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check #163; $40.09)

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Rev. Emmett Lucas, Jr.
The Church of the Annunciation (Episcopal)
Meadows Lane at Cheney Drive
Vidalia, Georgia

REGARDING:

Letter to LWDunbar, at suggestion of Moreland G. Smith of Montgomery, Ala., re: assistance in locating MR. E. BART DALEY, with some architectural or engineering firm in small town of Georgia following prison term at Reidsville.

NOTE: LWD refers matter to:
Cecil Alexander
Helen Bullard
(both of Atlanta)

DATE(S)
April 2, ~~&&&&~~ 1965

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Religious Organizations:
(folder marked - "Episcopal - general")

File "Bu" - Gen.

April 5, 1965

Miss Helen Bullard
Toombs, Amisano and Wells
70 Fairlie Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Helen:

Do you have any suggestions for Mr. Daley?

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

(Ltr. from Rev. Emmett Lucas - Episcopal - Church of the Annunciation transmitting bio on E. Bert Daley) ltr. dtd Apr. 2, 1965

from

HELEN BULLARD
Consultant

Rec'd 4/26/65

JAckson 4-2801

file

April 23, 1965

TO: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

Dear Les,

I sent your letter about the paroled architect to Ike Saporta. This is really a tough one. (The problem, not Ike Saporta) I'll call you as soon as I get back from New York and we will pick-up where we left off.

Regards,

Helen

file "Bur", gen'

TOOMBS, AMISANO & WELLS
Architects & Engineers
70 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

April 23, 1965

TO: I. E. Saporta

Dear Ike,

When I don't know what to do with something or about something, I just automatically think that you can do something about it.

Would you by any miracle have any suggestion s for the attached letter. I have exhausted my usual sources.

I hope all goes well for you and yours and I want to see you as soon as I get back from New York.

Affectionately,

Helen Bullard

Attachment

Dear Les:

I wanted to be sure that you got this letter because it doesn't have your address on it. It may be that the envelope did. Somehow Miss Jordan restored my faith in a sorry world.

Regards,

June 1, 1965

Rec'd 6/18/65

File

Dr. Les Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Miss Helen Bullard of Toombs, Amisano & Wells has asked me to assist you in finding a position for Mr. E. Bart Daley. We suggest that you contact the following architects:

Jacobs & Matthews, First Federal Savings Building; 311 N. Green St.; Gainesville, Ga.

Doyle Harvey of Harvey & Elliott; 214 West Bldg.; Rome, Georgia

James M. Hunt, 16 Chestnut St., Box 775; Elberton, Georgia.

All of these firms are located in small towns and have comprehensive practices. All are people who we feel would be inclined to render assistance if possible.

Sincerely yours,

Joan M. Jordan
Secretary to Director

BUNCH FABRICS

FRED B. BUNCH, JR.
President

Jan 8 1966

Mr Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta Ga.

Dear Paul,

I wish to express my appreciation for your courtesy and time Wednesday. The day was interesting and rewarding I have even greater admiration for the work of the Council.

I would like for you to convey to Mr Via, Mr Lewis, Mr Smith and

POST OFFICE BOX 529 - STATESVILLE, N. C. 28677 - AREA CODE 704 - TELEPHONE 873-6772

BUNCH FABRICS

FRED B. BUNCH, JR.
President

(2)

the other members of your staff my sincere thanks for the time and interest they took to brief me.

I have an appointment with my doctor for a physical check up Jan 20th — The information I get there will shed light on whether it would be wise, from both our standpoints, for me to go further into the situation

I shall look forward with interest to seeing Russ Hanson's report —

With warmest personal regards —

Sincerely — Fred Bunch Jr

POST OFFICE BOX 529 - STATESVILLE, N. C. 28677 - AREA CODE 704 - TELEPHONE 873-6772

TOOMBS, AMISANO & WELLS • ARCHITECTS • SEVENTY FAIRLIE STREET, N.W. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
TEL. 404-577-3600 • NCARB CERTIFICATES 3786, 3974, 3818

File

File

June 2, 1967

Mrs. Fred Patterson
2959 West Andrews Drive, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ida:

I think we dropped a stitch at last night's meeting when we did not pick up on your suggestion involving the churches and Paul Anthony's suggestion about involving Buckhead.

For instance, if we have an urgent request from a neighborhood for a park and Jack Delius says there is no money either for equipment or supervision (but there always is an empty lot or empty building somewhere), why couldn't the Commission try to get a church involved in providing equipment and/or supervision, or why couldn't a church group become involved in a program of supplying milk? *

Let's start thinking in terms of needed projects and give the churches a chance! After all, we don't really know that they won't do it. Let's put this idea in the Univac and see what comes out.

Affectionately,

Helen Bullard

Helen Bullard
Consultant

HB:mb
cc: Dr. Paul Anthony
Irving K. Kaler
Mrs. Eliza K. Paschall

* to playground children - Jack Delius says they come to the playgrounds hungry.

PRINCIPALS • HENRY J. TOOMBS, FAIA, AIP • JOSEPH AMISANO, AIA, AIP • JAMES EDWIN WELLS, AIA, FCSI • L. DALE ZENT
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Give Sam "gen"

November 22, 1967

Miss Helen Bullard
Toombs, Amisano and Wells
70 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Helen:

Enclosed is a copy of a commentary on Atlanta housing which we recently released. You may find the map in the rear of particular interest.

Also, we have just completed a very elaborate report for the Mayor on Atlanta's future in urban planning. It is in the form of a loose leaf binder some two or three inches thick. Should you be interested, I will be happy to have one delivered to your office. After you have finished with it we would like to have it back, since we assured the Mayor that the report would be kept confidential unless he chooses to release it.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Sam Adams' Atlanta Study)

CIRCLE 7- 2415
2416

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

119 WEST 57TH STREET • NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

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STEWART G. COLE

Associate Director
H. H. GILES

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(On leave of absence)
KIMBALL YOUNG

October 11, 1944

Chapel Hill

Dear Dr. Johnson:

As we continue our work in intercultural education to combat the interracial and intergroup tensions that are America's social problem number one, we are turning to people of your background and experience for advice. As we formulate our long-term program of publications, materials and aids, we wish to help meet the real needs of students, teachers and the adult public. (You may be acquainted with two of our recent publications, Intercultural Education in American Schools, by Vickery and Cole, which introduces teachers to philosophy and techniques in improving relations with members of minority groups, and Probing Our Prejudices, by Hortense Powdermaker, which is the first supplementary textbook in intercultural education written for high school use.)

A person like yourself recognizes the desirability of promoting understanding and unity among such groups as Jews and Christians, Negroes and Whites, newly arrived and old stock Americans. Part of your conception of the democratic way of life involves the fostering of respect for individuals. You want to help in the struggle against intolerence, harmful prejudice and the scapegoating of minorities.

What materials or aids would help you in achieving your intercultural goals? Do you have a particular idea you would like to see carried out?

What kinds of books, pamphlets, recordings, etc., are needed for student use in the schools with which you are acquainted?

What kinds of publications and materials should be prepared for teachers to help them do their work well in building unity and understanding among our cultural groups in America?

What kind of materials should be directed to the adult public?

Your advice is respected and will contribute to our common cause.

Sincerely yours,

William Van Til

William Van Til
Director of Publications

WVT:ed

Charge to the account of ~~SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC., 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.~~

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

March 15, 1945

Miss Eleanor Fish
Bureau for Intercultural Education
West 80 Street
New York New York

Please describe new pamphlet as follows QUOTE Understanding Our Neighbors, A Factual Survey of America's Major Race Problem. A fact-packed pamphlet, suitable for reference rather than reading at a sitting. Many dates and names. Includes cultural contributions and social economic facts. Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta 3, Georgia. 1945. 32 pp. Single copy, 10¢. In quantity, $1.00 per dozen. UNQUOTE Regret delayed reply.

Emily H. Clay

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

(59)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
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TU ATLANTA

MISS EMILY H CLAY=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ROOM 432 63 AUBURN AVE NORTH EAST ATLA=

NEED BY TOMORROW INFORMATION REQUESTED IN MARCH FIRST LETTER TO CHECK PROOFS OF OUR CATALOGUE=

ELEANOR FISH BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION 119 WEST 80 STREET NEW YORK

119 80

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Understanding Our Neighbors, A Factual ~~Study~~ Survey of America's Major Race Problem.

A fact-packed pamphlet, ~~with study guide.~~ Suitable for reference rather than reading at a sitting. Many dates and names. Includes cultural contributions and social economic facts, ~~also two separate statements on race relations by Negroes meeting at Durham and while meeting at Atlanta, directed to the South.~~

Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

1945. ~~41~~ 32 pp. Single copy, 10¢. In quantity, $1.00 per dozen.

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
119 WEST 57TH STREET • NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

2415
CIRCLE 7-2416
2431

March 1, 1945

Miss Emily H. Clay
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Clay:

Thanks very much for writing on February 21st to tell us that you have a large stock of America's Tenth Man and that you will have the revised edition of Understanding Our Neighbors available by the end of March. Consequently, this will enable us to list both in our new literature list.

Are we correct in assuming that the price of both items remains the same as it was in the past -- 10¢ per single copy and $1.00 per dozen if ordered in quantities?

Since our catalogue will be out before you can send us copies of the revised edition of Understanding Our Neighbors, we were wondering if you would be good enough to check our annotation now to make sure that the description fits the revision. A copy of the annotation is enclosed on a separate sheet. Will there be a study guide provided with the new edition? Note particularly the page length, etc.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Fish

EF:ed
Enc.

Eleanor Fish
Associate Editor

STAFF

Executive Director, H. H. GILES

Associate Director, West Coast Office
STEWART G. COLE

Director of Special Services
HELEN G. TRAGER

Director of Publications and Learning Materials
WILLIAM VAN TIL

Administrative Consultant
LESTER DIX

School Consultant
MARIAN EDMAN

Specialist in Anthropology
ETHEL J. ALPENFELS

School Consultant
PAUL K. WEINANDY

Editorial Associate
ELEANOR FISH

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(On leave, U.S. Army Air Corps)
KIMBALL YOUNG

February 21, 1945

Miss Eleanor Fish, Associate Editor
Bureau for Intercultural Education
119 West 57th Street
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Miss Fish:

Your letter of February 8, inquiring about our pamphlets AMERICA'S TENTH MAN and UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS, was received some days ago. I have waited to reply, however, in order that I might tell you whether or not both pamphlets will be available for distribution.

We have a large stock of AMERICA'S TENTH MAN, and I have been assured today that the revised edition of UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS will be available by the end of March. We shall appreciate it, therefore, if you will list both pamphlets in the name of the Southern Regional Council.

We have several new publications in preparation at the present time, but they will not be completed until late spring or summer. Copies will be mailed to you when they are ready for distribution.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
119 WEST 57TH STREET • NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

2415
CIRCLE 7-2416
2431

February 8, 1945

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

At the present time, we are engaged in revising our Literature List in order to bring to educators' attention the most significant publications and learning materials in the field of intercultural education.

In the present edition, we listed the following two pamphlets of yours:

AMERICA'S TENTH MAN, A Brief Survey of the Negro's Part in American History
UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS

We have on hand a small stock of America's Tenth Man, but before listing it agian, we wish to be sure that it is to remain in print and that you have sufficient supply for us to be able to forward to you large orders, and replenish our stock from time to time as the need arises.

We are entirely out of stock of Understanding Our Neighbors and Mrs. Bohanna is holding some orders. We understand this pamphlet is being revised. We would like to know when copies of the revised edition will be ready. If you do not expect it off the press by the end of March, we will have to omit it from our present List.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Fish

Eleanor Fish
Associate Editor

EF:EP

February 12, 1946

Miss Eleanor Fish, Editor
Bureau for Intercultural Education
1697 Broadway
New York, 19, N. Y.

Dear Miss Fish:

Your letter of February 7 has just reached me. I am very sorry that it was necessary for you to write to ask for a reply to the earlier letter, and I apologize for the delay.

Our pamphlet AMERICA'S TENTH MAN is still in print and we now have sufficient stock to last through the year. We shall, therefore, be very glad to have it listed in your 1946 catalogue.

In the future, will you please have our letters addressed to 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Omission of the street number seems to cause delay in delivery.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

1697 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 19, N.Y.
Telephone • Circle 7-4080

February 7, 1946

AIRMAIL

Miss Emily H. Clay
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Clay:

We wonder whether you can send us your answer soon to our letter of January 17th. We wrote you then regarding the listing of America's Tenth Man in our 1946 catalogue, Publications on Intercultural Education.

We hope to send the catalogue to the printer within a week and in order to include this pamphlet we should have the information about stock before then.

We feel America's Tenth Man merits listing, and so we hope you will be able to tell us whether you have sufficient stock on hand.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Fish

Eleanor Fish
Editor

EF:ve

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

1697 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 19, N.Y.
Telephone • Circle 7-4080

January 17, 1946

RECEIVED
JAN 21 1946
Southern Regional Council

Miss Emily H. Clay
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Clay:

As you know, the Bureau for Intercultural Education maintains a clearing house for the better published materials in the intercultural field, pertinent to teachers and school people.

At the present time we are revising our catalogue, Publications on Intercultural Education. In the 1946 edition we wish to carry America's Tenth Man, which is published by the Southern Regional Council. Before including it in the new list, however, we would like to have an answer to the following questions:

1. Do you plan to keep the pamphlet in print for at least six months?

2. Do you have on hand around 300 copies to fill orders that might be forwarded to you?

We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Fish

Eleanor Fish
Editor

EF:ve

For Your Information

April 20, 1945

A new Warner Brothers movie short IT HAPPENED IN SPRINGFIELD is now available to commercial moving picture theatres. You will want to see it.

This picture does not glorify the Springfield Plan. It dramatizes an idea by telling a story. Aimed at "Mr. Averageman" and set in "Anytown" in the United States, the film poses a problem and offers a solution. The problem....Prejudice. The solution....Education.

Find out if your local theatre is planning to show it.
Tell your friends and colleagues about it.
Suggest to organizations and individuals that they ask their local theatres to show IT HAPPENED IN SPRINGFIELD.

Public interest in this film will encourage Hollywood to do others.

Two new children's books you will want to know about.

MELINDY'S MEDAL by Georgene Faulkner and George Becker, published by Julian Messner, Inc. Illustrated. Written for 8-11 year olds.

A disarming, refreshing and honest story about Melindy and her family who move into a big housing project in a big city. Told with humor and a rare storytelling skill yet with an eye to the facts of life....Negro life. An artistic job. (Trowel and bludgeon "do-good" writers, please note.)

THE MOVED OUTERS by Florence Crannell Means, published by Houghton Mifflin. Illustrations in color. Written for Jr. and Sr. high school age.

A documentary story of the Ohara Family, their friends, their place in the average American community before Pearl Harbor. What happened to the Oharas? How did their friends change? What was the new attitude of the community? What was evacuation like and life at the relocation camp?
The answers to questions we have and haven't asked. A MUST BOOK for boys and girls who live in communities: 1. where Japanese Americans are now relocating 2. where Japanese Americans were moved out 3. where there are no Japanese Americans.

HELEN TRAGER, Director of Special Services
BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
119 WEST 57th STREET • NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

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BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
119 WEST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

Director of Publications
WILLIAM VAN TIL

Editorial Associate
ELEANOR FISH

July 16, 1945

To Those Concerned
for Intercultural Education:

One of the functions of the Bureau for Intercultural Education is to publish learning materials useful to teachers and students. Material in the field of racial, religious, ethnic, and socio-economic relationships in America is purchased by the Bureau and appears under the author's name.

We should like to invite you and your co-workers to submit all kinds of new materials or sketches of proposed materials for consideration. The range of Bureau learning materials is wide and distribution is national. Through Harper and Brothers the Bureau publishes a series of books on problems of race and culture in American education; examples are Vickery and Cole's Intercultural Education in American Schools, Hortense Powdermaker's Probing Our Prejudices, and Spencer Brown's They See For Themselves. A pamphlet series is in preparation, typified by pamphlets by Samuel Everett on community participation and Edward S. Olsen on social travel. Plays, radio scripts, recorded programs, movies, studies by teachers, teaching and learning units, student-written materials, specialized bibliographies, and accounts of desirable developments in intercultural education are of special interest in the Bureau program.

We shall be glad to correspond with you about existent or prospective publications and learning materials.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Fish

Eleanor Fish
Editorial Associate

EF:ve

P.S. After August 1, please write us at our new address, 1697 Broadway, New York 19, New York.

August 6, 1945

Miss Jean Downey
Bureau for Intercultural Education
1697 Broadway - 14th Floor
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Miss Downey:

In response to your request of August 2, we are sending you the following description of our monthly publication:

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER. Monthly organ of the Southern Regional Council, devoted to special articles and reported items on human relations as they affect social and economic affairs in the Southern regions. Subscription- 25¢ annually. (Free to members.)

We appreciate very much having the FRONTIER included in the bibliography which you are now preparing.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
1697 Broadway - 14th Floor
~~119 WEST 57TH STREET~~
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

August 2, 1945

Director of Publications
WILLIAM VAN TIL

Editorial Associate
ELEANOR FISH

Southern Frontier
Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We are now preparing a bibliography of magazines and educational journals useful in intercultural education.

The purpose of this letter is to ask if you will please send us a three or four-line description of the nature and purpose of your periodical. This description will be used in annotating our list.

We appreciate your kindness and co-operation.

Sincerely yours,

Jean Downey

Jean Downey

JD:ve

For understanding, co-operation, and unity among the cultural groups in America

PUBLICATIONS ON INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

for School and Community

1945

BOOKS, PAMPHLETS & BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Selected and annotated by William Van Til

PUBLISHED OR DISTRIBUTED BY

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

119 WEST 57TH STREET, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

H. H. GILES
Director

WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK
Chairman of Board

This is a selected and annotated list of available publications in intercultural education. The Bureau for Intercultural Education serves as a clearing house for their distribution to you.

The first section lists materials primarily useful to school and community educators.

The second section, by educators' request, names publications usable by students. Please note that many of these were written for and are useful to adults. High school utilization may be assumed unless annotated as suitable for elementary or junior high school level.

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION NEWS

Official Bulletin of the Bureau published quarterly during the school year. 8 *pp. Single issues, free. In quantity. 5c each.* (1)

OUT OF THE MANY—ONE

An introduction to the work of the Bureau for Intercultural Education. Its services are defined as is the role of the individual in intercultural education. 1943. 14 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity, 5c each.* (2)

For Community and School Educators

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Books

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

COLE, STEWART G., AND VICKERY, WILLIAM E.

An introduction to the problem of the responsibility of the schools for improved relations with members of cultural groups in America. Proposed objectives and methods are set forth. Fertile in suggestions for activities and experiences in intercultural education most of which could be carried on within the usual school curricular framework. A major insight is the advocacy of cultural democracy rather than the melting-pot or cultural pluralism theories. In the Bureau for Intercultural Education Publications Series. *Harper & Bros.*, 1943. 215 *pp.* (*paper*) $1.00, (*cloth*) $2.00. *Professional discounts on quantity orders.* (3)

THEY SEE FOR THEMSELVES BROWN, SPENCER

How students learn about intergroup relationships through first-hand experience in the community and through the presentation of documentary plays dealing with the students' findings. The author draws freely upon experiences in eleven schools which experimentally fostered documentary, fact-finding projects. Suggests procedures for the continuance and extension of such experimentation. In the Bureau for Intercultural Education Publications Series. *Harper & Bros.*, 1945. 147 *pp.* (*paper*) $1.25, (*cloth*) $2.00. *Professional discounts on quantity orders.* (4)

AMERICANS ALL: STUDIES IN INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

ARNDT, C. O. (EDITOR)

A series of valuable case studies in intercultural education. Simple, fully detailed accounts of practices which have proven their worth. A wide variety of in-school and community experiences for the educator. Bibliographies included. *Fourteenth Yearbook, Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction of the National Education Association. Washington, D.C.* 1942. 385 *pp.* $2.00. (5)

GET TOGETHER AMERICANS: Friendly Approaches to Racial and Cultural Conflicts through the Neighborhood-Home Festival

DAVIS-DUBOIS, RACHEL

A report of actual experiences in the use of the Neighborhood-Home Festival. An analysis of problems involved in understanding the psychology of inter-group relationships. Source materials on seasonal and patriotic festivals. A description of one of the many possible approaches to intercultural education. Stress on emotional relationships. *Harper & Brothers*, 1943. 182 *pp.* $1.75.

Periodicals

November, 1944, Issue INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION NEWS

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Clarence I. Chatto writes on "The Springfield Program for Democratic Citizenship," Gordon W. Allport on "The Bigot in Our Midst," William Van Til on workshops. Book Review and Notes and News. 8 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity, 5c each.* (6)

January, 1945, Issue INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION NEWS

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Articles on "Detroit Uses School Committees" by Stanley Dimond, "Every Bigot Was Once a Child" by Sister Mary de Lourdes, "The Times and the Teacher" by H. H. Giles. Book Review and Notes and News. 8 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity, 5c each.* (7)

February, 1945, Issue BETTER TEACHING

CINCINNATI PUBLIC SCHOOLS

An entire issue on intercultural education, with special emphasis on Negro History Week and Brotherhood Week. "Fallacies based on Prejudice," "Some Basic Goals," "Sources of Help" and other articles supply direct guidance to teachers. 12 *pp.* 5*c.* (8)

"The Roots of Prejudice," Spring, 1944, Issue CHILD STUDY

CHILD STUDY ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, NEW YORK

Speeches delivered at an Annual Institute of the Child Study Association on "The Roots of Prejudice." Articles by the Reverend George B. Ford on the church, the school, and democracy, and by Alice V. Keliher on "Prejudice is a Sickness." Other contributors include Jule Eisenbud, Clyde Miller, Anna A. Hedgeman, Quincy Howe. Readable. 92 *pp.* 30*c.* (9)

Summer-Autumn, 1944, Issue THE NEWSLET

STATE OF NEW JERSEY GOOD-WILL COMMISSION

This special issue contains contributions by the State Commissioner of Education, John H. Bosshart, and Newark's Assistant Superintendent, Thomas F. McHugh. Intercultural Education techniques are described by William Van Til. Newark's procedures in the elementary school are ably detailed by Lillie J. Geisser. 24 *pp.* 5*c.* (10)

"Intercultural Understandings: How Well Educated Are We?" March, 1944, Issue PI LAMBDA THETA JOURNAL

PI LAMBDA THETA, MENASHA, WISCONSIN

Articles on Japanese-Americans and American Indians as well as suggestions to increase intercultural understanding. A bibliography from Vickery and Cole is included. 47 *pp.*. 35*c.* (11)

"The Earth: A Common Ground for Children," Spring-Summer, 1944, Issue SOUTH TODAY

A magazine edited by Lillian Smith and Paula Snelling. This issue deals with children and includes plays, editorials, experiments. 105 *pp.* 50*c.* (12)

Pamphlets and Reprinted Material

AN AMERICAN ANSWER TO INTOLERANCE

EDWARDS, VIOLET; LAWRENCE, ANNETTE SMITH; AND WALSER, FRANK

A teacher's manual for junior and senior high school. The booklet stresses propaganda devices, recognition of prejudices and the reaffirmation of democratic ideals. Brief factual presentations on Jews, Negroes, and race are included. *Council Against Intolerance in America. n.d.* 64 *pp. Free to teachers and educational organizations.*

BUILDING UNITY WITHIN A COMMUNITY EDMAN, MARION

Description of Detroit's problem and the approach of the city schools to it. A clear exposition of face-to-face contacts, appreciation of cultures, the analysis of factual data, and the ethical approach as techniques of teaching. By the Supervisor of Language Education in the Detroit Public Schools, now acting as a school consultant for the Bureau for Intercultural Education. *Reprinted from* The Elementary English Review, *May,* 1944. 7 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 5*c each.* (13)

A COMMUNITY'S TOTAL WAR AGAINST PREJUDICE

HALLIGAN, ALICE L.

A description of the community-school program to improve democratic relations launched in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1939. Written by the Assistant Supervisor of Guidance, Placement, and Adult Education who served as Chairman of a Committee on Education for Democracy in the Springfield public schools. *Reprinted from* The Journal of Educational Sociology, *February,* 1943. 6 *pp.* 3*c.* (14)

THE CURRICULUM AS AN INTEGRATING FORCE FOR ETHNIC VARIATIONS YEISER, IDABELLE

"The basic studies of the curriculum could and should be the medium for intercultural education." Suggestions for intercultural education through science and mathematics, social studies, language arts and literature, health and physical education, arts and crafts. *Graduate School of Education, Harvard University.* 1944. 17 *pp.* 25*c.* (15)

EDUCATION FOR BETTER HUMAN RELATIONS

JOHNSON, WILLARD

States need for a broad base for intercultural education. Urges positive program supported by parents, teachers, and community leaders. 1945. 4 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 3*c each.* (16)

GOOD WILL AMONG AMERICANS COLE, STEWART G.

A discussion of the Chanukah and Christmas seasons as effective occasions for dramatizing the meaning of democracy. *Reprinted from* Educational Method, 1942. 8 *pp.* 7*c.* (17)

HOW CAN MAJORITY AND MINORITY GROUPS CONTRIBUTE TO DEMOCRACY?

COLE, STEWART G., AND TRAGER, HELEN G.

A discussion outline consisting largely of provocative quotations about which discussion might center. Useful to discussion leaders concerned for getting groups to air their opinions. Majority-minority issues and prejudice are typical focal points. *Prepared for Democratic Discussions, the New Jersey Education Association,* 1943-44. 46 *pp.* 15*c.* (18)

IMPROVING RACIAL UNDERSTANDING AND RESPECT FOR RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES THROUGH EDUCATION

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF SUPERINTENDENTS OF SCHOOLS, BRIDGEWATER, MASSACHUSETTS

Superintendents consider the relationships of school and community to intercultural education. Stresses importance of teacher education and of the cultivation of wholesome inter-group attitudes, rather than new courses of study. *Massachusetts Department of Education.* 1944. 28 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 3*c each.* (19)

AN INQUIRY ON ADMINISTRATION AND INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

THEODORE BRAMELD IN CO-OPERATION WITH AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS, BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION, COMMISSION FOR DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY THROUGH EDUCATION, NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

An inquiry form for evaluating administrative practices and policies affecting intercultural relations. For those concerned for administration. Useful for study of practices in school system and community. *Bureau for Intercultural Education. Mimeo.* 1945. 41 *pp.* 30*c.* (20)

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION COLE, STEWART G.

Primarily an analysis of the problem which calls forth intercultural education. Scholarly report on ethnic factors, culture problems, conflicts of cultures, cultural diversity, a citizenship frame of reference. By the co-author of *Intercultural Education in American Schools. Reprinted from* Contemporary Jewish Record, 1941. 27 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 6*c each.* (21)

ONE NATION INDIVISIBLE WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL

VICKERY, WILLIAM E., AND TRAGER, HELEN G.

A manual of suggested school and club programs and study outlines on democratic, non-discriminatory employment practice. Suggestion for trips, discussion questions and suggested activities emphasizing employment problems and minority group members. By Bureau for Intercultural Education staff members for New York State's Committee on Discrimination in Employment. 1943. 22 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 5*c each.* (22)

A PLEDGE FOR AMERICAN UNITY PROSKAUER, JOSEPH M.

A brief pledge stressing the worth of the individual and directed against case generalizations by groups. Prepared by the president of the American Jewish Committee, and endorsed by leading religious thinkers. *National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.* 1943. 4 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 3*c each.* (23)

RACE AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

BENEDICT, RUTH, AND ELLIS, MILDRED

A description of the problem by an anthropologist followed by suggested teaching activities by a classroom specialist. Useful for the teacher who utilizes resource units and who desires an analysis of the problem for her own professional competency. *The National Council for the Social Studies and the National Association of Secondary School Principals.* 1942. 60 *pp. Single copy,* 30*c. In quantity of* 100 *or more,* 20c *each.* (24)

THE REFUGEE CHILD: A TASK FOR MENTAL HYGIENE

WASSERMAN, URSULA, AND RESEK, FELIX

The maladjustments of refugee children who have known fear. Rehabilitation through a healthy family life and introduction to the American way of life through schools. By psychiatrists. *Reprinted from* Mental Hygiene, *October,* 1942. 17 *pp.* 10*c.* (25)

SCHOOLS ARE ORGANIZING TO IMPROVE HUMAN RELATIONS
BIDDICK, MILDRED

Representatives of seven school systems meet together to discuss how programs have developed in different communities, the problem approach, leadership, and functions in intercultural education. Report of a conference sponsored by the Bureau. *Bureau for Intercultural Education. Mimeo.* 1945. 13 *pp.* 15*c.* (26)

SCHOOLS CAN PLAN PROGRAMS OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
COLE, STEWART G.

An analysis of America's problem of group relationships. Advice to administrators on organizing their approaches. Questions for thought are raised. *Reprinted from* School Management Magazine, *October,* 1943. 2 *pp.* 5*c.* (27)

THE SOCIAL STUDIES LOOK BEYOND THE WAR

Includes curricular recommendations on intercultural education in the social studies. A statement of postwar policy adopted officially by the National Council for the Social Studies. An important curricular document. *Advisory Commission, National Council for the Social Studies, Washington, D. C.* 1944. 40 *pp.* 10*c.* (28)

SOME GOOD PRACTICES IN INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Realistic accounts of actual schoolroom problems and practices in intercultural education. Illustrative of a range of approaches possible. By highly qualified specialists. *Reprinted from* Religious Education, *March-April,* 1944. 11 *pp.* 10*c.* (29)

WE, THE CHILDREN — Boys and Girls Discuss Intercultural Understanding

The frank comments of students from early elementary grades to college age on racial, religious, and ethnic relationships. This pamphlet, on what young Americans are thinking, rouses adult concern. *Reprinted from* Educational Leadership, *March,* 1945. *Department of Supervision and Curriculum Development, N.E.A., and Bureau for Intercultural Education.* 32 *pp. Single copy,* 25*c. In quantity of* 100 *or more,* 17c *each.* (30)

WE'RE ALL AMERICANS
LAWRENCE, ANNETTE SMITH; WISE, JAMES WATERMAN; AND WRIGHT, GERTRUDE ALBION (EDITORS)

A teacher's manual for the elementary school. Ten stories for children show the trials that small children undergo before they are accepted in America. Facts about nationality groups follow each story. Suggestions for activities are given. *Council Against Intolerance in America,* 1941. 92 *pp. Free to teachers and educational organizations.*

WHAT IS INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION? COLE, STEWART G.

Intercultural education seen as the nurturing of personalities in democratic directions. What happens to the personalities of dominant and minority group members when discrimination takes place. By the co-author of *Intercultural Education in American Schools. Reprinted from* The American Teacher, *April,* 1944. 4 *pp.* 5*c.* (31)

Bibliographies

AMERICAN FOLK SONG AND FOLK LORE
LOMAX, ALAN, AND COWELL, SIDNEY ROBERTSON

A regional bibliography. Includes Spanish-American, French-American, as well as the Negro South. Annotated and compiled by two collectors of American folk songs. *P.E.A. Service Center Pamphlet. American Fellowship Association.* 1942. 59 *pp.* 25*c.* (32)

AMERICANS ALL: Children's Books

An annotated list of books about Americans. Age or grade levels are indicated. *Council on Books in Wartime.* 1945. 7 pp. *Single copy,* 2*c. In quantity,* 200, $3.25. 5,000, $30. (33)

ATTITUDE TESTS BROWN, SPENCER

This bibliography of attitude tests is taken from *They See for Themselves,* a 1945 Harper publication, sponsored by the Bureau for Intercultural Education. Attitude tests are still in a highly experimental stage. Authoritative opinion on their value varies. The author feels these are the best tests relating to attitudes and intercultural education which he has been able to discover. *Bureau for Intercultural Education. Mimeo.* 1945. 2 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 5*c each.* (34)

BIBLIOGRAPHY FROM INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS
VICKERY, WILLIAM E., AND COLE, STEWART G.

An authoritative bibliography which includes readings on specific nationality groups, racial groups, religious groups, social-economic stratification. Also readings on culture, race, religion, majority and minority groups, acculturation, intercultural education. Units of work and teachers' aids are listed. Not annotated. From the book published by Harpers. *Bureau for Intercultural Education.* 1943. 17 *pp.* 5*c.* (35)

LET THEM FACE IT: Today's World in Books for Boys and Girls

Books relating to social realities. For children under twelve and for older boys and girls. Many on the list deal with intercultural relations. Annotated. *Child Study Association of America. Revised, Spring,* 1945. *Mimeo.* 7 *pp.* 20*c.* (36)

LIST OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES FOR TEACHERS— Elementary and High School
TRAGER, HELEN G.

The Negro, culture groups, our neighbors, folk songs and festivals, the Orient, visual aids. *Mimeo.* 1945. 4 *pp.* 5*c.* (37)

THE PEOPLE OF THE U.S.A.: Their Place in the School Curriculum
BOETZ, JOHANNA; MITCHELL, LUCY SPRAGUE; AND OTHERS

Effective and concrete descriptions of the utilization of trips and school jobs in the intercultural education of elementary youngsters. Half of the book is bibliographic, dealing with cultural groups, their arts of music and dance, and the regions they live in. These bibliographies are adult and lively. *P.E.A. Service Center Booklet, American Fellowship Association.* 1942. 136 *pp.* $1.00. (38)

PERIODICALS USEFUL IN INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
REINER, ETHEL L., TRAGER, HELEN G.

A selected list of magazines and educational journals. *Mimeo.* 1944. 2 *pp.* 5*c.* (39)

RECOMMENDED READING—LIST I

Selective book-list for adults, not annotated. Divided into sections on Indian era, American beginnings, old country backgrounds, the new immigration, trends, old stock Americans, democratic problems, race, the Negro, the future, immigrant fiction, biographies. *Reprinted from* Common Ground. *Common Council Book Service* 1941. 4 *pp. Single copy,* 3*c. In quantity,* 75 *for* $1.00. (40)

RECOMMENDED READING—LIST II

Selected books for adults on the Negro and new immigrant groups in the United States. Bibliography unannotated. Careful selection. *Reprinted from* Common Ground. *Common Council Book Service.* 1941. 4 *pp. Single copy,* 3*c. In quantity,* 75 *for* $1.00. (41)

WHERE TO GET INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION SOURCE MATERIALS
REINER, ETHEL L., TRAGER, HELEN G.

A listing of organizations and their addresses. Includes sources on general intercultural education material, materials on democracy, inter-faith literature, minority and immigrant groups, the American Negro, audio-visual education, folk art and folk music. By Bureau for Intercultural Education staff members. *Mimeo.* 1944. 4 *pp.* 5*c.* (42)

PREJUDICE

Materials Available

A B C's OF SCAPEGOATING FOREWORD BY GORDON W. ALLPORT

Psychological examination of the pathology of unwarranted aggression. Sources of race prejudice in the child are examined. Scholarly, abstract presentation lightened by examples prepared by a Harvard psychologist's seminar. *Central YMCA College, Chicago.* 1944. 72 *pp.* 25*c.* (43)

THE BIGOT IN OUR MIDST ALLPORT, GORDON W.

A psychologist's reflections on frustrations, tabloid thinking, and projection characteristic of the bigot. An introduction to the paranoid mental life of bigotry. By a Harvard social psychologist. *Reprinted from* The Commonweal, *October* 6, 1944. 5 *pp.* 3*c.* (44)

"A Way with Prejudice," April, 1942, Issue SOCIAL ACTION
COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL ACTION OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, NEW YORK CITY

Irving J. Lee writes on necessity for recognition that Jew 1 is not Jew 2, that individuals differ, that names for groups are words and not living persons. Sprightly and thoughtful application of semantics to prejudice. *Second printing.* 35 *pp.* 15*c.* (45)

See also materials listed on page 12.

RACE AND RACIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Materials Available

ARYANS AND NON-ARYANS BOAS, FRANZ

Refutation of the Nazi racial myth. The meaning of Aryan, the migration of mankind, the meaning of Jew are considered. Scholarly presentation of scientific research by an eminent anthropologist. *Bureau for Intercultural Education. n. d.* 11 *pp.* 10*c.* (46)

DIGEST OF MYRDAL'S "AN AMERICAN DILEMMA"
WYER, SAMUEL S.

Selected excerpts from Myrdal's classic study. Arranged to bring out high-lights. Prepared by an engineer for a community council. *Columbus Council for Democracy, Columbus, Ohio.* 1944. 29 *pp. Single copy,* 10*c. In quantity of over* 500, 8*c each.* (47)

"The Discipline of Understanding Each Other," April, 1944, Issue CHILDHOOD EDUCATION
ASSOCIATION FOR CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

An issue devoted primarily to child-lore from many lands. One section deals with child-lore from the Negro. 45 *pp.* 30*c.* (48)

HOW TO PREVENT A RACE RIOT IN YOUR HOME TOWN
RAUSHENBUSH, WINIFRED

Specific advice to citizens on avoidance of open conflict. Steps to take are outlined. *American Civil Liberties Union.* 1944. 14 *pp. Single copy,* 10*c. In quantity,* 100 *copies,* $5.00. (49)

NEGRO EMPLOYMENT: A Curriculum Unit GOETSCH, HELEN B.

A 12th-grade unit prepared at the Harvard University Workshop for Intercultural Education. Underlying objective is to develop social sensitivity to a significant problem through extending the democratic concept of equality of opportunity, especially in relation to Negro employment. *Reprinted from* Social Education, *December,* 1944. 4 *pp.* 5*c.* (50)

OUR HIGH SCHOOL LIBRARIES AND RACISM
JACOBS, MELVILLE

An anthropologist's case for use of books on race in our schools. He names problems to be faced by teachers. Recommended readings for school purchase are listed. *Reprinted from the University of Washington* College of Education Record, *December,* 1944. 6 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 10*c each.* (51)

Bibliographies

BOOKS ABOUT THE NEGRO FOR CHILDREN BAKER, AUGUSTA

"Books for children that give an unbiased, accurate, well-rounded picture of Negro life in all parts of the world." Stories for younger and older children are the dominant groups with shorter sections on folklore; literature, art and music; poetry; songs; biography and history. Prepared by a children's librarian in charge of the James Weldon Johnson collection. *Reprinted from* Wilson Library Bulletin. *Rev. Ed.,* 1944. 7 *pp.* 5*c.* (52)

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE AND THE NEGRO STEREOTYPE
STERN, CELIA M., AND VAN TIL, WILLIAM

How literature can help children recognize differences in people of the same race and combat stereotypes. Discusses books on Negro children in West Indies, Africa, North and South America. *Reprinted from* Childhood Education, *February,* 1945. 6 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 5*c each.* (53)

THE NEGRO 135TH STREET BRANCH, NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

A highly selective bibliography on the Negro. Sections on historical background, history, economic outlook, social development, race relations, personal achievement, literature, music and art, folklore, and books for children. Prepared by staff members of the Public Library which serves New York's Harlem. *Reprinted from* Branch Library Book News. *Revised,* 1945. 8 *pp.* 10*c.* (54)

THE NEGRO DIVISION OF SCHOOL LIBRARIES

A selected list of books by or about the Negro in Africa and America. Includes books for teachers, for elementary grades, and for high school with the latter alloted most space. A publication of the State Department of Education of Tennessee. 1941. 48 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 5*c each.* (55)

SOURCES OF INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL ON NEGROES
CALIVER, AMBROSE

"A selected annotated list of books, pamphlets, articles, films, scripts, and other types of materials suitable for instructional purposes for use in elementary and secondary schools, and for college students and teachers." Prepared by the Senior Specialist in the Education of Negroes of the U.S. Office of Education. *Federal Security Agency, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C. Mimeo.* 1944. 23 *pp. Free.* (56)

See also materials listed on page 12.

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS RELATIONSHIPS

Materials Available

"Education for Brotherhood," Abridged Ed., February, 1944, Issue INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

A religiously motivated discussion of education for brotherhood. Stresses descriptions of specific church, school materials and approaches. Sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. 15 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 5*c each.* (57)

MEMORANDUM ON ANTI-SEMITISM WYLIE, PHILIP

A provocative statement of the consequences to be suffered by every American if bigotry were carried to its logical conclusions. *Reprinted from* The American Mercury, *January,* 1945. 7 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* $1.00 *per hundred.* (58)

TO BIGOTRY NO SANCTION: A Documented Analysis of Anti-Semitic Propaganda

"A source book of information on one of America's constituent groups against whom the forces of bigotry have been arrayed in order to serve seditious purposes." Facts on Jews as patriots, citizens, and employed persons. *The American Jewish Committee. Sixth printing, completely revised, April,* 1944. 80 *pp.* 10*c.* (59)

Bibliographies

THE JEWS IN AMERICA

LIBRARY OF JEWISH INFORMATION OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

A selected bibliography prepared by an authoritative source. Classifications include contemporary problems, biography, juvenile reading, etc. *Rev. Ed.,* 1943. 11 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 10*c each.* (60)

RELIGIOUS BOOK LIST

Two hundred religious books selected by committees of clergymen, educators, authors, and librarians. A list divided into four sections—Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and Good Will. Each section made up of forty adult books and ten juveniles. *National Conference of Christians and Jews,* 1943. 27 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 3*c each.* (61)

See also materials listed on page 14.

NATIONALITY AND ETHNIC RELATIONSHIPS

Materials Available

MEXICAN YOUTH IN THE UNITED STATES JONES, ROBERT C.

An analysis of the problem of Mexican-Americans and suggested steps to be taken for their acculturation. *Reprinted from* The American Teacher, *March,* 1944. 4 *pp.* 5*c.* (62)

STUDYING EUROPEAN CULTURES IN THE CHICAGO AREA

HALL, ELIZABETH OWENS

Description of school trips. Includes places visited and follow-up studies. *Reprinted from* Progressive Education, 1939. 3 *pp.* 5*c.* (63)

Bibliographies

AMERICAN SLAVS ROUCEK, JOSEPH S., IN CO-OPERATION WITH PINKHAM, PATRICIA, N.

A bibliography of many general works, autobiographies and biographies, novels, and children's books on Bulgarians, Czechoslovaks, Poles, Russians, Ukranians, and Yugoslavs in America. Annotated. Comprehensive rather than selective. By a co-author of *Our Racial and National Minorities. Bureau for Intercultural Education.* 1944. 49 *pp.* 35*c.* (64)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: SCANDINAVIAN AND FINNISH

NELSON, ROSE K.

An annotated bibliography containing background books, books on immigration; biography and autobiography; art, music and the dance; adult reading; children's books. Also periodicals and sources. *Bureau for Intercultural Education. Mimeo.* 1940. 20 *pp.* 20*c.* (65)

SPANISH-SPEAKING AMERICANS AND MEXICAN-AMERICANS IN THE UNITED STATES SAUNDERS, LYLE

An unannotated bibliography to help the teacher obtain a well-rounded understanding of the problems and achievements of the Spanish-speaking American. Divisions on social and economic conditions, education migrants, folklore, music and dances. Periodicals and organizations are also listed. By a University of New Mexico researchist. *Bureau for Intercultural Education. Mimeo.* 1944. 12 *pp.* 20*c.* (66)

See also materials listed on page 15.

Useful for Students

PREJUDICE

PROBING OUR PREJUDICES
POWDERMAKER, HORTENSE, AND STOREN, HELEN FRANCES

The first supplementary textbook in intercultural education for high school students. Written by a professor of anthropology with suggested school activities by an educator, Helen Frances Storen. Explores the nature, origin, and effect of emotionally based reactions, helping students to change attitudes that have been reached without sufficient consideration of the facts. In the Bureau for Intercultural Education Publications Series, *Harper & Brothers.* 1944. 73 *pp.* (*paper*) 65*c*, (*cloth*) $1.00. *Professional discounts on quantity orders.* (67)

DIVIDE AND CONQUER SLOANE, ALLAN, AND RUSSELL, BOB

A Catholic, Negro, and Jewish boy play together. A bully divides their loyalty and picks up their marbles. A bystander points out the analogy to Hitler's tactics. A delightful short play for elementary and junior high school use. *Green Publishing Company, Amityville, New York.* 15 *pp. Single copy,* 15*c. In quantity of* 100, 5*c each.* (68)

PURE RACE MEETS MIXED-BLOOD BOYS PHILLIPS, H. I.

A light humorous poem on the power of the "mixed-blood" American Army. Illustrated with cartoons. From the column in the New York *Sun.* 1944. 1 *p. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 2*c each.* (69)

THEY GOT THE BLAME—Comic Strip GOULD, KENNETH

Cartoon story of scapegoating in history. Relates simply the technique of blaming others to Anti-Catholicism, Anti-Semitism, with particular emphasis upon Nazi tactics. Based on the pamphlet, "They Got the Blame," by the editor of *Scholastic Magazine.* Elementary school and junior high school. *Reprinted from* True Comics Magazine, *published by Parents Institute.* 1943. 7 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 3*c each.* (70)

THEY GOT THE BLAME: THE STORY OF SCAPEGOATS IN HISTORY GOULD, KENNETH

A study of the origin and history of scapegoating. Religious persecution, the black man's burden, the Jew as scapegoat, and labor versus capital are treated. By the editor of *Scholastic Magazine* centered about an important and new idea. *Association Press, New York.* 1942. 63 *pp.* 25*c.* (71)

WHAT KIND OF WORLD DO YOU WANT? GAIR, BARBARA

A challenge addressed to 'teen-aged girls to widen their horizons. Based on a discussion of Hortense Powdermaker's analysis of prejudice in *Probing Our Prejudices. Reprinted from* Seventeen, *February,* 1945. 3 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 3*c each.* (72)

RACE AND RACIAL RELATIONSHIPS

AMERICA'S TENTH MAN: A Brief Survey of the Negro's Part in American History

A history of the American Negro, packed tightly with names and facts. A useful source pamphlet for students studying phases of Negro contributions. Published by one of the South's outstanding race-concerned groups. *Southern Regional Council, Inc. Rev. Ed.,* 1944. 31 *pp. Single copy,* 10*c. In quantity,* $1.00 *per doz.* (73)

"The American Indians," Vol. VII, No. 4, 1942 Issue, BUILDING AMERICA
SOCIETY FOR CURRICULUM STUDY

Picture text on the background of American Indians and their present problems. New policies of the Office of Indian Affairs are considered. 30 *pp.* 30*c.* (74)

CAVALCADE OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO
ILLINOIS WRITERS' PROJECT—WPA

The cultural contributions of the American Negro to education, religion, music, literature and art, etc. Fact-packed with names and dates. Useful for reference to meet needs for data on Negro contributions to particular areas of American life. 1940. 95 *pp.* 25*c.* (75)

MEET YOUR RELATIVES
WELTFISH, GENE (TEXT), AND NIRENBERG, ALICE B. (DRAMATIZATION)

"This dramatization of some of the ABC's of anthropology takes the form of an illustrated lecture in musical comedy fashion." Light and gay. Written by an anthropologist, dramatized by a teacher. Elementary and junior high school. *Public Affairs Committee.* 1944. 24 *pp.* 5*c.* (76)

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA STEWART, MAXWELL S.

The status of the American Negro, including his disadvantages, community life, protests, participation in the war. The discrepancy between the American creed and American discrimination directed against Negroes. A summary of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* prepared by the editor of the Public Affairs pamphlets. *Public Affairs Committee.* 1944. 32 *pp.* 10*c.* (77)

NEGROES IN CHICAGO GRUNSFELD, MARY-JANE

Dramatic picture pamphlet on the background and present status of Negroes in Chicago. Prepared from materials presented at the Mayor's Conference on Race Relations and from authoritative published sources. For young, or old. *Mayor's Committee on Race Relations, Chicago.* 1944. 30 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 5*c each.* (78)

THE NEGRO'S CONTRIBUTION TO MUSIC IN AMERICA
NELSON, ROSE K., AND COLE, DOROTHY L.

Description of the origin and development of spirituals. A shorter description of the Negro's other contributions, notably to the blues, jazz, and concert music. Also a comprehensive annotated bibliography and some suggested activities. *Bureau for Intercultural Education. Rev. Ed., Mimeo.* 1941. 25 *pp.* 15*c.* (79)

RACE RELATIONS BALANCE SHEET EMBREE, EDWIN R.

A summary of debits and credits in race relations today. Gains and setbacks in Negro-White relations are graphically described. Authoritative, lively. Lists recent books and pamphlets. *Reprinted from* Review for the Two-Year Period, 1942-44. *Julius Rosenwald Fund.* 20 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 3*c each.* (80)

RACE? WHAT THE SCIENTISTS SAY SINGER, CAROLINE

Definitions of Aryan, Semitic, Hebrew, Jewish, and race. A small handbook of terms, approved by three leading anthropologists. Prepared to correct the language of intolerance employed by the ignorant and the racists. *National Conference of Christians and Jews.* 1939. 13 *pp.* 5*c.* (81)

THE RACES OF MANKIND
BENEDICT, RUTH, AND WELTFISH, GENE

What are race differences? How are races classified? What is the future of race differences? A best-selling popularization of race knowledge by two anthropologists. Humorous illustrations. *Public Affairs Committee.* 1943. 31 *pp.* 10*c.* (82)

THERE ARE THINGS TO DO SMITH, LILLIAN

Some simple undramatic things we can do to promote better race relations (avoiding jokes directed against Negroes, calling Negroes by courtesy titles, sitting by Negroes in street cars). By the author of *Strange Fruit*. Written for Southerners but containing useful advice to other regions too. *Reprinted from* South Today, *Winter*, 1942-43. 16 *pp.* 5*c.* (83)

UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS: A Factual Survey of America's Major Race Problem

A fact-packed pamphlet suitable for reference rather than reading at a sitting. Many dates and names. Includes cultural contributions, social-economic facts. *Southern Regional Council, Atlanta. Rev. Ed.*, 1945. 32 *pp. Single copy*, 10*c. In quantity*, $1.00 *per doz.* (84)

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS RELATIONSHIPS

AMERICANS ALL: A Short History of American Jews

A fact-filled pamphlet dealing primarily with Jewish contributions to American civilization. *Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Chicago. n. d.* 31 *pp.* 10*c.* (85)

BIGOTRY IS UN-AMERICAN SPELLMAN, FRANCIS J., ARCHBISHOP

Denunciation of bigotry by a Catholic Archbishop. Anti-Semitism, Anti-Catholicism, and racial prejudice against Negroes are criticized. *Reprint from* The American Magazine, *March* 3, 1944. 4 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity*, 3*c each.* (86)

CHRISTMAS IN MANY LANDS

A program for kindergarten through second grade carried on in an Englewood, New Jersey, school. *Mimeo.* 1939. 16 *pp.* 12*c.* (87)

GETTING ACQUAINTED WITH JEWISH NEIGHBORS EAKIN, MILDRED

About Jewish traditions, holiday observances, and religion written by a Christian for Christians. Makes the unfamiliar interesting and understandable in terms of the reader's own cultural patterns and religious concepts. By a teacher at Drew University. *Macmillan Company.* 1944. 100 *pp.* $1.00. (88)

THE GROWTH OF GOOD WILL: A Sketch of American Protestant-Catholic-Jewish Relations CLINCHY, EVERETT R.

Description of religious intolerance and the struggle against it throughout American history. Includes descriptions of Know-Nothing and Klan agitation and surveys future Protestant-Catholic-Jewish relations. Advocates cultural pluralism. By the president of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. *n. d.* 64 *pp.* 10*c.* (89)

JEWISH IMMIGRATION 1654-1880 LESSER, ALLEN

A historical account of why the Jews came to America, where they settled, and how well they succeeded. Centered on early immigration. By a research staff member of the American Jewish Committee. *Bureau for Intercultural Education. Mimeo.* 1939. 10 *pp.* 15*c.* (90)

JEWISH IMMIGRATION 1881-1924 LESSER, ALLEN

Readable account of Jewish immigration. Describes why they came and what they accomplished here. *Bureau for Intercultural Education. Mimeo.* 1939. 11 *pp.* 15*c.* (91)

JEWS IN AMERICA EDITORS OF FORTUNE

Facts on Jewish participation in finance, heavy industry, retailing, opinion industries, professions, etc. Conclusion is that Jews do not dominate American life but instead are active in certain provinces. *Reprinted from* Digest & Review. 1943. 12 *pp.* 10*c.* (92)

SPEAK UP FOR GOOD WILL JENSEN, ELLIS

A speaker's manual which "answers questions commonly asked and gives facts to combat intolerance and hostility and promote understanding and co-operation among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in America." Includes prejudice, group relations, common criticism of religious groups. *National Conference of Christians and Jews. Rev. Ed.*, 1944. 61 *pp.* 10*c.* (93)

NATIONALITY AND ETHNIC RELATIONSHIPS

ADOBE CHRISTMAS PILLSBURY, DOROTHY L.

The celebration of Christmas in the American Southwest in a community where three culture groups, Pueblo Indian, Spanish-American, and Anglo, have been living together as neighbors for years. *Reprinted from* Common Ground, 1943. 4 *pp.* 5*c.* (94)

ANCIENT ADOBE SOIL PILLSBURY, DOROTHY L.

Life in Santa Fé. Ways of living of Spanish-speaking Americans and Anglos are compared. *Reprinted from* Common Ground, 1943. 4 *pp.* 5*c.* (95)

BY DIFFERENT BOATS U.S.O. DIVISION, NATIONAL BOARD, YWCA

Colorful, very brief, typographically pleasing pamphlet dramatizing that we're all Americans. States simply "what you can do" to advance the American dream. *The Woman's Press.* 1943. 10 *pp. Single copy*, 3*c. In quantity*, 500 *for* $10.00. (96)

NEW NEIGHBORS AMONG US

The story of the Japanese-Americans and their relocation, told through liberal use of case studies. An informative human interest document by the agency responsible for administering relocation. *War Relocation Authority, Dept. of Interior.* 1944. 13 *pp. Free.* (97)

NISEI IN UNIFORM

A pictorial account of Japanese-Americans in our armed forces. Intended to publicize their accomplishments in order to lessen antagonisms against the group. *War Relocation Authority, Dept. of Interior. U.S. Government Printing Office.* 1944. 25 *pp.* 15*c.* (98)

RECOMMENDED READING—LIST III

Selected books for 8 to 14-year-olds on young Americans and children of other countries. Books on young Americans include Dutch-, English-, German-, Italian-, Japanese-, Jewish-, Mexican-, Negro-, Russian-, Swedish-Americans, and American Indians. Competent compilers. Bibliography unannotated. *Reprinted from* Common Ground. *Common Council Book Service.* 1942. 4 *pp. Single copy*, 3*c. In quantity*, 75 *copies*, $1.00. (99)

"We Americans," Vol. II, No. 1, 1943, Issue BUILDING AMERICA SOCIETY FOR CURRICULUM STUDY

An issue of this educational picture magazine on the backgrounds of immigrants, controls on immigration, the extent of Americanization. A central problem is whether to expand immigration or restrict it further. Colorful, lively publication for school use. Appropriate for junior high schools. 31 *pp.* 30*c.* (100)

WHAT ABOUT OUR JAPANESE-AMERICANS?

MC WILLIAMS, CAREY

The Japanese-Americans before Pearl Harbor, the evacuation, the relocation centers, and democratic potentialities in the situation. A skillful popularized summary of recent history by a California writer. *Prepared for American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, by Public Affairs Committee.* 1944. 31 *pp.* 10*c.* (101)

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS

DEMOCRACY AND RACIAL MINORITIES BIDDLE, FRANCIS

An address by the Attorney General of the U.S. on the Japanese-Americans, Jews, and Negroes and their relationships to democracy. The role of government and the importance of economics are stressed. *Institute for Religious Studies.* 1943. 30 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 3*c each.* (102)

EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO:
American War-Community Services Bulletin No. 1

A sketch of the background of Negro-White work relationships. Includes descriptions of progress made and problems faced. Typographically attractive. Dispassionate analysis. By an interracial group working for economic progress for the Negro. *National Urban League,* 1944. 15 *pp.* 10*c.* (103)

PERFORMANCE OF NEGRO WORKERS IN THREE HUNDRED WAR PLANTS — Industrial Relations Laboratory (A Summary Report)

A reflective study of Negro workers. The predominantly favorable management reactions and the difficulties are reported. Conclusions are summarized. *National Urban League,* 1944. 15 *pp.* 10*c.* (104)

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION NOT ALLOWED LOGAN, MILLA Z.

A housing project which resolutely bars housing segregation. The effect of such action on attitudes of residents. An article by a project staff member who carefully avoids exaggerated claims of total success. *Reprinted from* Common Ground, 1944. 4 *pp.* 5*c.* (105)

RACIAL PROBLEMS IN HOUSING:
American War-Community Services Bulletin No. 2

BUFORD, FANNY MC CONNELL

A dramatic summary of restrictive housing and its results. Told with liberal use of illustrations. By an agency concerned for economic betterment of Negroes. *National Urban League,* 1944. 30 *pp.* 10*c.* (106)

A YEAR-ROUND WORK CAMP

A leaflet describing a work camp project in building a community house in an Indianapolis Negro district. Sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and reflecting Quaker religious convictions. *American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia.* 1944. 3 *pp. Single copy, free. In quantity,* 3*c each.* (107)

Please give catalogue number in ordering.

"Prejudice produces no wealth. Discrimination is a fool's economy."
—Eric Johnston

"I am convinced myself that there is no more evil thing in this present world than race prejudice, none at all. I write deliberately—it is the worst single thing in life now. It justifies and holds together more baseness, cruelty and abomination than any other sort of error in the world."
—H. G. Wells

SUMMER, 1945

WORKSHOPS

Served by the

Bureau for Intercultural Education

as Educational Consultant

Teachers College, Columbia University

Goddard College, Plainfield, Vt.

University of Minnesota

Stanford University

WHY INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION?

Intercultural emphasis is at present America's No. 1 educational need. Social prejudice, intolerance, and discrimination is a very old and formidable problem—probably as old as human tribal life. In the modern world, where everyone becomes everyone else's neighbor, intercultural prejudice and group conflict is a virulent social poison.

Our national life stands squarely on the principle that a society can be developed in which human variety and cultural differences can be an asset rather than a liability; that a society can become a stronger, richer, and more progressive society by freeing the creative interplay of differing individuals and groups to develop to the highest their distinctive aptitudes and contributions. This great conception directly attacks the fears and hostilities that have been handed down from generation to generation from cultural beginnings. In America we know from experience that a society based on freedom for cultural variety does in fact develop superior vitality, high economic production, and social inventiveness. And we know that democratic education plays a crucial part in attaining these results.

Modern American education has struggled for half a century to put democracy into everyday life and practice. Now events demand a greatly accelerated program directly focused upon every means by which social prejudice, group conflict, and discrimination against minorities can be removed from our national life. Vague good will and official pronouncements are no longer enough. Educators realize that every effective educational technique, every social invention, and the backing of every citizen and community must be brought to bear upon a program of intercultural education that will work fast and unfailingly, if our educational institutions are to meet this crucial national and international need.

To aid in this effort the Bureau for Intercultural Education began eleven years ago as a national service staffed by a group of educational consultants selected for this special purpose. One of the four major technical services of the Bureau is the development of workshops for teachers, educational administrators, and leaders of community services who wish to mobilize all appropriate resources of information, of teaching materials, and of methodology for use in their own school systems, institutions, and communities. To these workshops the Bureau undertakes to bring the best available specialists; the fruits of experience and experimentation in the field; the advice and counsel of those who have conducted such workshops with success. During the summer of 1945 the Bureau for Intercultural Education will concentrate its efforts upon the four workshops described in this leaflet. These workshops offer outstanding opportunities to those who wish to exert leadership in intercultural education and to prepare themselves as fully as possible in a summer season for this fundamentally important job.

WHY WORKSHOPS?

The workshop is a recent development in education. Although still in a stage of growth and experimentation, educational workshops are generally recognized as the best means yet devised for helping teachers in service to meet their own immediate teaching problems. No one claims as yet to have a perfect pattern for the conduct of a workshop, but certain procedures and distinctive features seem to be justified by their results under widely varying conditions.

- Workshops are primarily for people who bring their own problems, seeking help.
- The program of the workshop is planned from the beginning with the full participation of its members.
- Workshop discussions are informal; all participate freely regardless of official or academic status.
- Experts and specialists, usually called consultants, commonly take part in discussions and activities as the need for their special contribution becomes apparent, rather than in formal presentations or lectures.
- The subject matter of general discussions is primarily aimed at meeting the common needs of the participants.
- Groups of various sizes, formed and reformed flexibly in accordance with need, work together and individuals often work alone for some of the time.
- Ideally, but not necessarily, a workshop group is housed together and develops social and recreational experiences together along with their professional work.
- Efforts are made to explore such personal and material resources as may be present in the community where the workshop is held. This environment is often a university, a college campus, or some other cultural center with more than average resources.

A workshop week commonly includes:

1. Some periods of general discussion by the whole group.

2. Some periods of small-group discussion of special problems with the help of individual consultants.

3. Some periods of individual or small-group work in shop, library, studio, or community center.

4. Some periods of recreation, self-chosen in nature, with an occasional evening session of social nature or of special interest, such as a lecture by an outstanding personality, an appropriate film, an exhibit or dramatization.

TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Morningside Heights, New York City

JULY 2 - AUGUST 10

STAFF

Leader—WILLIAM VAN TIL, Director of Publications, Bureau for Intercultural Education; on leave from the College of Education of Ohio State University; contributor of articles on intercultural education to yearbooks and educational journals; co-editor of the 1945 yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies.

Demonstration Leader—SPENCER BROWN, English Department, Fieldston School; author of THEY SEE FOR THEMSELVES, Harper, 1945.

CONSULTANTS from the Columbia University Staff.

This will be the fourth summer workshop held on the Columbia campus under the leadership of staff members of the Bureau for Intercultural Education. Workshop members will have the opportunity to observe and participate in the work of the Horace Mann-Lincoln School, particularly one demonstration class, which will concentrate upon intercultural affairs. The New York City environment will be utilized for community participation and observation as well as for its recreational opportunities. Workshop members will have all the privileges of other Columbia students, including campus lectures, social events, etc. Last year, workshop consultants and discussion participants included Eleanor Roosevelt, Otto Klineberg, William Heard Kilpatrick, Alphonse Heningburg, Gene Weltfish, Samuel Grafton, and many others.

Since the approach to learning will be individualized and will proceed through planning by the entire group, rather than in some formal way, teachers and administrators with much or with little background in intercultural education will be admitted and should find the workshop profitable.

For detailed information write to

Dr. DONALD P. COTTRELL, 423 West 123rd Street
New York, N. Y.

or

WILLIAM VAN TIL, Bureau for Intercultural Education
119 West 57th St., New York 19, N. Y.

GODDARD COLLEGE

Plainfield, Vermont

JULY 5 - AUGUST 16

STAFF

H. H. GILES, *Director of the Bureau for Intercultural Education, New York.*

PAUL WEINANDY, *Director of the Alta Social Settlement, Cleveland, Ohio; School Consultant, Bureau for Intercultural Education.*

FRED G. WALE, *Director of Rural Education for the Rosenwald Fund, Chicago, Illinois.*

VICTOR E. PITKIN, *Editor, New England Social Studies Bulletin; teacher of Social Studies, Reading, Massachusetts, High School.*

ROBERT MATTUCK, *member of the Staff of Goddard College.*

GEORGE BEECHER, *Director of Adult Education for Goddard College.*

A directed study of the resources and problems of New England, by members and consultants drawn from industry, labor, education, social and governmental agencies, and the arts. This workshop will offer a rich opportunity for representatives of many constructive fields of work to understand and inform one another, as well as to co-ordinate their thinking about the over-all development of a regional community.

To intercultural educators, it offers the opportunity to learn first-hand, (a) how to organize and conduct a workshop, (b) how to bring together community leadership for community planning, (c) how to relate intercultural education to other community interests.

The Goddard College setting is ideal. It is situated on a farm near the village of Plainfield in the Green Mountains of Vermont, within easy reach of New York and Boston. Facilities for work and pleasant living are adequate. The workshop will offer group study and discussion, outdoor work and recreation, together with a vacation which may extend for any period from one to six weeks. The season is cool. Lawn tennis, golf, mountain hiking, trips to near-by lakes and streams for swimming and fishing are all possible. Volunteer farm labor is also welcomed. For evenings, the Haybarn Theatre, square dancing, group singing and musical programs, and the art studio.

The planning for this workshop has involved representatives from: The New England Council; the Bureau for Intercultural Education; the Massachusetts State Planning Board; the New England Association of Social Studies Teachers; the Vermont Cooperative Council; the American Education Fellowship; The Massachusetts Conference of Social Work; the Eastern States Farmers' Exchange; the American Federation of Labor; the Congress of Industrial Organizations; and the Regional War Labor Board.

For detailed information write to

GEORGE BEECHER, Goddard College
Plainfield, Vermont

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

JULY 30 - AUGUST 31

STAFF

Leader—DR. THEODORE BRAMELD, Associate Professor of Philosophy of Education; Consultant for the Bureau for Intercultural Education. He has recently completed a study of administrative practices and policies in public school systems affecting intercultural relations.

DR. MARION EDMAN, on leave from Wayne University and the Detroit Public Schools; Acting Director of Field Operations for the Bureau for Intercultural Education. Member of the Commission of Educational Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

DR. MARIE LIEN, Assistant Professor of Art Education; Specialist in North European cultures; teacher and lecturer in intercultural relations.

MRS. HELEN MUDGETT, Assistant Professor of History; Expert in the intercultural field; member, Executive Committee of St. Paul Council of Human Relations. Part time.

MRS. ANNA SCHWARTZ, graduate student, College of Education, specializing in the philosophy of intercultural relations. Workshop assistant.

In addition to these leaders, many university specialists will be available as occasional consultants. These consultants will represent the fields of philosophy, education, political science, sociology, anthropology and journalism. Guest consultants will include Dr. H. H. Giles, Director of the Bureau for Intercultural Education, and Miss Ethel Alpenfels, Instructor in Anthropology, University of Chicago.

The workshop will be conducted with the informality and participation suggested on page 3 of this folder. Mornings will probably be used chiefly for general discussions and group projects. Afternoons will be used mainly for individual projects, personal conferences, community trips, and recreation.

The common frame of reference will be the problem of the needs and relations of cultural groups living together. Two major emphases may be expected: (1) The foundations of intercultural relations—philosophical, economic, political, sociological, historical, psychological, anthropological, aesthetic, religious; and (2) educational methods of dealing with intercultural relations—curriculum projects, extra-curriculum activities, adult education, administrative policies, school-community relations. The university center offers adequate arrangements for living and varied recreational possibilities.

For detailed information write to

Dr. THEODORE BRAMELD, 216A Burton Hall
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis 14, Minnesota

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Stanford University
Palo Alto, California

JUNE 21 - AUGUST 2

STAFF

STEWART G. COLE, Director, West Coast office of the Bureau for Intercultural Education; teacher; college president; leader in the field of intercultural relations; co-author with William E. Vickery of INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS. Co-director.

I. JAMES QUILLEN, Assistant Professor of Education; co-director of the Stanford Social Investigation; Past President of the National Council for the Social Studies; active in international and intercultural education. Author and co-author of numerous publications. Co-director.

MILDRED J. WIESE, Director of Experimental Work, West Coast office of the Bureau for Intercultural Education. Active in curriculum work, adult education, and intercultural relations. Has recently worked with the Walt Disney Studios and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Extensive experience as an editor and author of educational publications.

In addition to the regular members of the staff, leaders of ethnic and racial groups on the Pacific Coast will participate as guests or part-time consultants.

The workshop will be housed in the Stanford School of Education building and will have available a laboratory of materials developed by the Stanford Education Social Investigation, including an extensive collection of basic books, research studies, texts, curriculum materials and pamphlets bearing on all aspects of intergroup relations.

The Bay Area is a rich laboratory of intercultural, ethnic and interracial relations, including China Town, Fisherman's Wharf, the Latin Quarter, the industrial sections of Richmond, Oakland and South San Francisco, as well as restaurants, museums, and shops of the metropolitan area.

Guests will include specialists in Chinese culture and humanities, international history, Pacific relations, Negro education, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and public education. The workhop will be an ideal opportunity for public school teachers, school administrators, instructors in teachers colleges, workers in adult education, and community leaders to work together in defining issues, developing policies and planning programs ot action for improving intergroup relations in their own communities.

The Bay Area has a favorable summer climate and provides many cultural and recreational opportunities.

For detailed information write to

I. JAMES QUILLEN, School of Education
Stanford University, Palo Alto, California

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

119 West 57th St., New York 19, N. Y.

STAFF

H. H. GILES, *Executive Director*

STEWART G. COLE
Director, West Coast Office

HELEN G. TRAGER
Director of Special Services

WILLIAM VAN TIL
Director of Publications

ELEANOR FISH
Editorial Associate

ETHEL J. ALPENFELS
Specialist in Anthropology

MARION EDMAN
School Consultant

THEODORE BRAMELD
School Consultant

PAUL K. WEINANDY
School Consultant

MILDRED WIESE
Dir. Motion Picture Experiment

JANE HOOD
Consultant, West Coast Office

LESTER DIX
Assistant to the Director

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(On leave U. S. Army Air Corps)

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Columbia University

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University of Montana

JULIUS E. WARREN
State Commissioner of Education
Massachusetts

Thank you for your order of January 15th. Unfortunately we cannot send you your entire order, as our supply of two of the pamphlets you ordered are very low.

We will hold your shipment of I'm Not Prejudiced, But .. and By Different Boats, until we get a new supply in stock. If this will be convenient with you, we will trust the above arrangements are O.K. Please let us know if there is any change in your plans. Your payment, for the entire order, is credited to them.

Clearing House

Bureau for Intercultural Ed.

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Bureau for Intercultural Education

119 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

PUBLICATIONS, 1945

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2		29		56		83	
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23		50		77		104	
24		51		78		105	
25		52		79		106	
26		53		80		107	
27		54		81			

Name.....

Address.....

Date.....

January 2, 1946

Miss Eleanor Fish
Associate Editor
Bureau for Intercultural Education
119 West 57th Street
New York 19, New York

Dear Miss Fish:

We should like to have 25 copies of your 1945 catalogue, Publications on Intercultural Education. If there is any charge, please bill us.

Are you planning to issue a 1946 edition of the catalogue? If so, we should appreciate your letting us know when it is available.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
119 WEST 57TH STREET • NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

April 24, 1945

2415
CIRCLE 7-2416
2431

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We have just published a new list of Publications on Intercultural Education. We are sending you a copy with this letter. This is a select list of some of the better printed materials - books, pamphlets and bibliographies - in the field. We carry in our clearing house stock of the 107 items listed.

We have a substantial number of these catalogues and we will be glad to correspond with you about their distribution to school and community educators.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Fish

Eleanor Fish
Associate Editor

EF:ye
Enclosure

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

1697 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 19, N. Y.
Telephone • Circle 7-4080

RECEIVED
MAY 31 1946
Southern Regional Council

May 29, 1946

RECEIVED
MAY 31 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thanks much for your careful reading of Miss Brown's Race Relations in a Democracy.

Your comments will be very helpful. We particularly appreciate your pointing out sections which you feel do not measure up to the general excellence of the manuscript as a whole.

The critics who have read Race Relations in a Democracy have greatly strengthened our own belief that in Miss Brown's manuscript we have an excellent book. Everything within reason will be done to make it a useful tool for teachers.

We are sincerely grateful for your good contribution to the project.

Cordially,

William Van Til

William Van Til
Director of Learning Materials

WVT:ve

May 23, 1946

Mr. William Van Til
Director of Learning Materials
Bureau for Intercultural Education
1697 Broadway
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Van Til:

I am sorry to be so late in giving you my comments on Miss Brown's manuscript Race Relations in a Democracy. It caught me at a time when I was doing some emergency editing of my own and I just had to put it aside for awhile.

My comments on the manuscript are in brief as follows:

(1) It is well organized and well written. I know Miss Brown and her writings, and I know that she always does a thorough and scholarly job.

(2) If I were shortening the manuscript any, I would telescope the chapters on historical factors in the American problem.

(3) The only real criticism I have is that in the final chapter there is not enough concrete material on what is being done and how it is being done. In other words, this chapter is too much in the realm of generalities as to goals and responsibilities. I feel that the sort of person who will make most out of this book will want some specific knowledge about techniques that are being used and some evaluation of the achievements to be expected from the use of various techniques.

I hope that these comments will be of some little use to you. It was a pleasure to look over the manuscript. If I can be of further service, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

P. S. The manuscript is being returned to you under separate cover.

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

1697 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 19, N. Y.
Telephone • Circle 7-4080

April 18, 1946

RECEIVED
APR 22 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

We are delighted that you will read critically Ina Corinne Brown's Race Relations in a Democracy. The mimeographed manuscript is being mailed separately to you today. Feel free to pencil any comments directly on the manuscript pages.

MS. 4-29-46

We invite your full and free reaction to the manuscript as a whole and any recommendations or suggestions regarding details which strike you favorably or unfavorably.

Our hope is that this material will aid and inform teachers in their work with Negro-White relationships. I think it will interest you to know that it is the intention of the Bureau to supplement the publication of this book with resource units on intercultural education developed by teachers in service and university seminars in varied communities throughout the United States.

We look forward to receiving your appraisal and are indeed grateful for co-operation on this publishing project.

Sincerely yours,

William Van Til

William Van Til
Director of Learning Materials

WVT:ve

April 16, 1946

Mr. William Van Til
Director of Learning Materials
Bureau for Intercultural Education
1697 Broadway
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Van Til:

Thank you for your letter of April 11. I shall be glad to read Dr. Brown's manuscript and give you my comments. I believe I can do this by May 1.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

1697 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 19, N.Y.
Telephone • Circle 7-4080

April 11, 1946

RECEIVED
APR 13 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The Bureau is preparing for publication Race Relations in a Democracy: Study of Negro-White Relations in the United States by Ina Corinne Brown, Professor of Social Psychology at Scarritt College. Its purpose is to help teachers understand the problems of Negro-White relationships in their classrooms and daily living.

Since we wish to have the most competent professional criticism of this manuscript before Dr. Brown makes her final revision, we would value highly your critical analysis of the material. May we enlist your help? We can send you at once the 109-page mimeographed manuscript. Could you read it and send us your comments and suggestions by May 1? We would welcome your full and free reactions to the manuscript as a whole and any specific recommendations you care to make. Your aid will be acknowledged in the Preface.

Race Relations in a Democracy will be published in our Harpers series, Problems of Race and Culture in American Education.

In reading and criticizing the material, you will be making a real contribution to a publication which may have significant influence on American education. You know, of course, that you will have our personal gratitude.

Sincerely yours,

William Van Til

William Van Til
Director of Learning Materials

WVT:ve

Send: #3,4,1

2/4
1/13/47

January 13, 1947

Mr. William Van Til
Director of Learning Materials
Bureau for Intercultural Education
1697 Broadway
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Van Til:

Thank you for your letter of December 31 asking us to submit our publications to the Bureau for use in the 1947 list, Publications on Intercultural Education.

Under separate cover we are sending the following publications which we think you may want to include:

Understanding Our Neighbors; a factual survey of America's major race problem.

Economic Value of the Negro to the South - past, present, potential. By W. Hardin Hughes

The Southern Regional Council: Its Origin and Purpose. Statements of the Durham, Atlanta, and Richmond Conferences, which resulted in the organization of the Council, are included in the appendix.

The 1946 list includes America's Tenth Man: A Brief Survey of the Negro's Part in American History. We should like to see this pamphlet listed again, if you deem advisable.

We hope that you will see fit to list as many of our publications as possible. We consider the Bureau a very good medium for getting our material before the schools of the Nation.

Cordially yours,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

mp

M.P.

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

1697 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 19, N.Y.
Telephone • Circle 7-4080

RECEIVED
JAN 8 1947
Southern Regional Council

December 31, 1946

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
The Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

To distribute the best learning materials to those concerned with intercultural education is one of the aims of the Bureau for Intercultural Education.

We are now planning a new edition of our listing of materials which the Bureau stocks from many sources and distributes to American schools. Of an earlier edition, Wilbur F. Murra wrote in Democratic Human Relations, an NEA yearbook: "This guide cites, among other things, many brief items such as leaflets, reprints, and pamphlets that are not usually included in the more formal bibliographies. Altogether there are 107 items, of which 41 are classified as 'useful for students.' Even though the 107 publications originated with a large number of different publishers, they can all be ordered inexpensively directly from the Bureau -- an arrangement of very great convenience for all teachers who use this list." Attached is a copy of the 1946 list, Publications on Intercultural Education, selected and annotated by the writer, of which 53,000 copies were printed.

nothing listed from SRC

We invite you to send us single copies of any of your published materials which you believe might be useful either to school and community educators or to elementary and high school students. If you have recently sent the Bureau such materials, just remind us of the names of the items which you already have sent and which you recommend. Insufficient space makes it impossible for us to stock your books, but we invite you to send us any appropriate pamphlets, reprints, or similar paperbound materials; these are needed by January 19th.

After preliminary selection, the Bureau takes up with each agency matters of pricing, distribution, etc., for each item proposed for the list.

Sincerely yours,

William Van Til

William Van Til
Director of Learning Materials

WVT:ed

January 14, 1947

Dr. Lloyd Allen Cook
School of Education
Wayne University
Detroit 1, Michigan

Dear Dr. Cook:

I want to thank you for sending us a copy of your recent publication entitled "Improving Intergroup Relations in School and Community Life." It is a splendid piece of work and various members of our staff are reading it with much interest.

Incidentally, in case there is another printing of this bulletin, you might want to delete the Commission on Interracial Cooperation on the list of agencies on page 48. The Southern Regional Council absorbed the Commission in 1944 and moved from the Commission offices to our present address. Of course we receive mail intended for the Commission and there is frequently considerable delay when the old address is used. If the Commission is listed it might simply be followed by a note, "See Southern Regional Council".

With highest regards and best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:mp

March 31, 1947

Mr. Victor E. Pitkin
Bureau for Intercultural Education
1697 Broadway
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Pitkin:

Thank you for your letter of March 26 concerning a bill introduced by Senator Alexander Smith to establish an agency for scientific research. I have written to Senator Smith along the line of the letter which you enclosed.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:ms

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

1697 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 19, N.Y.
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RECEIVED
MAR 28 1947
Southern Regional Council

March 26, 1947

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson,

It occurred to me that you might be interested in a recent action taken by the professional staff of the Bureau in an effort to get the Federal Government to give more attention to the field of human relations in its proposed Agency for Scientific Research. Perhaps you or your organization would be interested in helping to push Congress along in this direction.

Sincerely,

Victor E. Pitkin

Victor E. Pitkin
Director of Analysis and Research

vep/do

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

1697 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 19, N. Y.
Telephone • Circle 7-4080

MAR 28 1947
Southern Regional Council

March 24, 1947

Senator Alexander Smith
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Smith,

We note that the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee approved a bill introduced by you, to set up an executive agency for scientific research. Would you please send us three copies of this bill, mailing them to Victor E. Pitkin, Director of Evaluation.

Not being familiar with this particular bill, yet wishing to push an idea, we wish to submit this proposal for inclusion in the bill: That "scientific research" shall include research in the field of human relations.

We heartily endorse continued research in the physical sciences, but submit that in the national interest we also should have more research in the social sciences, especially in the area of human relations. Increasingly it is apparent that our problem is not alone how to do things in the physical sense, but how best to do things so that human relations may be improved rather than to result in increased tensions.

To us, the rising friction in international affairs, on the labor front, in race relations, in interreligious relations, in divorce and juvenile delinquency, are due in part to a lack of knowledge of basic facts and of desirable techniques to bring about necessary and worthwhile social relations. We need a great deal more research to develop and test techniques that are consistent with our democratic society. Therefore we suggest that provision be made to allocate some share of the funds to research in the area of human relations.

Very truly yours,

H. H. Giles, Executive Director
Whit Brogan, Director of Field Services
Lester Dix, Director of Teacher Education
Ruth Kotinsky, Director of Research
Victor E. Pitkin, Director of Evaluation
Helen G. Trager, Director of Age Level Studies

vep/do

July 8, 1954

Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau
165 Church Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Please send me information about your rates and other details of your service, including a subscription form.

I should also like to know whether your service may be retroactive and if so for what period of time past.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/eab

Burrelle's
ESTABLISHED 1888
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU

165 CHURCH STREET • TELEPHONE BARCLAY 7-5371 • NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

"ONE OF THE OLDEST AND LARGEST NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE READING SERVICES IN THE WORLD"

In replying, please refer to our number of your account:

July 15, 1954

Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your recent letter requesting information regarding our press clipping bureau.

We shall be pleased to supply you with current and future clippings as per the rate indicated on the enclosed order form.

We are always about 10 days behind the current date in our reading.

If you will kindly sign and return one copy of the enclosed order form we will immediately start clipping for you.

Sincerely yours,

BURRELLE'S PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU

Harold E. Wynne

HEW:CRP
Enclosure

File

Burrelle's
ESTABLISHED 1888
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU

165 CHURCH STREET • TELEPHONE BARCLAY 7-5371 - 2 • NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

"ONE OF THE OLDEST AND LARGEST NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE READING SERVICES IN THE WORLD"

In replying, please refer to our number of your account: 4740

August 24, 1955

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Attention: Mr. Harold C. Fleming

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of August 23 referring to your order number 4740.

I have told each one of our readers to study this letter and to memorize its contents very carefully. I am very sorry that we have sent you some incorrect clippings.

Any time we send you any clippings which are not exactly correct please return them to us promptly for full credit. We do not ask you to accept nor to pay for any clippings which are not exactly correct.

Appreciating the opportunity of serving you, we are

Sincerely yours,

BURRELLE'S PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU

H. E. Wynne

Harold E. Wynne

HEW:DF

August 18, 1959

Mr. Harold J. Gerberg
Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau
165 Church Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Gerberg:

The Southern Regional Council wishes to subscribe to your clipping service. We are interested in receiving clippings of news articles and editorials concerning the Southern Regional Council itself.

Mr. Edwin Crawford of the Southern Regional Education Board suggested I write you.

Enclosed are two recent releases by the Council. If the time lapse is such that clippings concerning these releases may be in newspapers still to be clipped, then we would appreciate receiving these clips.

Please bill the Council for charges.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/mf

Date 4/26/50

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your recent letter. We have credited your account, our # 9649 with the 1 clippings returned, and we have advised our readers carefully. Please refer to our number of your account in all correspondence.

Harold J. Gerberg

Harold J. Gerberg

"You get better local or national press clipping service by using a bureau with just one office—where there is no delay instructing those who do the clipping."

Burrelle's ESTABLISHED 1888 **PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU**

165 CHURCH STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

BArclay 7-5371-2

April 25, 1960

Mr. Harold J. Gerberg
Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau
165 Church Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Gerberg:

Please credit the enclosed clippings to our account, number 9649. They concern the Southern Regional Council Meeting of the Jewish War Veterans.

Thank you very much for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Luel E. Cummings
Secretary to Mr. Constable

/lec
Enclosures - 2

April 22, 1960

Mr. Harold J. Gerberg
Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau
165 Church Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Gerberg:

Please credit the enclosed clipping to our account, number 9649. It concerns the Southern Regional Council of the YWCA.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Luel E. Cummings
Secretary to Mr. John Constable

/lec
Enclosure

Date 3/28/60

Dear Sir:

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Mr. Harold J. Gerberg
Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau
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Dear Mr. Gerberg:

Enclosed is a clipping which does not concern the Southern Regional Council. Please credit it to account number 9649.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosure

September 26, 1960

Mr. Harold J. Gerberg
Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau
165 Church Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Gerberg:

Please credit the enclosed clipping to our account No. 9649.
It concerns the Southern Regional Council of State Governments.

Thank you very much for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Luel E. Cummings
Secretary to the Director
of Information

/lec
Encl.

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BUTLER STREET YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

22 BUTLER STREET, NORTHEAST TELEPHONE JACKSON 4-0246

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

File

Rec'd 2/28/67

JB

February 27, 1967

Mr. Richard C. Hicks
Metropolitan Atlanta Community Services, Inc.
167 Walton Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dick:

I am sending herewith a copy of the revised proposed House of U.S.E. project budget, as requested by Nick Novak and the Agency Relations Committee. As you know, this group suggested making the project an ongoing program of Butler Street YMCA, without depending upon federal or any other "outside" funding.

We are quite willing to have the Community Chest subsidize this program on a continuing basis, if this is the preference of MACS, but we believe there are some advantages to developing some kind of funding relationship with the federal and/or state government, particularly if the program is advanced on a demonstration project basis.

Since there is a meeting of the Chest Executive Committee and Board this week, (I believe this is the information I was given last week), we strongly urge that consideration be given to helping Butler Street YMCA reactivate this program immediately, regardless of the permanent funding route eventually agreed upon. Walter Anderson, the logical person to assume staff leadership for this program, was employed by Butler Street YMCA February 15, on a 30-day assignment with the hope of moving him into the House of U.S.E. program by March 15. The Southern Regional Council engaged Anderson's services during December and January on a similar basis, and we simply cannot expect this young man to hang on forever under these circumstances. While the program is not exclusively dependent on Walter Anderson's services, his image is currently tied in with the House of U.S.E. in what I consider to be a highly advantageous manner, and I believe you will agree that this program has far too much potential to be ignored.

Thank you for giving this matter prompt and careful consideration.

Cordially yours,

Franklin W. Thomas
General Secretary

FWT:cw

cc: Mr. Bradley Curry
Mr. Al Richardson
Mr. W. L. Calloway
Mr. T. M. Alexander
Mr. Nick Novak
Mr. Paul Anthony
Mr. Duane Beck

THE BUTLER STREET YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

REVISED ANNUAL (PROPOSED BUDGET - - HOUSE OF U.S.E. PROJECT

February 24, 1967

PERSONNEL:

Project Director	$ 8,000.00	
Assistant Director	6,000.00	
Part-time Program Worker	2,400.00	
Professional Shop Instrs.	1,560.00	
Janitorial Services	1,800.00	
Clerical Services	2,400.00	
		$22,160.00

Institutional and Office Equipment:

Rent	2,400.00	
Staff Travel Allowance and transport of registrants on work projects	1,200.00	
Utilities	800.00	
Insurance and payroll taxes	1,800.00	
Typewriter, Desk, File, etc.	600.00	
Stationery, Office supplies, postage	500.00	
Maintenance Supplies	600.00	
		7,900.00

Recreational Equipment:

Used Pool Table, Used TV, Lounge Furniture, Recordings, etc.	2,000.00

Educational Equipment:

Workshop materials, manuals, books, rental equipment, etc.	2,000.00

Financial Revolving Plan:

Youth involved in project loans to be repaid	500.00
Sub-Total - -	$34,560.00
(10%) Administrative overhead and contingency	3,456.00
Total--	$38,016.00

Miscellaneous Fees:

Program activities, benefit projects, work projects, etc	1,000.00
Expense Over Income	$37,016.00

JB
MJ

February 16, 1967

Mr. Walter Anderson
Butler Street YMCA
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Walter:

This is to confirm our recent conversation at which time it was agreed that you would work on the Butler Street YMCA staff for a one month assignment beginning February 15, 1967. Butler Street 'Y' will pay you a salary of $400.00 for this period, with a supplement of $266.66 being provided by the Southern Regional Council during this thirty day period.

Your responsibilities will include preliminary work on the reopening of the House of U.S.E., anticipating a possible date for reopening on or about March 15. In addition, you will be expected to assist with various phases of ongoing Butler Street YMCA activities including Thursday night Bandstand dances, Youth and Physical department programs, and activities in our Summerhill and Perry Homes Extension departments. As soon as plans for reopening the House of U.S.E. are completed, I will send a new letter of contract to you, along with a fully outlined job description.

We are quite pleased with this opportunity to have you working with our staff, and I am personally very optimistic about future prospects for resumption of the House of U.S.E. Program.

Sincerely yours,

Fat

Franklin W. Thomas
General Secretary

FWT:cw

cc: Mr. W. L. Calloway
Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
Mr. W. A. Holmes
Mr. Paul Anthony

113

January 18, 1967

Mr. Walter Anderson
1366 Cleveland Avenue
East Point, Georgia

Dear Walter:

This letter will confirm recent conversations we have engaged in relative to the sponsorship of the House of USE by Butler Street YMCA. As I have communicated to you verbally, our Board of Directors approved my recommendations that we assume responsibility for this program, subject to certain conditions of administrative arrangement and the availability of funds.

I had fully expected to be in a position by now to tell you that the Community Chest had approved our request for a one time temporary allocation to finance the House of USE during its first three months of operation, but it now appears that we will not hear from them until January 25. Dick Hicks, Executive of the Chest, assures me, however, that he is personally in sympathy with the proposal, and I feel certain that some financial assistance will be forthcoming from the Chest. To receive this initial financial assistance will help greatly in our planning, along with the Southern Regional Council for broader solicitation of funds from select individuals and organizations in the community.

Looking towards some type of chrystalization of funding by January 25, I hope to send you a definite offer to become a member of the Butler Street YMCA Staff with the title of Special Projects Director (assigned to the House of USE), and to place in your hands a specific outline of your job description and immediate steps to be taken in forming an advisory board, etc. I am also of the opinion that, assuming the Southern Regional Council is willing to go along with us, even if the Community Chest should not respond favorably there is the very real probability of bringing you on our staff as a detached program worker with delinquency-prone boys and young men on or about February 1, 1967

We appreciate the unusual position you have been placed in during recent weeks while necessary adjustments are being negotiated, but certainly you can understand the importance of there being a reasonable degree of firm organization of plans before making any final commitments. You can expect to hear something definite from us within a matter of days now.

Cordially yours,

Franklin W. Thomas
General Secretary

FWT:cw

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Thurs., Jan. 29, 1970

Negro Voters to Control Elections, Jordan Says

By MICHAEL WRIGHT

Vernon Jordan, a Southern Regional Council official, said Wednesday that Atlanta's new mayor, "will have to find a new base of support."

"The white moderate-to-liberal official," Jordan told the Hungry Club, can no longer "make claim to an office controlled by 95 per cent of the Negro vote and 25 per cent of the white vote because black political ambition and the desire to serve will be a competing, if not victorious, force."

Jordan, who becomes executive director of the United Negro College Fund in March, said Atlanta's recent election "may be the guidepost for other major cities of the South."

NEW COALITION

Here, Jordan said, "a new coalition of voters emerged" as Negroes, with more votes than ever before, parted with Northside whites for the first time since 1953.

In the 1969 city election, most whites voters supported the losing mayoral candidate, he said, and most Negroes backed the winner, Sam Massell.

"Thus, upper middle-class whites and the city's traditional 'power structure' lost their former position of influence in deciting city elections," Jordan said. "Blacks greatly enhanced their influence. And working-class whites maintained their position on the losing side."

BAD POLITICIANS

Jordan, director of the Voter Education Project of the Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council for four years, said that "members of the white business power structure are bad politicians."

"They have yet to grasp the new dynamic in the city's politics — black political power," he said in his remarks to the Butler Street YMCA luncheon group. "They have failed to understand that blacks will no longer be junior partners in the old alliance."

Atlanta, Jordan said, had a bit more than 34,000 registered Negro voters and one elected official in 1960; now some 87,000 Negroes are on the voting rolls and over 20 hold elected office.

Black political power, he said, will be "our most effective and respected weapon."

"The great new phenomenon of the seventies," Jordan said, "is that for the first time since Reconstruction black people now sit at the council tables of government, enacting laws and making public policy decisions that affect every citizen."

In the states of the old Confederacy, nearly 3.2 million Negroes are registered voters — up from 1.5 million 10 years ago, he said. But throughout the past decade, Southern whites still made more money, held more jobs and sent their children to better schools.

Still, Jordan said, "the 60s have brought dramatic changes in the mind and life-style of Negro Southerners."

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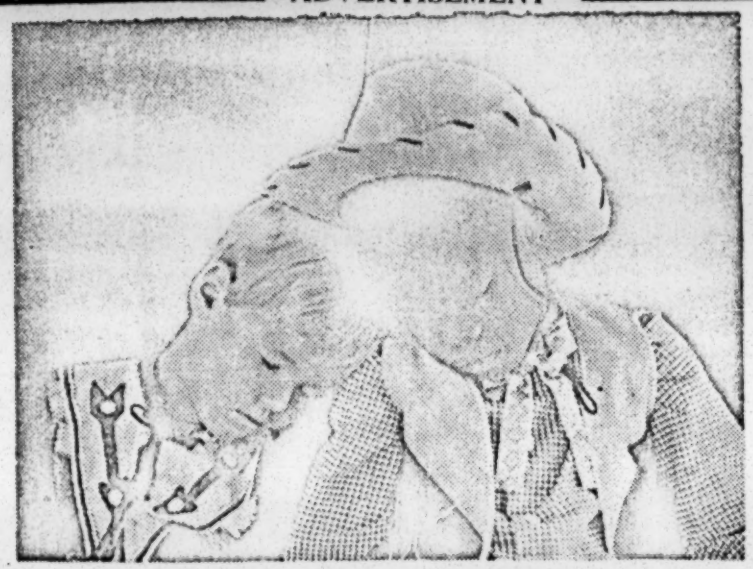
how many black people do you love?



I am going to assume that you are at least a believer in universal brotherhood. I mean, if you haven't figured out by now that the only way we're ever going to make it is by getting together, then you're wasting your time reading this.

Fine. So you're an outstanding theoretical liberal.

What I want to know is how many black people are you really close to? How many of your black brothers could you call this minute, tell them you're in trouble and know they'd help help?

When was the last time you threw your arms around a black person you loved and hugged him?

(You know, when I met Robert Kennedy at his suite in the Ambassador I was with John Lewis, a beautiful black cat who as a militant non-violent storm trooper had helped push Attorney General Kennedy into being active in civil rights. When he saw him, Kennedy's eyes lit up, he said, "John!" and they embraced fiercely. To see the next President of the United States hug a black man brought tears to my eyes.)

Anyway, I think that though you are pretty straightened out in your thinking, it's more than likely that you aren't really tight with many blacks. That's because most of us honkies' milieu doesn't include a lot of blacks, and even if you run into some it's typically in a situation which doesn't allow you to get to know them.

I suggest you go out of your way to meet some black people.

If your reaction to this suggestion is something like, "But that's just prejudice inside out. Seeking people out because of their color is just as mistaken as avoiding them because of it," then I say you're copping out.

Sure, philosophically race should be no factor at all.

But screw philosophy. What counts is function.

No matter how fine a liberal you are, if all you're doing about it is telling your other white liberal friends how liberal you are, you're no better then a red-necked bigot. In fact, worse, because ignorance is a mitigating factor in the case of the redneck, whereas you are ostensibly enlightened.

A good place to meet some black people is Ebenezer Baptist Church. Not only will you meet some very nice people, you'll have a chance to get to know a very great man, Martin Luther King, Sr. (M. L. King, Jr. didn't spring out of the void, you know.)

I wish you could have been at Ebenezer last Sunday.

What would you have felt when the late Dr. King's youngest son laid a wreath on his father's tomb?

Would anything inside you have been happening when Dr. King Sr. leaned against the memorial, held his head in his hand, and caressed the cold marble which covered his son?

What about when the sister of the late Dr. King led us gathered around his grave in singing "We Shall Overcome"?

I submit that you are missing something very important if you won't visit us at Ebenezer.

Excerpts from our church bulletin

Mrs. Georgie Thornton, a wonderful lady, composed the following. She is not a professional writer, but I think no apologies for style are necessary: "We received a Special Delivery from Heaven this morning from our sainted Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. He would like to share his thoughts with you while he is walking around the throne of God. 'Sorry I had to leave you so quickly that day. I look down from heaven and smile at all of you every day. So please be sweet. I love you, I'm happy, so please don't cry.

'And Yolanda, to you I say, how proud Daddy was of you that day, when you stood like a lady and watched me be entombed, and doing as Mommy did you tried not to cry.

'Little Marty, now you're a big man, so take care of Mommy the best you can. You were just like a soldier—you were so brave. Thanks for the wreath you placed on my crypt.

'And Coretta, there was no time for goodbye, but I am sure you could read the farewell in my eyes. Watch over our children and love them for me. I'll treasure your love through eternity.

'So please carry on as you did before, 'til all of us meet on that beautiful shore. Remember I care. I'll always be with you. Before I close, I must say all the Kings, Kennedys and Lincoln are fine, and they send love.

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...EDITORIAL

George Washington Carver

"To him who in the love of nature holds
Communion with her visible forms, she speaks
A various language; . . . ."

William Cullen Bryant might well have been outlining a plan for the life of George Washington Carver, a puny black baby born of slave parents in Diamond Grove, Missouri. In the closing lines of Thanatopsis, the poet might equally well have been envisioning the death of that same George Washington Carver, Bachelor and Master of Science from Iowa State College, Doctor of Science from Simpson College and Rochester University, Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts, London, England; awarded Spingarn Medal for distinguished service to science; awarded plaque for outstanding contribution to agriculture; recipient of Award of Merit from the Variety Club of America as the world's foremost scientist and humanitarian; given Theodore Roosevelt Medal for his outstanding service to the southern farmer. George Washington Carver, who was collaborator, Mycology and Plant disease Survey, Bureau of Plant Industry, U. S. Department of Agriculture, invited by Thomas A. Edison to join his staff; personal friend of Booker T. Washington, Henry Ford, Henry A. Wallace and thousands of men and women in all walks of life, all nations, all creeds, men from the President in the White House to the share-cropper in the fields of Alabama.

George Washington Carver who developed over 300 products from the peanut: milk, cream, coffee, plastics, insulating boards; over 118 products from the sweet potato: starch, alcohol, tapioca, syrup, breakfast food, rubber; from Alabama clay: pigments for paints, toilet articles; from cotton: paving blocks; from waste material: insulating boards, cordage, paper.

George Washington Carver who accepted no money for his formulae nor for his scientific assistance sought by thousands. George Washington Carver who gave all his life's savings to establish the George Washington Carver Foundation for Creative Research. George Washington Carver whose last words to Austin W. Curtis, whom he had chosen as his successor were: "I know my work will go on all right."

George Washington Carver so lived that when his summons came

". . . . to join
The innumerable caravan, which moves
To that mysterious realm, where each shall take
His chamber in the silent halls of death,"

went not

"like the quarry-slave at night,
Scourged to his dungeon, but, sustained and soothed
By an unfaltering trust, ..."

approached his grave

"Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

Negro Heroes

There has been a new book published, listing America's heroes in the current war. The author thoughtfully featured the exploits of the colored seaman, Dorie Miller, who distinguished himself at the very outset of hostilities against the Japanese at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

More than a year has passed since then. We have been happy to hear of the exploits of still other Negro heroes. We feel sure that an even large number will be heard from in a heroic capacity when the complete story of this nation's war efforts on the fronts of the world are told.

From the hot sands of Africa's deserts we expect to hear the story . . . . from the fox-holes of the South Pacific Isles we look for it to come . . . . from the frozen reaches of Alaska . . . . wherever America's fighting forces meet and engage the enemy . . . . we expect to hear of colored Americans . . . . serving in whatever capacity . . . . re-telling the story of heroism already begun by their fathers on the battle fields of all our nation's wars.

That has been the tradition of the Negro in the United States. We need to note the current parallel, and watch for its further extension as a counter in our own and the public's mind, when we hear questions raised concerning the Negro's patriotism and loyalty to America.

The stories of Negroes who have harbored or harbor sentiments of disloyalty which we have heard, are a thousand-fold dispelled by the sacrificial spirit of our Negro soldier-sailor heroes . . . . by the millions of dollars in War Bonds which their relatives have purchased back home . . . . by the millions of work-hours Negroes have gladly expended in war plants . . . . by the con-

RECEIVED
NOV 25 1945
Southern Regional Council

(Letter addressed to State Governors)

Death and serious injury from loaded firearms in the hands of children or careless youths are of constant occurrence. A small boy shoots his sister in the cradle--or aims at his mother or grandmother and ends her life; two big boys experiment with their father's pistol left on a closet shelf and one is killed. The list is long and growing longer daily. Even a casual passer-by may be such a victim at the hands of an irresponsible child.

With our characteristic indifference to the value of human life nothing is done about placing the blame for these "accidents." Yet surely someone is responsible--and just as surely that one is the owner of the gun who has left it where a child can find and play with it; and that owner should be considered guilty of that death or injury just as definitely as though he had fired the shot.

This class of "accidents" practically began with the men returned from the first world war and has been growing more and more frequent as a matter of course. With more men bringing home firearms as they are doing now, we may expect still more increase of death from this source.

For protection of the people from this type of "accidents," which certainly are preventable, the writer suggests that our legislature take cognizance of this danger and not only make it illegal to possess firearms without special permit, but also to consider the owner of the gun responsible for any damage to life or property at the hands of any minor child using the gun.

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2 Earl C. Clements
3 Emmet O'Neal

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5 Brent Spence
6 Virgil Chapman
7 Andrew J. May
8 Joe B. Bates
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3 James Domengeaux
4 Overton Brooks
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7 Henry D. Larcade, Jr.
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10 Roy O. Woodruff
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16 John Lesinski
17 George A. Dondero

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WYOMING

At L. Frank A. Barrett

FOUNDATION OF CATHOLICS
FOR HUMAN BROTHERHOOD
Under the Patronage of Our Lady and St. Jude
477

BRONX OFFICE:
ROOM 300
384 EAST 149TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

RECEIVED
FEB 1 1946
Southern Regional Council

Reproduced from
"Universe Bulletin", Diocese of Cleveland,
Ohio. January 1946.

THE FAMILY FRONT By Sister Mary Clare, S. N. D.

'Friends' Timely Pamphlet To Aid Fight on Racism

THE war is supposed to be over and yet it isn't over for rooting hatred out of men's hearts is harder than blasting bombers from the skies. In this war against hatred we must all enlist, else we cannot honestly pray "Our Father Who Art in Heaven," nor can we honestly pledge allegiance to our flag.

Any group which honestly tries to attack hatred at its roots is serving the human family and hence deserves our co-operation. We are glad, therefore, to bring to the attention of our readers the Foundation of Catholics for Human Brotherhood. This organizatin, now in its sixth year, is a non-political, non-profit association whose members are pledged to defend racial and religious minorities and to attack the root of bigotry, prejudice and intolerance through the work of enlightenment.

THE organization is composed of volunteer workers, members and contributors, who aim to check soul-killing, nation-killing hatred by more and more education along spiritual lines. Protestants and Jews have vied with Catholics in making great personal sacrifices in order that this work may be carried on. To safeguard the Catholicity of the movement, the advisory board is made up solely of members of the Catholic hierarchy and clergy.

The Foundation has distributed tens of thousands of pamphlets, booklets, folders and leaflets all over the country and in several foreign countries. This month they are distributing the excellent little booklet, "Friends," written by Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen.

While hoping that this 96-page pamphlet will be read in its entirety, the Foundation is drawing special attention to the following chapters: "Ways of Preserving Friendship," "Love of Neighbor in General," "Friendship of Christians with Jews," "Friendship of Catholics With Protestants," "Friendship of Non-Catholics With Catholics," "Friendship With All Peoples, Races, Classes, and Colors."

WE urge every reader of this column to send for a copy of "Friends," to read at least the chapters listed here, and then to pass the booklet on to others. The booklet is sent free to all who request it.

In addition to the distribution of free literature the Foundation places at the disposal of the general public a lending library of more than 100 pamphlets chosen because of the important message they convey. This circulating library is also free.

For your copy of "Friends" as well as information about the work of this group, address The Foundation of Catholics for Human Brotherhood, 384 East 149th St., New York 55, N. Y.

Series No.1. PR#3.

Los Angeles

COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY - 215 West 7th Street September 11, 1946

RECEIVED
SEP 11 1946
Southern Regional Council

UNI-FACTS RELEASE

GERALD L. K. SMITH is back in Los Angeles to conduct the so-called Christian (?) Nationalist Conference. His announcements include a mass meeting in a high school building.

Smith, who used to pose as a clergyman, is not known as such in any reputable church circles - not since his days with Huey Long.

Smith wants a coalition of the elements of discontent, which have been fostered by local petty rabble-rousers. Trouble is of the essence of Smith's success. A disturbance of the peace, therefore, would be a great boon to him. Unfortunately, there are those also who thrive by battling with Smith in a fashion which creates headlines and publicity, but which does not solve the problems created by Smith.

The best way to oppose Smith and his local henchmen is to refuse to do what he wants.

1. He wants picket lines - so let's not give him pickets.
2. He wants a show of police force - so let's give the police no reason for special detail.
3. He wants controversy over the Civic Center Act - so let's not give him opportunity to claim he was denied freedom of speech.
4. He wants money - so let's not donate to his nefarious causes.
5. He wants disunity - so let's marshal our forces to maintain a unified opposition to everything for which Smith stands. The program of the Council for Civic Unity is constantly working toward that end.

When he went from Los Angeles to San Francisco some months ago, he bewailed the fact that he had only 150 pickets there, whereas in Los Angeles he rated 15,000. We did well by him before. This time, let's deflate him to the cheap rabble-rouser he knows himself to be.

October 10, 1946

Mr. J. J. Doran, President
Community Planning Council
Room 210, 11 Pryor Street, S. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Doran:

I want to thank you for sending me a copy of the Community Resources Directory which has been published by the Community Planning Council. The directory is a very useful piece of work and the staff of the Community Planning Council deserves a vote of thanks for rendering this splendid service to the Atlanta area.

We have communicated by telephone with a member of your staff with regard to the number of copies which the Southern Regional Council would like to have.

Again let me thank you for making this directory available.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

COMMUNITY PLANNING COUNCIL
Room 210, 11 Pryor Street, S.W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

TO EXECUTIVES OF AGENCIES LISTED IN COMMUNITY RESOURCES DIRECTORY

October 1, 1946

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a copy of the new Community Resources Directory, in which a descriptive listing of your agency appears on page 58. Also, please read the Foreword on page iii.

When you have examined the Directory in detail, you will appreciate the time and effort which its preparation has involved. Painstaking acquisition of current information about the myriad social resources in Metropolitan Atlanta is one of the several research services which the Council furnishes to its member agencies and to the community.

Price of the Directory, to non-profit agencies, in lots of ten or more, is 50 cents per copy, which represents minimum compilation, publication and distribution costs.

We are arranging to have mailed to you, postage paid, as many copies of the Directory as will be required to provide one for each member of your staff. In addition, we will mail a copy to the home of the president of your board of directors. Please advise us immediately if you do not want the Directories.

Your cooperation in sending us information about your agency was necessary to make possible publication at this time of a new Atlanta Directory. We hope it will be useful to you.

Sincerely,

J. J. Doran

J. J. Doran
President

Encl.- Directory
JJD:rw

City Planning Council

Resolutions Passed by the Executive Board of the
Community Planning Council - January 28, 1948

Recommended for action to other community groups
concerned with health and welfare

Whereas; - Applications for general relief, aid to dependent children, aid to the blind, old age assistance and other forms of assistance; administered in Atlanta by the Fulton County Department of Public Welfare have been vastly increased in recent months;

Whereas; - Because of high prices, grants which were admittedly inadequate before the price rise are that much more inadequate now;

Whereas; - Many cases which typically are accepted for care by the Public Welfare Department are by necessity turned away by the Fulton County Department for lack of funds;

Whereas; - The health, welfare, and good order of our community now and in the future depend upon at least minimum subsistance levels for families and growing children represented in the case load of the Department;

Therefore, be it resolved that we urge that the Fulton County Grand Jury to recommend a levy of two and one-half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) mills for pauper, relief and welfare purposes for the calendar year of 1948, and that the Board of the Fulton County Commissioners adopt the budget presented by the Board of Public Welfare and allocate the two and one-half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) mills required.

Reprinted from the October 24, 1946 issue of the Michigan Christian Advocate

Chaplain to Organized Labor

Note: For the first time Mr. Webber states his own case relative to his appointment as a chaplain to organized labor. White Methodists in the south have vigorously opposed the appointment as an embarrassment to them. The Council of Bishops, meeting at Grand Rapids recently, set up a special committee to study the matter. The case may necessitate General Conference action and has caused widespread interest throughout the church and labor groups. Mr. Webber's statement is released this week through *Zions Herald* and the *Michigan Christian Advocate*.

By CHARLES C. WEBBER

MY RECENT appointment as a "Chaplain to Organized Labor," heralded as "unprecedented," was not in fact unprecedented. It was grounded in the traditions and practices of the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Methodist churches.

In medieval times, the officials of the Catholic church appointed chaplains to the guilds, forerunners of our modern trade unions.

John Ball, the principal leader of the Peasants' Rising in England in 1381, was a chaplain. John Wycliffe, the priest who was called the Morningstar of the Reformation, sent out "poor priests" to the common folk of England with instructions to proclaim the individual man's right to judge for himself, and to be provided with his fair share of the goods of life.

John Wesley, the Anglican founder of Methodism, "was persuaded of the necessity of field preaching as a means of reaching the toiling masses." "He supported fair prices, a living wage and honest, healthy employment for all." "Repeatedly, at election times, he convened the enfranchised members of his Societies and urged them to vote for the candidate of nobler character who would support humanitarian and Christian principles." (See "This Freedom —Whence?" by J. Wesley Bready.)

Wesley's local and itinerant preachers followed in his steps as we find Jack Lawson, a member of the British House of Parliament, writing in his autobiography. "A Man's Life," "*The first fighters* and *speakers* for *Unions, Cooperative Societies, political freedom* and *improved conditions* were *Methodist preachers.* That is beyond argument."

Three of the six "Tolpuddle Martyrs" of the early English Trade Union movement were Methodist local preachers. (See Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam's "Labor and Tomorrow's World.") They were sent as prisoners to Australia simply because they dared to organize a union of "farm hands" and in the process had administered a "secret oath."

A strong petition of protest was circulated shortly after their imprisonment and on April 21, 1834, according to Bready, "not less than 30,000 organized workers (in London) bearing thirty-three trade banners and the petition with over a quarter of a million signatures, marched from Copenhagen Fields to Whitehall. . . At the head of the procession, wearing full canonicals, including the scarlet hood of a Doctor of Divinity, rode the "chaplain to the Metropolitan Trade Unions, Rev. Dr. Arthur Wade."

Within the last decade the Catholic church in the United States has been taking the lead once again in assigning members of its clergy to active work among Catholic Trade Unionists both as chaplains and as directors of Workers' Education projects.

In view of these precedents in ecclesiastical tradition and practice for the appointment of a "Chaplain to Organized Labor," why, you ask, has the Council of Bishops of The Methodist Church appointed a committee of bishops to make a study of "special appointments" such as mine?

The answer, as far as my case is concerned, briefly stated is as follows:

In May, 1944, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, then the presiding bishop of my Annual Conference —the New York East—appointed me—a Methodist minister with a record of over twenty years' service as a pastor, as a member of the faculty of Union Theological Seminary and as a secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service—field secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (CIO).

The following year, 1945, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam renewed the appointment with the concurrence of the necessary two-thirds majority of the members of my Conference.

When Bishop McConnell first appointed me to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (CIO), I was stationed in Knoxville, Tennessee. When Bishop Oxnam renewed the appointment I was stationed in Chambersburg, Pa.

In November, 1945, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (CIO), transferred me to Richmond, Va., where I was given the primary responsibility of organizing the employees of the Crawford Manufacturing Co.

This last April, 1946, I was elected president of the Va. State CIO and director of the Va. CIO-PAC. This election brought a protest from a Methodist layman and made it necessary for me to go before the Conference Relationships Committee of my Conference at its May, 1946, session to face a request that I accept the supernumerary ministerial relationship.

After I presented my reasons for being kept in the active relationship, the Committee *unanimously* adopted a motion that they would approve Bishop Oxnam's continu-

ance of me in an active ministerial relationship. Whereupon Bishop Oxnam appointed me as a "Chaplain to Organized Labor."

Immediately thereafter vigorous protests were made by conservative Methodists to Bishop Oxnam and to Bishop W. W. Peele (the Bishop of the Virginia and North Carolina white Conferences) to the effect that my "appointment would do The Methodist Church in Virginia more harm than good," and requesting Bishop Oxnam to *move* me back to the New York East Conference and to *keep* me there.

A few days later, after I had gone to Smithfield, Va., at the request of the Secretary of the Va. State CIO, to help protect the right of our Negro CIO members to vote without being intimidated in an N.L.R.B. election for a CIO union to represent them in collective bargaining with the management of a Smithfield ham packing house, I was denied permission to speak *even during the discussion period* in the Wesley Bible Class at the Trinity Methodist Church.

The moment I introduced myself as a Methodist minister and as president of the Va. State CIO, the presiding officer of the class said they did not allow any discussion of controversial issues (even though the scripture lesson for the day contained Jesus' statement, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God"), and I was unable to point out that "The Methodist Church stands for the right of employees and employers alike to organize for collective bargaining and social action and for the protection of both in the exercise of this right."

My aiding and protecting unorganized Negro and white workers in the exercise of their right to organize, together with my directing the CIO-PAC campaign against the re-election of Senator Harry F. Byrd who, during his thirteen years in the Senate of the United States, has voted against the major progressive social welfare bills, caused Dr. George S. Reamey, editor of the Virginia Methodist Advocate, to suggest to Bishop Oxnam that he take prompt and appropriate action because I had devoted my "chief attention to the work of a labor organizer," and that I either surrender my credentials as a Methodist minister or confine my work to the spiritual activities as a labor chaplain and resign as CIO-PAC head in Virginia.

Bishop W. W. Peele took the position that my appointment had proved to be a very great embarrassment to him personally, and he appealed both to Bishop Oxnam and to me to relieve him of this embarrassment. (In 1943, when I was representing the ACWA in Martinsville, Va., while on a leave of absence from the M.F.S.S., Bishop Peele unsuccessfully requested Bishop McConnell to withdraw me from Virginia on the grounds that my life had been threatened. Bishop Peele asked me to leave, however, not because my life was endangered but because my union organizational work was, as he said, hurting the reputation of our Methodist Church.)

Bishop Alexander P. Shaw, the Bishop of the Negro Methodist Churches in Virginia, on the other hand has *not* been embarrassed by my appointment as a "Chaplain to Organized Labor" because our CIO unions have both Negro and white workers in their locals and are practicing economic and political brotherhood in their day by day activities in the shop, mill, factory, union hall and at the ballot box on election day.

They are ending Jim Crow discrimination, and are fighting for the abolition of the Poll Tax and for the adoption of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission. In consequence, our Negro Methodists, agreeing with Bishop Oxnam's statement, "I see more religion in ending Jim Crow than in preaching abstractions about brotherhood," are of the opinion that the CIO and some of its leaders are a genuine religious force in the Southland.

If I were to appear before the Committee of Bishops, I would appeal to them to recommend to Bishop Oxnam and to the New York East Annual Conference that they continue my appointment as "Chaplain to Organized Labor" at the 1947 session of the Conference for the following reasons:

My appointment gives me a unique opportunity to aid the Crusade for Christ movement which has for its goal the establishment of the Kingdom or Commonwealth of God and man upon the Earth—a commonwealth without man-made depressions and wars.

Many economists are convinced that unless the American workers, farmers, and members of the middle-class are able to purchase a sufficient amount of the goods that our agricultural resources and our mass-production industries are capable of producing, we—the people of the United States—are in for another major depression which may precipitate another world war.

In the light of this conviction I am fully persuaded that when I, as a "Chaplain to Organized Labor," bring to unorganized Negro and white workers the moral sanction of The Methodist Church of their efforts to organize, and when I aid them, through collective bargaining, to end Jim Crowism, and to secure a more equitable amount of the products of agriculture and industry, I help prevent another world-wide calamity—a calamity that may well bring destruction upon us all, irrespective of whether we are workers or farmers, or whether we secure our living primarily through the ownership of property. (During the last eighteen months I have helped over 2,300 workers, through what I call Parable of the Day of Judgment activities, to organize and to secure an annual increase in wages of over $620,000.)

I am also of the conviction that when I, as a "Chaplain to Organized Labor," bring to the potential voters, not only of Virginia—because I do not consider my appoint-

ment as being limited to any state or nation—but also of other states, the moral sanction of The Methodist Church of their efforts to become qualified voters; and when I bring to them the moral sanction of The Methodist Church of the obligations of good citizens to vote for socially-minded legislators and governmental officials at all levels of government who have shown by their records that they are working for the common good, I help working men and women (especially those who are ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed and confronted with rising costs of living) to rely on ballots, not bullets, for the solution of their religious-socio-economic and political problems; and these activities further the Crusade for Christ.

My appointment as a "Chaplain to Organized Labor" has also enabled me to be a living demonstration that The Methodist Church not only believes in, but also practices its Social Creed at the point where it hurts—namely, at the risk of loss of financial support from its anti-union members.

This has made a profound impression upon thousands of working class men and women, many of whom have been indifferent, if not hostile, to the program of the Church; and has made it possible for me to give an interpretation of the life and teachings of Jesus to persons who otherwise would have been unwilling to listen with an attentive and receptive mind.

Some have objected to my appointment on the grounds that I am on the payroll of a labor organization. They contend therefore that I may be required to carry out activities contrary to the policy and program of our Church.

My answer to this objection is found in the requirement of my Annual Conference that all ministers who have "Special Appointments" must report every year to the Bishop on their activities. It is to be assumed that, if he finds that the activities of a "Chaplain to Organized Labor" are contrary to the policy and program of our Church, he will take the necessary steps to correct such a situation.

I am more than willing, if the Committee so desires, to appear before it with a detailed report on all my work since I have been appointed a "Chaplain to Organized Labor." I am positive that none of my major activities have been contrary to the policy and program of The Methodist Church.

A recommendation on the part of the Committee that bishops in the future refrain from appointing active ministers as "Chaplains to Organized Labor" with the knowledge that organized labor, like the U.S. government, is paying the salaries of the chaplains, and my being required to either "locate" or accept a "supernumerary" appointment, would, in my judgment, and that of working-class Methodists, greatly handicap our Church in bringing the full Gospel of Jesus to bear upon the major religious-socio-economic-political problems of our day.

Congress of Industrial Organizations

718 Jackson Place, N. W. • Washington 6, D. C.

C
O
P
Y

September 10, 1946

The Reverend G. Bromley Oxnam
Bishop of the Methodist Church
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, N. Y.

Dear Bishop Oxnam:-

Yes, indeed, I know of Charles Webber's work. He does an excellent job for the CIO wherever he goes. The precedent of a Methodist minister being elected to the presidency of a state industrial union council is a unique one, and it seems to me that it indicates how important it is for men of goodwill to work within organizations and also points to possible avenues of advance.

I am sure that our country could feel much more secure in regard to its future, if more Christians translated their ideals into specific action.

I have a great deal of confidence in Charles Webber, and I can assure you that my support is back of him in his work of projecting Christian concepts into practical action.

Sincerely yours,

Philip Murray

Philip Murray

CSR & 'LCA'

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Activities for 1946

CHRISTIAN
SOCIAL RELATIONS
and LOCAL CHURCH
ACTIVITIES

By What Authority Do Methodist Women Work to Effect Social Change?

1. The basic Christian imperative for social action as embodied in the teachings of Jesus.
2. The Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the United States.
3. The Social Creed of The Methodist Church.
4. The social action pronouncements of the Woman's Division of The Methodist Church.

PROGRAM OF ACTION

Preamble

THE year 1945 has brought one world-shaking event after another, making an unprecedented impact on the life of this nation, and on the whole world. The death of President Roosevelt, the San Francisco Conference, the expulsion of the atomic bomb, the cessation of hostilities, and finally the steps toward the formulation of peace treaties, and plans for the initial meeting of the agencies of the United Nations Organization—all have brought new questions, fresh opportunities, and enlarged responsibilities on both the domestic and the international fronts.

The problem of reconversion after the war is upon us. The nerves of the nation are taut with fear of unemployment. Labor and management find themselves on opposite sides of a gulf of misunderstanding at many points. Both are powerful pressure groups. The forces of labor have demonstrated a new dynamic in wartime. The demand for full employment, full production, and full pay will be relentless in the days ahead. The church is called upon to live its Social Creed which proclaims "the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively."

The demobilization program for both service personnel and war workers will bring increased race tensions all over the country. Seeds of race riots are evident across the land. Jim Crow patterns of many years' standing have been disturbed in the war period. The new day calls for a new way of life where the Negro, the Mexican, the Jew or the Japanese American can secure and keep a job commensurate with his skill without fear or hurt. The Christian Church is in a position to lead the way in creating a conscience that means justice for all.

In these times the institution of the family is gravely threatened. Widespread social and economic adjustments have resulted in increased frustration and insecurity. Social drink-

ing, gambling and cheap amusements daily furnish personal escapes and create nation degeneration.

During the past four years the peoples of the allied nations banded themselves together to win a military struggle against fascism in the world. That job has been accomplished, leaving the aftermath of the most destructive war in history, and powerful nations, the victors, filled with fear of one another. Collective action for peace is not as easy as collective action for war, either on the home front or in the international scene. The appalling hunger, starvation and utter misery now existing in Europe and Asia involving millions of human beings calls for immediate relief.

The Christian Church must generate a new spiritual power and continue to work to create a public conscience that will act for the best welfare of all people in our nation and the world. Therefore, the Department of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities recommends continuing action in the following areas:

For Jurisdictions and Conferences

Alcohol Education

A scientific attack on the personal and social problems inherent in the widespread use of alcoholic beverages is a crucial need of the Church today. As one step in this direction jurisdictions are urged to sponsor a three-day seminar on a regional basis, bringing at least two carefully selected leaders from each conference to a central place for such a seminar. The seminar group should work out specific plans for more effective education and action programs on the alcohol problem. It is most important that planning groups seek the cooperation of the Board of Education and the Board of Temperance of The Methodist Church.

A new approved study course in the field of alcohol education has been recommended for promotion by jurisdictions and conferences.

National Seminar

The Fifth Annual National Seminar initiated by the Department of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities will be conducted at DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana, July 3-17, 1946, with the program emphasis on "Rural Community Living and Changing Social Frontiers." This seminar is jointly planned and sponsored by the Department of Christian Social Relations and the Bureau of Town and Country Work of the Home Department. Other Departments and Divisions of the Board of Missions have been invited to send representatives. The total number of participants in the seminar must be limited to 100. One subsidy of $50.00 will be allocated to each jurisdiction by the Department. Jurisdictions and conferences are urged, when possible, to provide subsidies for representation at the seminar.

Informal Studies

Jurisdictions and conferences are urged to promote the use of timely informal studies: Special attention is directed to the study of the relationship between the United States and *Russia;* to studies intended to interpret and implement the *Social Creed;* to problems on the *postwar employment of women;* to special *"inquiries"* or studies to determine wartime gains and current trends in race relations; and to special studies of *Civil Rights Laws* and their enforcement in the respective states of the nation.

Information and Action Bulletin

The Department will issue in 1946 a bi-monthly *Information and Action Bulletin* to be mailed in quantities to conference secretaries of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities, who in turn will channel a copy to each local secretary of Christian Social Relations in the Society and the Guild.

FOR LOCAL SOCIETIES AND GUILDS

I. The Church's Ministry To The Family

The Christian Church must generate a new spiritual power and continue to work to create a public conscience that will act for the best welfare of all people in our nation and the world. The family, as the basic unit of society, offers the most effective channel for the Church's ministry. The following areas of need are urgent.

The Church Cooperating in Community Services to Families:

a. Through closer cooperation between the church and community counseling agencies by studying counseling techniques, services available in the community, and most effective methods of working with the pastor to make counseling services available to families and individuals.

b. By working with other agencies of the church to provide educational experiences which will enable parents to enrich and stabilize family living by the use of the family altar, and by giving religious significance to all aspects of life and utilizing them for family worship experience.

c. By working with city or county boards of education and governing bodies for private educational institutions, including the Woman's Division, to have courses in schools on courtship, marriage, and parenthood.

d. Through cooperation in the local church program for youth, student and adult groups in developing Christian fellowship through an effective program of social, recreational, hobby and cultural activities.

e. By giving increased attention to a study of special needs of newcomers, returning service personnel, conscientious objectors and their families, and new church members, followed by more effective cooperation with other community agencies in meeting these needs.

f. By promoting a more effective two-way relationship between the church and community agencies through better understanding of these organizations and their programs, through cooperating with them on matters of common interest, urging church women to serve on community committees and to participate in the work of the agencies and stimulate their interest in the program of the Society and Guild.

The Church Working for Family and Group Security:

a. By increased support of legislation providing for full employment, full production, full pay, full security, and prevention of inflation. (Watch the *Information and Action Bulletin, The Methodist Woman*, and letters from your district or conference secretary for guidance on such issues. Your radio, newspaper and other current publications will give important viewpoints.)

b. Through acquaintance with the practices of the State Departments of Labor in the administration of unemployment compensation, lest pressure groups bring about discrimination in the administration. *Example:* the women in one conference found in one week 276 skilled and semi-skilled Negroes not allowed employment compensation by the State Department of Labor, when they refused to accept the jobs of domestic service at $5.00 to $9.00 per week.

c. By giving attention to our own employment and business practices: In employment of domestic service and the employment standards and maintenance of clerical and professional workers in the local church; in renting our sub-standard property for high rentals lest the "income we derive make for the economic insecurity of the poor and the spiritual insecurity of the owner."

d. By working to relate workers more effectively to jobs and to prevent discrimination in general employment practices through federal control of the United States Employment Service and through federal and state Fair Employment Practices laws.

e. By interpreting and supporting Methodism's stand for collective bargaining as expressed in the Social Creed. Through opposition to all efforts to weaken rights of labor and management to arrive at mutually satisfactory agreements by collective bargaining.

f. By continued concerted effort to raise the standard of living for all people; through legislative effort to lift the income of the small farm and farm laborer, and the conservation of natural resources of land, water and forests; continuing rent and price controls; studying wage scales and standards of employment including child labor practices; working for a more adequate low rent housing program through support of housing legislation; supporting UNRRA and other agencies working for relief and rehabilitation.

g. By working for the political and economic security of all groups; through legislation that would place Indian Affairs in the same regular government bureaus, departments, and courts which deal with the affairs of the white man. Furthermore,

women in local churches in communities where Indians live are urged to work for the participation of the Indian in local, state and national elections; through efforts to remove all unfair voting restrictions for all groups, such as the poll tax and white primary; continued work for the equalization of educational opportunities for all peoples in the United States regardless of race, creed, or place of residence; support of legislation to prevent lynching, and insure equality of protection before the law.

h. By planning conferences and workshops for the greater understanding of family needs and for full participation of families in community and church activities that strengthen family security.

II. Working For World Order

As the United Nations Organization stands at the threshold of actual existence, the Church must support the immediate full participation of the United States in the organization, and a long range study of the humanitarian and Christian principles inherent in the Charter. Such a study may relate to the following:

a. The International Control of Atomic Power.

b. Creating an understanding of International Economic Cooperation, as basic to the survival and prosperity of the American economy as opposed to a trend toward economic isolationism.

c. Opposition to legislation providing Universal Compulsory Military Training, and the support of plans for international abolition of compulsory military training.

d. The function and influence of the constituent bodies of the United Nations Organization, such as the Trusteeship Council, the Social and Economic Council, the Security Council and the International Court.

The Church as a Force in Building a World Community

a. Working for the enactment of the Fullbright Resolution which proposes that credits established through the sale of surplus war properties abroad may be used for the promotion of international goodwill through the exchange of students in the fields of education, culture, and science.

b. Working through the World Federation of Methodist Women to develop better relations among women of all countries by encouraging the exchange of visitors from Europe and Asia, including former enemy countries; information concerning same to be given to local Societies and Guilds so that homes may be opened and opportunities for participation in community life may be extended the guests.

c. Participation of local Societies and Guilds in the program of local units of such organizations as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and other interracial or interfaith groups.

d. The extension of Christian fellowship in the integration of newcomers in the community, regardless of race, creed, culture, or economic status, through visitation and all other channels in cooperation with community organizations.

e. By being alert to the gravity of the situation accompanying the demobilization of Negro service personnel, as evidenced in increased racial tension, lynchings, mob violence, and deplorable discrimination in employment, education and housing, and by working with other community groups to eliminate causes of tension, correct injustices, and combat the rise of repressive organizations so often cloaked in religious phraseology, such as Ku-Klux Klan, The Christian Front, etc.

f. Find and publicize community issues affecting world order through forums, studies and all other means available.

g. Seek the incorporation of all groups, regardless of race, into the full Christian fellowship of local churches, districts or conferences. Only so can The Methodist Church of the future bear its most effective witness for Christ among the racially diverse populations of our nation and of the world.

THE CRUSADE FOR CHRIST

The year 1945 has seen the great Crusade for Christ get under way with overwhelming success in the first goal set; namely, the securing of funds for the program of rehabilitation of a war torn world. The program of evangelism is already under way. This period of special emphasis on evangelism should mean the release of a great spiritual power yet untapped in the Methodist movement. A *new evangelism* ought to be born! This time in history offers the Christian church a supreme opportunity "to experience faith and works in their right relationships," and as a part of the centralizing and unifying wholeness of the Christian life. When it fails in either of these important elements, it betrays its trust and confuses the people. Unless people can see that the collective actions of the church are in harmony with its professions of faith, they will be bewildered and the unity of the church fellowship will be destroyed. It is this solemn obligation to keep faith and works together that gives the church its significance as part of the total structure of society.

It is the Christian's faith in God and in a moral universe that brings the assurance that the kingdom of God can be realized!

Therefore let us give full cooperation to and active participation in all phases of the Crusade with special emphasis on stewardship in 1946, remembering also that building a public mind for a new world order is a "continuing must" for Methodist women.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

(1) Ask your congressman or senator to place your name on the mailing list for the *Congressional Record*, for your regular evaluation of pending bills relating to social welfare. (*Congressional Records* may be found in public libraries also.)

(2) Secure the *Handbook* of the Department of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities. Price, 10 cents. Secure *Duties and Plans* for Secretaries, *Activities for 1946*, and *A Program of Action* For The Church's Ministry to The Family. Free. Order from Literature Headquarters, 420 Plum Street, Cincinnati 2, Ohio.

(3) The local secretary and her committee should subscribe to *The Methodist Woman* and *World Outlook*, and use them regularly to keep up with the work and plans of the Woman's Society. *The Methodist Woman* has a section each month on plans and activities related to Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities. She should make constant use also of *The Information and Action Bulletin.*

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Economic Justice

BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION

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Pentecost in Atlanta

By **DWIGHT J. BRADLEY**

In no formal, ecclesiastical setting—under no conventional auspices—nearly 200 people gathered in Atlanta to find out how the Spirit might move them. They were men and women of many races, many walks of life, diverse religious faiths; Negro and White; industrial workers and members of the professions; leaders in organized labor and ministers or priests of religion; elders and young; famous and obscure—all bound together by a common aspiration towards the ideal of brotherhood and justice.

They met while all around them seethed the animosities of a violent era. Herman Talmadge was striving to hold on to the governor's office which he had usurped by conspiracy and force. The State Legislature was struggling with the issue of White supremacy—whether enough votes could be lined up to re-establish the Democratic Party's primaries on the basis of Negro exclusion. Throughout the South, movements were on foot to destroy the unions by law, since the unions were proving too strong and persistent to be destroyed by calumny, threats, hidden reprisals or open attack. The deep-rooted caste system was reasserting its claim over millions of Americans. Cultural, economic and political antagonisms were growing more and more intense.

In all Atlanta there was only one central place where the group might meet without incurring the displeasure or encountering the repressions of the dominant elements in that city. It had to be a place where Negroes and Whites could eat together and meet together on terms of simple, unselfconscious equality. No hotel, no White man's church, dared or was willing to open its doors. But the Butler Street Y.M.C.A. stood ready. So there, in the building administered by Negro Christians for the service of Negro youth, the Religion and Labor Conference was made welcome. In the heart of the great American Southland, so full of promise yet so riven by hates and fears, there assembled a group fully prepared for whatever Pentecost of faith and hope might come as they spoke and prayed and broke bread together.

It came—it came quietly yet with tremendous power. It was as authentic as the first Christian Pentecost in Jerusalem; as authentic as the ancient Pentecost of Israel. For here the Holy Spirit—by whatever name one might wish to call it—actually descended, filled the room, kindled inspired speech and opened every mind to understanding.

Practically speaking, there was something fabulous about it. Entirely absent were those power drives and factional divisions that are perverting and crippling so many good liberal movements in our time. Absent also was that anger, that distrust, that dire hostility by which so many people of goodwill are being inwardly hardened. Social analyses went deep, probed incisively, were very drastic—but were animated by a rational and ethical objectivity that gave them a healing quality. The addresses were eloquent, impassioned, searching. The group discussions and resolutions were urgent, comprehensive and sharply edged—cutting between the bone and marrow of every problem. Yet, both the addresses and the workshop findings expressed what cannot be better described than as a *redemptive* attitude toward those who are involved in the contemporary tragedy—not only toward the victims but toward those who blindly engage in cruelties because "they know not what they do."

(Continued on page 2)

Southern Conference Calls For Democracy At The Grass Roots

Gathering Is Interfaith, Interracial, Interunion

By **JAMES LORING**
Press Representative

Imbued with the ideal of establishing "A New Freedom in a New South" clergymen, students and labor organizers to the number of two hundred came to Atlanta, February 4-5, to attend the first Southern Religion and Labor Conference held under the auspices of the Southern Committee of the National Religion and Labor Foundation. Coming from all the southern states except South Carolina, the delegates responded to a call to "face an unprecedented opportunity to put into practice their respective faiths," and to work for "a racial order of divine justice and an abundant life for all."

Completely interdenominational, with priest, minister and rabbi meeting representatives of the AFL, CIO, and the Brotherhoods in an atmosphere of fraternal brotherhood, the conference was enlivened by the participation of famous writers, courageous churchmen and militant organizers.

Dr. Alva W. Taylor, conference chairman, called the opening session to order, and declared in his presidential address that "The ethics of Biblical religion is based upon the infinite worth of the human being, justice between all men, brotherhood, benevolence, mercy, and equal rights and opportunities for the least among us and the *good society*, i. e., the Kingdom of God." Speaker after speaker called for freedom of democracy to operate fully at the grass-roots of the Southern social fabric, and urged upon clergymen the duty to take strong steps toward the practical application of that goal.

Kenneth Douty, Georgia Director for the CIO Textile Workers Union of America, drew an analogy between the entrance of unions upon the community scene and the appearance of the Great Disturber 2000 years ago. Rev. Cleveland J. Bradner, Jr., veteran of World War II and youthful minister of West End Christian Church, Danville, Va., electrified his audience with an uncompromising statement from his personal experience, of the problems confronting liberal-minded Americans and of the urgent need to meet them head-on without flinching. He termed humanity before the dollar "as the only religious motive," and asked, "Jesus meant his life and acts for all the people; does your ministry include all the people?"

(Continued on page 3, column 1)

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Highlights from Address of Chairman Alva W. Taylor

Biblical Ethics. "The ethics of Biblical religion is based upon the infinite worth of the human being, justice between all men, brotherhood, benevolence, mercy, and equal rights and opportunities for the least among us and the **good** society, i.e., the Kingdom of God. Labor battles today for a living and a saving wage, the right to organize, which means the worker has the right to have a say about his contribution in terms of skill and producing power, for security for his family against the perils of unemployment, for time to live and enjoy life outside wage earning hours, etc. In all the battle for unionization is a battle for democracy in industry, for the welfare of the millions who labor for wages, for the man before the dollar. Poverty has no place in the economics of Biblical religion and labor's drive today is the greatest effort in human history to emancipate man from poverty.

The Facts. "While most of the rest of the world tends to turn from private enterprise to a controlled economy, we suffer a retreat and are today the most reactionary of the great nations on the dollar vs. the man issue. The concentration of wealth reaches a new high until 43 billion dollar clubs hold one-fourth of all American assets. The Department of Agricultural Economics reports that the top 10% have more money income than the bottom 50% by one-third. The Federal Reserve Board reports that one-third of American families have incomes of less than $1000 per year and almost one-half less than $2000 and then it is proposed that the tax cut be "straight across the board," saving the little man a few cents and the millionaire thousands, and some of our states slap a sales tax on food and clothing. Corporation profits are higher than the fabulous war time profits and the purchasing power of the average industrial wage is down by nearly 20%.

"A careful break-down of a wage income of $43 per week, which with loss of time would about equal the $2000 income, made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics through a study of the actual needs of a family of four in Washington showed a net weekly deficit of $3.63, or about $200 a year. They lived in a house rented for $25 per month and spent less than $100 per month on food and clothing, paid no withholding tax, and less than $5 per month for health and medical care and laid up no savings. Yet one-third have less than one-half the $2000 and we cannot get a 65c minimum wage."

Pentecost in Atlanta

(Continued from page 1)

A factual, day by day report, will provide illustrations of this general appraisal, and is found in other sections of "Economic Justice." What should be kept in mind, as one reads the reports, is the *inherent meaning* of the Conference. For from its inner significance may be drawn its full spiritual and social import.

Other gatherings, other Conferences will no doubt deal with the same issues and do so bravely and intelligently. But it is doubtful whether any other kind of a Conference can accomplish the same things. For the Religion and Labor Conference was called and consecrated without protocol and without formal pretension: and those who came to it, though in many cases representing very influential bodies both of labor and the church, do so as persons without portfolio—being thus made free to speak and act according to the dictates of their own minds and consciences and as the Spirit might move them.

And this is why it seems quite proper to describe the Conference as a true Pentecost of Christian and Jewish Faith; welding or fusing into one many points of view, many backgrounds of race and culture, many organizations which under other auspices have been at strife with one another. The Roman Catholic and the Protestant, the Jew and the Christian, those whose original ancestry is largely European and those who stem wholly or in part from Africa, those who earn their living in factories or as workers in professional fields, old men who see visions and young men who dream dreams—all were joined in one enduring purpose to help end the clash and conflict of selfish forces, to interpret and translate the meaning of the crucifixion of humanity through which the whole world has so recently passed, to wait patiently for light upon the future's way and to be ready for any effort and any sacrifice by which the plight of mankind may be transformed into a glorious pilgrimage of enfranchised people towards the deathless goals.

Let those who were there testify and say whether what has here been reported is essentially true. Let those who were there remember, and never forget, the manner in which this small group, gathering in a great Southern city, quietly ignoring the barriers and obstacles between human beings set up by conventional social attitudes, working together through thought and prayer and honest speech, became (without conscious expectation or intent) the social incarnation of all that humanity so desperately yearn for, the spiritual symbol of a way of life which God might bless.

"For God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are."

Dr. Witherspoon Dodge

"In the name of divine justice and brotherly love, the existing gap between organized religion and organized labor needs to be closed," declared Dr. Witherspoon Dodge, Georgia Representative of the Religion and Labor Foundation, in a broadcast on B'nai B'rith Program over Station WATL, Atlanta.

"It would be both spiritually and socially beneficial if there were more real religion in the ranks of labor. This would be equally true if the church as an institution, on the part of both its ministers and members, had a more friendly interest and a more brotherly attitude toward the great social phenomenon of our day represented by the labor movement in the struggle of the less privileged people of society for their legal rights and a higher standard of living.

"As for the church, would it not be derelict in its duty if it did not give to labor the assurance that it is its co-worker in the struggle to bring a larger measure of justice into the world of human relationships? The present inequalities between individuals, groups and classes of people are altogether too great. There is too much need in a world richly stored with enough for all. Pitiful poverty is a close neighbor of luxurious wealth. Selfish greed reaches out to get ever more when many have almost nothing, and little chance of getting anything more. Organized economic power destroys human freedom, perverts individual personality, corrupts social morality, and impedes the progress of democracy. The illuminating rays of the teachings of Jesus and the great Hebrew prophets are hid under a bushel measure, while the glaring lights of material power and worldly pride blind men's eyes to the needs and rights of their fellowmen."

Southern Conference

(Continued from page 1)

Rev. A. S. Turnipseed, Minister, Dexter Ave. Methodist Church, Montgomery, Ala., in a moving plea for action, said that changes in the South since Confederate days have been more apparent than real. He added that "religion in the South has taken on the protective coloring of the civilization around it," and termed segregation "a device of capitalism to keep the common man divided." In a demand for the inclusion of all the people in the domain of Christ, he said the church must stop being the preserve of the privileged and wealthy.

George Googe, Southern Representative, A. F. of L., in a brief talk, said that he believed "no man is fit to lead union people unless he is a deeply religious man."

"The Spiritual and Economic Basis of Democracy in the South" was the topic for the evening session, presided over by Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, of Notre Dame Seminary, New Orleans. The program began with reading, by Don West, of poems from his famous book, "Clods of Southern Earth." Taking his cue from the West poetry, Father O'Connell said, "even though gathered in urban Atlanta, let's remember that the rural section is the seedbed of our world." He climaxed his talk with the statement that if, as recently "we can produce for Mars, we can produce for peace and ourselves."

Paul L. Styles, Regional Director of the National Labor Relations Board in Atlanta, referred to the much-discussed Wagner Act as simply an attempt to extend to workers in industrial life what Thomas Jefferson tried to give all the people—democracy. Collective bargaining he termed just another name for old-fashioned "horse-trading" among free, democratic citizens. He added that people who fight unions should realize they are fighting democracy.

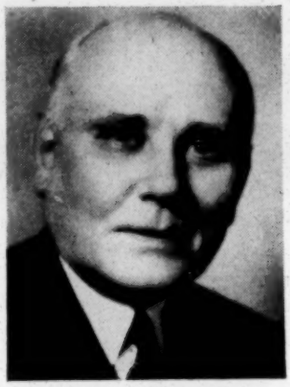
A highlight of the conference thus far was the address of Dr. William Holmes Borders, Pastor of the Wheat Street Baptist Church in Atlanta. Dr. Borders said that long before the present generation of Southerners was born, it was decided how they would vote. At the close of a talk, interrupted by much applause, he said, "People are more important than factories, money, or anything else. Anything that does not serve people, will dry up and die."

Van A. Bittner, Director of the C.I.O. Organizing Committee, Atlanta, told delegates at the final session that "Church and Labor must set a new economic pattern in America —must abolish poverty and give security to all."

Reaching for the heart of the Conference purpose, Mr. Bittner stressed that "a man who professes religion but does not give his life to his fellow man, misses religion by a long shot."

The high point of Mr. Bittner's address was his statement that "union organization must succeed to save the economy of the U. S. A."

James F. Barrett, Southern Representative of the A. F. of L., defined the social meaning of religion to the American Federation of Labor as being "to widen the frontiers of human achievement, to lift the living standard, to foster better homes, to broaden educational opportunities, to improve by the steady application of religious principles to the way of life for ALL men and women who work for wages." "Elimination of sweat shops and freeing little children from the machine and putting them to school, these two things alone, are accomplishments of such great social meaning of religion that they alone are sufficient to immortalize the men and women of the American Federation of Labor," Mr. Barrett declared.



Van A. Bittner

"A man who professes religion but does not give his life to his fellowman, misses religion by a long shot."

Earlier, Rabbi Isidore Barnett, of Congregation Agudath Achim, Savannah, Georgia, Presiding Officer of the final session, declared that "religion's fight against all social evils will continue until all social misery shall be eradicated from the face of the earth."

Direct action had been taken by the conference in the afternoon session on resolutions aimed toward realistic application of its purpose throughout the South. On Church, Labor and the Community, Southern ministers, priests and rabbis were told, "It is your duty to build churches and synagogues whose doors are open to all races and classes." The message to labor leaders in the Southern States, "It is your duty to educate the laity and clergy of the South about the aims and methods of the trade union movements." To both ministers and labor leaders, the resolution states, "It is your duty to form in every major city and hamlet in America, Church-Labor groups started with the initial purpose of creating a spirit of God-like fellowship between clergymen and labor leaders, and directed toward specific action projects for the betterment of community life in America."

Other resolutions dealt with The Media of Communication; Economic Restraints on the Church; Youth, Education and Labor; The South as an Economic Dependency; and Social and Labor Legislation.

Of the "South as an Economic Dependency," the conference resolution stated, "We have recognized that a contribution to the solution of the problems of the South will be a contribution to the solution of the problems of the similarly situated West, the workers and farmers of the North and the exploited and colonial peoples of the world."

Dealing with social and labor legislation, the conference resolved to "endorse heartily legislation on the federal and state levels which seeks to guarantee every man's God-given *right to work*, for we believe that every man has a basic right to a job."

Spontaneous resolutions from the floor of the afternoon plenary session concerned universal military training, gave whole-hearted support to the United Nations program of disarmament, and petitioned the President of the United States to declare amnesty to 6,000 imprisoned conscientious objectors.

All Faiths Outspoken In Southern Labor Support

Father Vincent J. O'Connell and Rabbi Isidore Barnett Address Conference

"It's time we stopped talking about the right to organize and started talking about the duty," declared Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell of Notre Dame Seminary, New Orleans, who presided on the first evening of the conference. By this Father O'Connell had in mind the moral obligation of all in the community to cooperate on the economic front "to secure for all and for each all the things which the wealth and the resources of the nation, technical achievements and the social organization of economic life can give."

Among the ways of securing economic peace in the South indicated by Father O'Connell are: 1. Our economic general welfare must no longer be thought of as a by-product of economic self-seeking. Social justice demands that organized cooperation must be substituted for the rule of competition. 2. Unless certain Southern employers want fearless, antagonistic union representatives in their plants and shops, they should cease using physical violence and false accusations in opposing organization of their employees. 3. The benefits of organization must be extended as rapidly as possible to those Southern workers who are as yet unorganized. Special efforts must be made to bring the advantages of unionism to Southern clerical and supervisory employees and to the Southern workers in the service occupations.

On Interracial Sunday, Dr. Harrison McMains, minister of the First Christian Church, Atlanta, successfully put into practice the meaning of the day. Instead of himself preaching on the subject, he invited into his pulpit Dr. George Kelsey, a Negro minister, who heads the Department of Religion at Morehouse College in the city. Dr. Kelsey, using as his subject, "The Nature of the Christian Life," gave a scholarly exposition and application of Christianity, and powerfully impressed the congregation with the verities of their profession. He closed his sermon with the brief prayer of a familiar Negro spiritual, "Lord, I want to be a Christian, in my heart. Lord I want to be like Jesus, in my heart." A crowded congregation surged forward almost solidly to shake the minister's hand, and thank him for his great mesasge. It is safe to say that one service did more to reshape the attitude of those people toward their colored brethren than all the previous services put together. It was not without some difficulty that Dr. McMains was enabled to arrange and conduct this service. So impressed by the truly Christian character of the occasion were three representatives of the Religion and Labor Foundation, that on the next day they sent

(Continued on page 8, column 3)

Conference Adopts Action Program Submitted by Six Workshops

Calls Upon Churches and Synagogues to Open Doors to All Races. Ministers and Labor Leaders Urged to Build Church—Labor Groups in Every City and Hamlet in America

Group I Asks Church to Return to Prophetic Origins

Historically, both the church and the labor movement have come into being in working-class communities, and in general, movements of reform and revolution, which have led to the betterment of the common man's lot, have arisen from the least recognized of our society. Yet today we find that churches have strayed from their prophetic origins to become stratified and lethargic, and in places the labor movement has become institutionalized and conservative. God, being the respector of no person or movement, is the judge of all and judgment is determined, in part, by how a movement or a person meets the problem of evil, race discrimination, economic injustice, mass exploitation, human wickedness. Today, these problems, if America is to remain democratic, must be met by both the labor movement and the churches acting together to establish more Godly communities in America.

Religious Leaders' Duties

Therefore, to the ministers, priests and rabbis of the South we say: It is your duty to build churches and synagogues whose doors are open to all races and classes. It is your duty to educate your members concerning the social pronouncements of the church and concerning the specific means by which all men can better their economic condition. You should become intimately acquainted with all members of your community and you should stand as men of righteousness—tolerant, but firm in your convictions. Always, in peace or in crisis, you must not only serve as a mediator between the rival factions, but also as a stern prophet rebuking unrighteousness and upholding justice wherever they may be found, denouncing the sins of both greedy capital and labor. As you have joined the local service club to become acquainted with the town fathers and leading business men, you must also become an integral part of the labor movement as a chaplain of a local, fraternal, or trade union member or by some other method.

Labor Leaders' Duties

To the labor leaders of the South we say: It is your duty to educate the laity and clergy of the South about the aims and the methods of the trade union movement. It is also your duty, as a believer, to become an active member of some synagogue or church in your community. Thereby you can be an effective participant in the united effort to make the church live up to its word.

And finally, to both the ministers and labor leaders of the South we say: It is your duty to form in every major city and hamlet in America church-labor groups started with the initial purpose of creating a spirit of God-like fellowship between clergymen and labor leaders, and directed toward specific action projects for the betterment of community life in America. Aim at the beginning toward an inter-union, an inter-racial, and an inter-faith fellowship, with members eating, talking, acting and praying together. Progress toward this end may be slow, but remember that common hunger both physical and spiritual—of the stomach and of the soul—speaks a common language. Beware of neglecting your brothers and sisters of the rural South . . . those small farmers, sharecroppers, tenant farmers, day laborers and migrants, who are still the disfranchised majority of the South, handicapped by lack of educational opportunity, poverty and disunity. Your aim should be to create an understanding between the farm worker and the urban laborer, to name the organization, which, under the disguise of being a people's organization, collaborates with the malefactors of great wealth both at home and in Washington, and to herald the organizations which are bringing a measure of freedom to those who labor on the land, in the shed and in the cannery.

Frank Prohl

Speaking as a church member and a labor organizer with twenty-eight years of trade union experience, Frank Prohl, Southern Representative of the Teamsters, AFL, told the conference, "I believe God did not intend that the church and labor be separated. The problem now confronting us is the establishment of an arrangement whereby they can be brought together."

Mr. Prohl deplored the divisions in the church and the profession of many different religions, saying that is one reason why religion is very seldom discussed in unions, because it would seem that the labor organizer is trying to impose his ideas upon the worker. He expressed the feeling that the church should give greater recognition to labor, and that "the economic warfare we are in is a part of the minister's business no matter what his religion may be."

PREA

Passed at the Opening of the P Program W

The organization of labor is one of th time. This movement has much in commo cal reilgion. Both demand equity, justic abolition of enforced poverty. Both seek including the economic system, in terms o Labor Foundation exists to promote these

RLF Asked To Add Staff Officer On Publicity

Workshop II, on the *Media of Communication,* recommended to the Atlanta conference "that the Religion and Labor Foundation study the possibilities of establishing a special committee and of assigning a staff officer to carry out suggestions on publicity."

The committee recommended that the conference and representatives of the organizations represented at the conference take certain definite steps to provide the public with full information about their programs. These steps are:

1. Use all of our facilities and our influence to get opinion-forming agencies—the press, radio, motion pictures, schools and churches—to give greater consideration to the common objectives of true religion and eonomic democracy.

2. Invite all public spirited agencies, particularly the churches of all faiths, to join with us in this undertaking.

To implement this program the committee offered the following suggestions:

(a) Acquaint editors, writers, reporters, radio commentators, teachers, women's organizations, farm organizations and others with our program through personal contact, the writing of letters and the regular issuance of press releases.

(b) Supply the communication services with accurate information, factual letters to the readers' column, and news fillers and cartoons.

(c) Correct false and detrimental statements with which the public is constantly bombarded. (This can best be done by confining one's statements to factual and constructive information.)

(d) Commend, through use of letters and public statements, those who voice opinions in harmony with our objectives.

Allan L. Swim

Allan L. Swim, Director CIO Community Relations in the South, chaired Workshop II. He brought in many practical suggestions growing out of an extended career in newspaper work and community activities.

MBLE

enary Session at Which Action as Adopted

e major humanitarian movements of our n with the principles and precepts of Bibli- e, the rights of the 'least of these", the the humanitarian organization of society, f Brotherhood. The National Religion and ends.

Present Education Does Not Meet Needs of Youth

"My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge" was the underlying assumption accepted by the workshop on *Youth, Education and Labor* as a basis of discussion. Young people, in the school and community, have difficulty in obtaining an adequate picture of the whole life of the community. While business interests have access to the churches, schools and textbooks, and can use these sources against labor, labor has too little opportunity to present its views. The youth of the nation represents the potential labor of tomorrow. If they become interested in and informed about labor, it paves the way for broader understanding and helpfulness when they become workers. It is essential to the advancement of the dignity of labor that churchmen have a personal knowledge of the problems confronting the working man.

Action Recommended—Group Pleads for Courses on Labor Related to Facts of Life

1. Try to get courses on labor history and problems into the curriculum of schools, colleges, seminaries. Where these courses exist, attempt to get them related to the facts of life—working in factories, field, etc.

2. Where it is impossible, at present, to get labor courses in the curriculum, let "dedicated and principled teachers," through their own ingenuity, work into some existing courses a complete picture, which would include labor problems.

3. Students can organize to request certain basic courses, invite speakers and discussion leaders who know labor, to campus, assemblies, conferences, workshop groups, etc.

4. The above two points are based on the recognition that the societal framework has to be changed so that the school boards will be representative of all groups in the community.

5. Interested youth and adult groups can secure information from liberal and labor press—i.e., school librarian should have these books, newspapers and periodicals available.

6. Forums on basic labor issues.

7. Working contacts with labor and management (student mock labor-management conferences).

8. Elimination of inter-racial and inter-cultural barriers in all of these suggested activities.

9. We recognize that books need to be made more realistic and applicable to daily life and the giving of a well-rounded picture.

10. Industrial and rural work camps would serve an opportunity for getting young people in contact with working conditions, unions, management, etc.

11. Students doing volunteer work for various organizations like the Religion and Labor Foundation.

12. Work with vocational counselors and placements persons.

13. Organize democratic student groups.

Economic Forces in the Community Interfere With Full Gospel Of Justice And Brotherhood

Conference Finds That Struggle for Profits and Power Restrain the Church. White Supremacy and Anti-Semitism Distracting Influences

In analyzing the economic forces in the community that interfere with preaching and exemplification of the full gospel of justice and brotherhood, the Workshop on Economic Restraints on the Church reached the following conclusions:

1. The primary economic restraining forces within our present economic system are those which struggle through individuals selfishly for profits, power and white supremacy.

Employers of labor who are members of the institutions of religion and almost universally on the governing boards of these institutions, exercise the major restraining influence upon the preaching and exemplification of the full gospel of justice and brotherhood.

Another economic restraining force—a phase of the one just given—is that exercised by the politicians representing the dominant economic group in the community.

2. Because of the prevailing customs relating to white and Negro groups, and other minorities, the religious leader is often restrained from preaching and carrying out his religious convictions and those of his religious body on brotherhood and justice.

3. Extremists on the side of either management or labor often use anti-Semitism as a means of distracting attention from the real management-labor issues. Christian leaders, not wishing to take sides, fail to attack the scapegoat issue of anti-Semitism.

Ways to Overcome Restraints

The Workshop made the following recommendations to religious leaders for action:

The religious leaders preach and exemplify the full gospel of their faiths—as expressed in the social creed of their religious body.

1. Get in touch with the leaders of the trade unions and of the co-operatives in their communities, and offer their services in conducting classes on economic issues in the workers and farmer eduational groups.

2. In speaking to Labor and Farm organizations, urge the members of the same to affiliate with the religious organization of their own choosing, in an active capacity, so that they can support ministers in carrying out the SOCIAL CREED.

3. Invite the members of Labor and Farm organizations to attend and participate in their Labor Sunday services. Labor leaders invite religious leaders to attend and participate in their Labor Day meetings.

4. Wherever there is a Ministerial Union, work for an inter-racial and inter-faith organization, wherever feasible; also, invite the Local Unions or City or County Labor body to send fraternal delegates to their meetings.

5. Wherever there are discriminations in church, synagogue, or labor organizations, let members of both groups work for the elimination of these discriminations.

6. Organize symposiums and forums on religion and labor before various church groups, i.e., Men's Brotherhoods, Women and Young People's Societies.

7. Study labor-management conflicts in the community and offer services as conciliators, mediators, and arbitrators.

8. Maintain civil rights in their communities. In case a trade union group cannot find a hall in which to meet, offer the use of a room in the religious institution. Protect the right of both labor and management to organize and bargain collectively. If need be, go on the picket line with the workers where they have been denied the right to organize and bargain collectively.

9. Cooperate with the representatives of organized labor in organizing the employees of the unorganized church and synagogue printing plants.

10. Let religious and labor leaders analyze Capitalism and competing economic philosophies from the standpoint of religious and ethical principles and then work for that type of economic order which the individual feels is the highest and best.

11. Join the official social action group of your particular religious body.

12. Join the unofficial social action group of your religious body and work for its objectives.

13. In case religious body does not have an unofficial social action group, help organize one.

14. Cooperate with Willard Uphaus of the Religion and Labor Foundation and with John Ramsay in the setting up of local Religion and Labor groups.

Notice!

The Labor Commission of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and the RLF will cooperate in the publication of a series of 8-page action pamphlets based on the materials in the conference workshop reports. The pamphlets will contain materials omitted here because of lack of space.

The South at Great Economic Disadvantage

Workers and Farmers Do Not Share in Wealth They Produce—Conference Offers Program

In our study together of the economically dependent and subjugated status of the South, we have recognized the violation of human personality and brotherhood, principles basic for our religion. It is in an effort to serve these basic religious principles that we now seek to outline some of the ramifications of the disadvantageous status of the South, and to propose for conference adoption a program of action aimed at remedying the situation and developing a Southland marked by that abundance which is potentially in the hands of the people of the South by the grace of God, who is the source of all good things.

We have recognized that a contribution to the solution of the problem of the South will be a contribution to the solution of the problem of the similarly situated West, the workers and farmers of the North, and the exploited and colonial people of the entire world.

Control of Monopolistic Corporations and Dominant Families Intolerable

To an astounding degree the economic ownership and control of the South is concentrated in a small number of billion-dollar corporations which in turn, through interlocking directorates, are largely controlled by a handful of American families. To a disturbing and intolerable degree the wealth produced by the workers and farmers of the South has left the South to enlarge the already super-abundant coffers of the few monopolistic corporations and dominant families.

Let it be clear from the outset that the interests of the West are at one with the northern common people. We are all threatened by the autocratic and monopolistic concentration of power to which we have referred. There seems to be an inevitable centrifugal or expansionist tendency or drive growing out of this unhealthy concentration. We speak here not only of the drive for foreign markets, but also for investments all over the world. The billions of dollars' worth of capital available for investment now seek to control and own economic enterprises in virtually every area of the world. We have not been unaware of the fact that this situation serves as an ominous threat to the peace of the world. We know, therefore, that to free our Southland from its present subjugated and dependent economic status is to contribute in no small measure to the peace of the world.

We are sure further that a more democratic and equitable distribution of the power and wealth now concentrated in so few hands will contribute to the freedom, welfare and security of other peoples mentioned above, who are threatened by the present concentration of monopoly and power.

We have seen in our study many illustrations of the draining of the natural resources of the South by corporations, for example, lumber interests owned and controlled in the northeast. We have faced, too, a serious and continuous draining of our region's human resources, as year after year young men and women migrate from our area to areas of greater economic opportunity. We have been disturbed by the evidences of the alarming extent to which the non-southern control and ownership of the South has been reflected in the actions and inactions of our southern politicians, who often seem to work hand in glove with northern corporate interests. The Bulwinkle Bill, sponsored by a southern Congressman and supported amazingly by other southern Congressmen, is a striking evidence of the extent to which the link between present political machines in the South and Northern monopolies work against the interests of the South.

This freight rate differential, to which we have referred in the preceding paragraph, is one reason for the under-industrialization of the South when compared with other areas. This is a serious problem today. It will be far more serious if the expected mechanization of agriculture develops, and if a national depression sends back to the South unemployed workers in search of jobs.

The tendencies for economic nationalism and high tariffs, which have added strength today as a result of the Republican victory present, as before, a great threat to the South. On the whole, a high tariff system is in the interest of monopolistic northern industries and at the expense of the South as a whole, and perhaps especially its agrciultural population. Under a high tariff the southern farmer, for example, loses much of his market, notably his cotton market, and thus sees the prices of his product go down while he must pay higher tariff prices for his machinery, artificially maintained in the service of northern and monopolistic industries.

We all know that southern workers have been and continue to be paid less for their work than for workers at the same jobs in other areas. And the workers of the South have been handicapped in any effort to end this inequality by their lack of trade union organization, their lack of political rights (including often the right to vote), etc. We, the people of the South, have also suffered from a serious lack of education, including education about our problem and its solution.

Whence came the economic status of dependency and subjugation which is our great problem? Whence came the accompanying disability of our southern regions? One factor in the absentee control of the South is the civil war and its economic consequences. To a significant extent, the civil war represented not only a military vitory, but an economic victory for capitalistic industry centered in the North. We have given specific attention, for example, to the railroad corporations and the power they attained following the civil war. But we cannot and do not look to the civil war and its aftermath as an alibi for the problems confronted by the Southern people. We have no desire for a return to a feudal system of human slavery. We want a truly and fully democratic South, controlled by all of its people in the interest of all of its people. We know that we cannot make the significant strides that are needed until we break more completely with the feudal patterns which separate the common people and deny that unity and brotherhood which they must have for a victory in a common struggle.

1. **Organize the common people:** Workers into trade unions, farmers into progressive farmer unions, consumers into consumers' leagues and cooperatives, etc. Maintain the threatened right and power of organized labor, including the right to bargain on an industry-wide basis—so important to elimination of present wage rate differentials (including racial differentials). A strong, intelligent labor movement is our greatest hope for democracy and security.

2. **Political education and action.** The people must be informed of the facts and must all take political action as citizens, based on these facts. This necessitates universal suffrage and an end to all undemocratic voting restrictions, as the poll tax, the white primary, etc.

3. **Defeat the Bulwinkle Bill** and continue the fight for full equalization of freight rates.

4. **Stimulate home-owned industries,** using such methods as the separation tax, the taxation of outgoing wealth, etc.

5. **Expand Federal aid to southern states on the basis of need.** Support the National Health Act, the Federal Aid to Education Bill, expansion of Social Security and the inclusion of groups now excluded (as domestic and agricultural workers), the continuance and expansion of Federal Aid to southern farmers through long-term, low-interest loans, etc., and of Federal Aid to highways.

6. More T.V.A.'s.

7. Regional planning on behalf of southern resources and development.

8. Strengthen the Anti-Trust Act.

9. Dispose of War surplus on a preferential basis to the advantage of southern communities and home-owned industry.

10. Continue and extend the Reciprocal Trade program.

We call on religious individuals and organizations to work with labor and other progressive groups for this program.

Notice!

We are pleased to announce that the next issue of *Economic Justice* will include an analysis by Co-chairman Kermit Eby of the Federal Council of Churches Pittsburgh Conference on "Christianity and the Economic Order," held February 18-20.

Call and Declaration

This page is included so that our members throughout the United States and Canada may know who the people were who sponsored the Southern Conference and feel the concern which prompted them to issue the call; also the leaders responsible for the success of the workshops.
—THE EDITOR.

All over the world today the common man is rising to claim his rightful place in a just and democratic society. The growth of the labor movement out of the needs and aspirations of working men and women in the South is one manifestation of this claim. In the presence of this manifestation a group of religious leaders in the South are recognizing their responsibility and that of the institutions they serve.

We feel that in labor's assertion of its right to organize, religious leaders face an unprecedented opportunity to put into practice their respective faiths, by interpreting labor's struggle in accord with the will of God for a social order of divine justice and an abundant life for all, and by banding together to effect this purpose. At this moment, Religion and Labor definitely have a common responsibility in building the Brotherhood of Man.

We invite you to attend the Southern Religion and Labor Conference at the Butler Stret YMCA in Atlanta, February 4-5, 1947, at which churchmen and labor representatives will meet to formulate a program of action.

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RABBI SIDNEY WOLFE

Workshop Chairmen And Consultants

Thirty-one Experts in Church, Labor and Community Life Guide Conference Discussions

I. *The Church, Labor and the Community*

*Rev. David S. Burgess, Chr. Labor Commission, Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, East Prairie, Mo.

*Al Whitehouse, Director, District 25, United Steelworkers of America, Covington, Ky.

Dr. Maynard H. Jackson, Fellowship Baptist Church, Atlanta.

Dr. B. J. Oliver, Jr., Prof. of Sociology, Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Fla.

John G. Ramsay, CIO Community Relations Representative, Austell, Ga.

II. *The Media of Communication*

*Allan L. Swim, Public Relations Director, CIO Organizing Committee, Atlanta.

Dr. Dwight J. Bradley, Author, Lecturer, Theologian, New York, New York.

George Guernsey, Asst. Dir. of Education and Research, CIO, Washington.

Dr. Witherspoon Dodge, Georgia Rep., National Religion and Labor Foundation.

III. *Economic Restraints on the Church*

*Rev. Charles C. Webber, Pres., Virginia Industrial Union Council, Richmond.

George J. Harrison, Associate Director, Southeastern Regional Office, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Atlanta.

Rev. Harrison McMains, Minister, First Christian Church, Atlanta.

IV. *Youth, Education and Labor*

*George Harper, Secretary, National Conference of the Methodist Youth Fellowship, Nashville.

*Miss Nelle Morton, Exec. Sec., Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dean Julia F. Allen, Berea College, Berea, Ky.

Dean B. R. Brazeal, Morehouse College, Atlanta.

Frank McCallister, Director, Ga. Workers Education Service, Atlanta.

Miss Rosalie V. Oakes, Secretary, Southern Region, Y. W. C. A., Atlanta.

Alan B. Peabody, President, Interseminary Division, Religion and Labor Foundation, New Haven, Conn.

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Exec. Sec., Atlanta Urban League, Atlanta.

Prof. Glenn W. Rainey, Atlanta.

V. *The South as an Economic Dependency*

*Dr. D. G. Garland, AFL Representative, Winston-Salem, N. C.

*Rev. Jack R. McMichael, Exec. Sec., Methodist Federation of Social Service, New York, N. Y.

Miss Lucy Randolph Mason, CIO Public Relations Representative, Atlanta.

A. G. Mezerik, Author of "Revolt of the South and West," New York, N. Y.

VI. *Social and Labor Legislation*

*Miss Margaret Fisher, Executive Secretary, Committee for Georgia, Atlanta.

*Dr. George Mitchell, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta.

Prof. C. O. Bacote, Professor of History, Atlanta University, Atlanta.

Myles Horton, Director, Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn.

Rev. William P. Spofford, Jr., Executive Secretary, Church League for Industrial Democracy, New York, N. Y.

Austin T. Walden, Attorney, Atlanta.

Greetings to Atlanta Conference

DEAR WILLARD: I REGRET EXTREMELY THAT CONFLICTING ENGAGEMENTS MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO BE AT YOUR RELIGION AND LABOR CONFERENCE. I WANTED TO BE WITH YOU VERY MUCH BECAUSE I AM CONVINCED THAT THE RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION IS A KIND OF LEAVEN WHICH OUR WORLD NEEDS. THE FOUNDATION SEEKS TO BRING MEN TOGETHER NOT TO DIVIDE THEM. IT OPERATES ON THE POLICY THAT POWER WITH IS MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN POWER OVER MEN. IT HOLDS OUT HOPE FOR A WORLD IN WHICH IDEALISM IS MORE MEANINGFUL THAN DAY BY DAY ACCEPTANCE OF THE STATUS QUO. I AM CONVINCED THAT EVEN THOUGH BREAD AND SHELTER ARE IMPORTANT, MAN DOES NOT LIVE BY BREAD ALONE. BECAUSE OF THIS CONVICTION I AM PROUD TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH YOU NOT ONLY TODAY BUT FOR THE FUTURE. VERY SINCERELY.

Kermit Eby
Director, Education and Research, Congress of Industrial Organizations, and RLF Co-chairman

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The program and list of participants in your conference offer encouraging evidence that progressives of New South are determined to create the basic economic conditions for social and spiritual health. The struggle in Georgia today is not a private fight between Georgians or Southerners, for it reflects and symbolizes the larger struggle between reaction and progress throughout our land. And although the issue has been joined in Georgia at the level of constitutionalism and respect for the orderly process of law, we cannot blind ourselves to the deeper causes of that conflict, conflict lying in the material degradation and insecurity of the masses of Southern people, colored and white. The problem of building the economic foundations of individual self-esteem is most urgent in the South.

Southern progressives are today in the most exposed position along the firing lines where the old order is making its final stand. By your deliberations at this conference and by your actions in the days and years that follow, you can play the decisive part in the national effort to give the people of every region security, abundance and a sense of belonging. Without these, the forms of political democracy now threatened in Georgia will crumble everywhere.

Walter P. Reuther
President, UAW-CIO

Warmest fraternal greetings to the Southern Religion and Labor Conference from the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. You are meeting under historic circumstances in the city where both the rights of free religion and free labor are being challenged by the naked fascism of the Talmadge gang. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare is firm in the conviction that, by working for common objectives and opposing the common enemy together, organized religion, organized labor and other organized expressions of democracy and decency in the South can usher in a new era of freedom, prosperity and brotherhood. Our conference is pledged to offer every possible cunce of support to your conference in this all-important fight.

James Dombrowski

Few meetings in the South have been of greater importance than that in which you are now engaged, and I am very unhappy to be deprived of participation in it. Organized religion and organized labor can each make idispensable contributions to the life of the South and the nation. If they seek to do so in indifference or opposition to each other, the task of each will be very difficult. If they cooperate toward common goals, the outcome cannot be doubted. It is for this reason that the present conference is of such great symbolic importance, and I wish it every success.

Dr. Liston Pope
Yale Divinity School,
New Haven, Conn.

The Religion and Labor Council of Greater New Haven sends you best wishes for a successful conference. We believe that you in the South have the greatest challenge to face and at the same time the greatest opportunities to accomplish the fine social and religious ends we all seek.

May the impact of your united forces stagger the growing threat of fascism and its southern manifestations.

Clark H. Bauman
Executive Secretary, Religion and Labor Council of Greater New Haven

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The Ohio C.I.O. Council extends best wishes to the Southern Religion and Labor Conference. May Church and Labor cooperate to build a new era of prosperity and brotherhood.

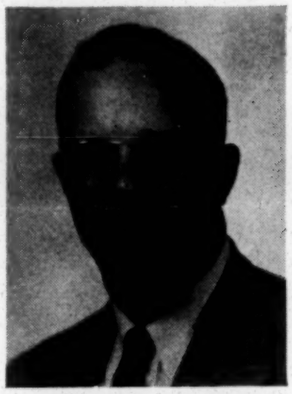
Orville C. Jones
Director, Community Relations

Church and Labor must unite in joint effort to build cooperative society. In that cause I join you.

Rev. O. Walter Wagner
Jackson, Mich.

The Religion Labor Foundation of Ontario, Canada, sends warmest greetings. Have been following reports of Church and Labor cooperation in the South with great interest and extend congratulations upon the progress being made with sincere good wishes for most successful conference. Yours in the struggle for Industrial Democracy.

Rev. E. Harold Toye
Religion-Labor Foundation of Toronto, Canada



Rev. Harrison McMains

All Faiths Outspoken

(Continued from page 3)

a personal letter from the Foundation to every minister in Atlanta, suggesting the holding of such a service in their churches in the near future.

"Religion's fight against all social evils will continue until all social misery will be eradicated from the face of the earth," asserted Rabbi Isidore Barnett of Congregation Agudath Achim, Savannah, Ga., who presided at the closing session of the Southern Religion and Labor Conference.

"The profoundly religious men of all times were outspoken and uncompromising in their fight for social justice and righteousness. The prophets who knew God most intimately fought for human rights most fearlessly. It was they who pleaded for the poor, the downtrodden, the weak, the underdog. In the name of religion, they espoused the cause of a universal brotherhood which was to know no bounds.

"Religion must be the dynamo of spiritual energy for all programs of social amelioration. It must be the dynamic agency equipped for social construction. It must labor for a social reconstruction which will afford all men—in all stations of life—a better chance of security and happiness. It must ever make men mindful that they are "their brothers' keepers." The Church, the Synagogue, must create in the hearts and minds of its devotees an uncompromising loyalty to all social ideals.

"The voice of Religion has been heard most emphatically in the domain of Labor. The living wage, the 8-hour day, the weekly day of rest, the freedom of workers to bargain collectively have been urged by many religious groups. The abolition of child-labor was demanded long before the Bill was enacted."

June 12, 1947

Mr. Curtis A. Crocker
State Consultation Service
815 East Franklin Street
Richmond 16, Virginia

Dear Mr. Crocker:

I am very grateful for your letter of June 4.

I shall get in touch with these institutions at once. If all of them are doing as good a job as being done at Virginia State, the published information should be very valuable to the extension of educational opportunities for Negro veterans.

Many thanks for your kind statement concerning my election to the presidency of St. Augustine's College. Please consider yourself a specially invited guest at all times.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

CLUB PROGRAM SERVICE

41 EAST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-1160

SUGGESTS THE FOLLOWING FOR 1946-1947

Please choose several names, giving open dates, etc., for speakers who interest you.

PROF. JAMES LUTHER ADAMS: University of Chicago; educator, theologian

DR. WILLIAM F. ALBRIGHT: Johns Hopkins University; expert on Arab affairs

DEAN ALFANGE: Gubernatorial candidate, New York State, 1942; author, civic leader

REV. W. W. WALDEMAR ARGOW: Eminent liberal churchman; author

DR. HENRY A. ATKINSON: Leading authority on social, economic and international relations

DR. KARL BAEHR: Minister, liberal theologian, authority on social problems

REV. B. BAHARIAN: Student of international affairs and problems of democracy; author

DR. FRANK E. BAKER: President, State Teachers College, Milwaukee

ROBERT L. BALFOUR: Business and Financial Editor, The Flint Journal

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY: Member of United States Senate

SAMUEL L. M. BARLOW: Visiting lecturer, Puerto Rico University, 1945; world affairs expert

REV. FLOYD ALLEN BASCH: Lecturer, student and exponent of minority rights

REV. RAINEY BENNETT: Able interpreter, America's place in the world scene

RABBI PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN: Advisor on Jewish affairs to Gen. Joseph T. McNarney in Europe

REV. CLARENCE BLEAKNEY: Lecturer; communal leader

DR. JOSEPH S. G. BOLTON: Chairman, English Department, Skidmore College

DR. ROGER D. BOSWORTH: Author; National Director, Youth Activities, Universalist Church

DR. BARBARA M. BOWEN: Professor Biblical History & Archaeology, Bob Jones College; author

REV. HILARY T. BOWEN: Religious and civic leader

DR. EDWARD H. BREWSTER: Active in New Hampshire Conference of Methodist Church

HON. OWEN BREWSTER: Member of United States Senate

PROF. HENRY MILLER BUSCH: Western Reserve University; radio news commentator

WALTER CATTERALL: Newspaper publisher

HON. EMANUEL CELLER: Member of United States Congress

REV. D. PARK CHAPMAN: Pastor, First Christian Church, East Liverpool, Ohio

REV. DR. KARL M. CHWOROWSKY: Radio personality; contributor to religious journals; educator

DR. JAMES C. CLARK: Popular lecturer, communal leader

REV. WALTON E. COLE: Author, radio speaker, civic leader, lecturer

DR. OLIVER J. COLLINS: District Superintendent, Methodist Church Peninsula Conference, Delaware

MAJOR RANULF COMPTON: Former United States Congressman; authority on Washington scene

THOMAS CONNOR: Newspaper editor

DAVID F. CONNORS: Journalist, editor, commentator

GEORGE HAMILTON COOMBES: Radio commentator, author, former Congressman

COL. EDWIN H. COOPER: Cinematographer; technicolor sound film on Palestine

REV. RUFUS CORNELSEN: Executive Secretary, New Brunswick Council of Churches

BARTLEY C. CRUM: Vice-Pres., National Lawyers Guild; leader of Willkie forces; eminent liberal

DR. CLARK WALKER CUMMINGS: Executive Secretary, Metropolitan Church Federation of St. Louis

REV. RICHARD DAWSON: Minister; interpreter of current world affairs

DEAN RAIMUNDO deOVIES: Minister, radio personality, writer

MARION DIMMOCK: Architect; lived in Middle East

HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN: Member of United States Congress

STANLEY DIXON: Popular news commentator, author, journalist

HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS: Member of United States Congress

REV. GEORGE E. DREW: Popular Detroit lecturer, minister

HON. HAROLD EARTHMAN: Member of United States Congress

MAJOR GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT: Columnist, New York Herald Tribune; radio commentator

DR. GERSON S. ENGELMANN: Lecturer in Sociology, University of Cincinnati; eminent churchman

MRS. JUDITH EPSTEIN: National President, Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America

MRS. ALISA KLAUSNER ESKOL: Native of Palestine, with pioneer background; educator, author

JOHNSON E. FAIRCHILD: Social geographer, traveler, educator, author

HON. HOMER FERGUSON: Member of United States Senate

RABBI LEON I. FEUER: Author, leader in communal and non-sectarian activities

MRS. WELTHY HONSINGER FISHER: Author, world traveler; knows the Orient and Middle East

DR. RAYMOND FORTNA: Religious leader; traveled in Mediterranean and Bible Lands

GEROLD FRANK: War correspondent, author, magazine contributor, Middle East expert

REV. JOHN H. FREHN: Civic leader

PROF. CARL J. FRIEDRICH: Harvard University, Professor of Government

HON. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT: Member of United States Senate

MRS. DOROTHY FULDHEIM: News commentator, Station WJW, Cleveland

DR. EARL HUBERT FURGESON: Minister; magazine contributor; popular Harvard churchman

WILLIAM S. GAILMOR: News commentator; publisher

PROF. PAUL LESLIE GARBER: Agnes Scott College; educator; authority on social trends

FRANK GERVASI: Foreign correspondent for Collier's; author; world traveler

RABBI ROLAND B. GITTELSOHN: Naval decoration for Iwo Jima Campaign; author

REV. J. STANLEY GRAUEL: Writer; radio commentator; student of national & international affairs

RUTH GRUBER: Foreign correspondent, New York Post

REV. RALPH T. HAAS: Former staff reporter and feature writer; student of international affairs

DOUGLAS HALL: Member, Mayor's Council on Human Relations, Minneapolis

PROF. RAYMOND A. HALL: University of Vermont, Burlington

PROF. S. RALPH HARLOW: Smith College; author; religious leader; extensive traveler

DR. DAVID DODDS HENRY: President, Wayne University; educator; author

HON. LISTER HILL: Member of United States Senate

REV. ROBERT S. HOAGLAND: Foreign affairs expert; world traveler; authority on race relations

REV. HARVEY W. HOLLIS: Exec. Secy., Federation of Churches of Christ in Albany

DR. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES: Minister, Community Church, New York City

DR. FRED HOSKINS: Chairman, Commission on Activities of Connecticut Council of Churches

REV. DAVID R. HUNTER: Department of Religious Education of Episcopal Diocese of Mass.; writer

REV. PAUL R. HUNTER: Pastor, Rock Spring Congregational Church, Arlington, Va.

DR. THEODORE JACKMAN: Lectures with color film on Palestine; traveled in Middle East

GEORGE W. JACOBSON: Secy.-Treas., Group Health Mutual and Group Health Association, St. Paul

MISS EDNA RUTH JOHNSON: Assistant Editor of The Churchman

HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON: Member of United States Senate

REV. ROBERT T. JOHNSON: Popular New England lecturer

MRS. WILMA JOHNSON: President, Midwest Unitarian Summer Conference

REV. DR. EDGAR DeWITT JONES: Minister; columnist; writer

REV. THOMAS J. JONES: Minister, educated in Wales; educator among miners in Pennsylvania

PROF. HORACE M. KALLEN: New School for Social Research; Professor of Philosophy & Psychology

DR. ARNOLD F. KELLER: Church journal contributor; member of Synodical Board of Education

HON. HARLEY M. KILGORE: Member of United States Senate

REV. G. OGDEN KIRK: Eminent churchman; lecturer on current world affairs

PROF. CHARLES A. LEE: Washington University; writer; administrator and educator

RABBI ARTHUR J. LELYVELD: Exec. Dir., Committee on Unity for Palestine, Zionist Organization

DR. EMIL LENGYEL: Author; contributor to important magazines

DR. MAX LERNER: Author; distinguished radio commentator; chief editorial writer PM

DR. HOWARD M. LeSOURD: Graduate School, Boston University; educator; author

MRS. HOWARD M. LeSOURD: Civic and church leader; popular among women's colleges and clubs

LUDWIG LEWISOHN: Novelist; critic; lecturer

DR. EDUARD C. LINDEMAN: Educator; Columbia University's New York School of Social Work; editor

ELEAZAR LIPSKY: Former Assistant District Attorney of New York

REV. FREDERICK P. LOMAN: War veteran; minister; traveler

DR. A. W. LOOS: Education Secretary, Church Peace Union

REV. DONALD G. LOTHROP: Communal leader in Boston; extensive traveler

REV. OTTO LOVERUDE: Widely traveled; student of foreign and domestic affairs

DR. WALTER CLAY LOWDERMILK: World traveler; expert soil conservationist; author

MRS. WALTER CLAY LOWDERMILK: Expert on Middle East and China; lecturer

MARVIN LOWENTHAL: Writer; historian and foreign correspondent; radio personality

IAN ROSS MacFARLANE: Radio commentator; war correspondent; lived pioneer life in Palestine

PRESIDENT DANIEL L. MARSH: Boston University; educator; author

OSCAR A. MARSH: Past Pres., City Parents & Teachers Association; educator, Protestant Churches

JAMES G. McDONALD: Foreign Policy Association; radio commentator

RALPH McGILL: Editor, Atlanta Constitution

HON. J. HOWARD McGRATH: Solicitor General of the United States

HON. DAVID A. McKEE: Veteran jurist in West Virginia

HON. BRIEN McMAHON: Member of United States Senate

PROF. FRANCIS E. McMAHON: University of Chicago; newspaper columnist; radio personality

HON. JAMES M. MEAD: Member of United States Senate

HON. CHESTER EARL MERROW: Member of United States Congress

RABBI IRVING MILLER: Honorary Secretary, World Jewish Congress

DR. KENNETH M. MONROE: Illustrated lectures; Professor, Palestinian History & Archaeology

EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER: Distinguished columnist; radio commentator; war correspondent; author

HON. JAMES E. MURRAY: Member of United States Senate

PROF. LITT. ROBERT NEUMANN: Professor Religious Education; author

REV. ALFRED S. NICKLESS: Pastor, First Church, Davenport; contributor to publications

DR. REINHOLD NIEBUHR: Union Theological Seminary; nationally known religious leader & thinker

MISS MAXA NORDAU: Painter; writer; author; world traveler

WARD J. OATES: Formerly Financial Adviser, Displaced Persons Commission, Mediterranean Area

REV. RAYMOND M. O'BRIEN: Pastor; champion of minority causes

HON. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY: Member of United States Senate

ALLAN BURR OVERSTREET: Instructor in Government & International Relations, Wesleyan University

MRS. BONARO WILKINSON OVERSTREET: Poet; psychologist; author; contributor to PM

DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET: Distinguished educator; philosopher; psychologist; author

REV. LESLIE PENNINGTON: Minister; Chairman, South Side Community Council, Chicago

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER: Member of United States Senate

REV. GLENN R. PHILLIPS: Lecturer on West Coast; widely traveled; writer for religious journals

REV. WENDELL PHILLIPS: Former professor at American University in Cairo, Egypt

GEORGE F. PIERROT: Editor; writer; world traveler

DR. DANIEL A. POLING: Religious leader; newspaper columnist; radio personality; author

DR. TRACY M. PULLMAN: Active in Detroit Round Table of Catholics, Jews and Protestants

THE VERY REV. JAMES A. W. REEVES: President, Seton Hill College, Greensburg, Pa.

DR. FREDERICK E. REISSIG: Vice-President, Citizens Committee on Race Relations

REV. FRANK RICKER: President, Meadville Conference of Unitarian Churches; community leader

MISS DAPHNE ROBERT: Past President, National Association of Women Lawyers

REV. ROBERT E. ROMIG: Civic leader; lecturer on international affairs

REV. ARTHUR A. ROUNER: World traveler and eminent lecturer; writer

EDGAR W. RYLANDER: Youth leader; formerly stationed in Palestine with Red Cross

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL: Member of United States Senate

REV. O. E. SANDEN: Lecturer and author

RABBI EDWARD T. SANDROW: Pastor, Temple Beth El, Cedarhurst, N.Y.; contributor to publications

REV. PHILLIP SARLES: Leader in civic affairs

MISS ALICE SCHALEK: Illustrated lectures; author; world traveler; eminent photographer

DR. FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN: Historian; political scientist

SULAMITH SCHWARTZ: Resident of Palestine; teacher; translator and journalist

LISA SERGIO: Authority on world affairs; radio commentator

REV. WAITSTILL H. SHARP: Extensive traveler; first-hand authority on refugee problem in Europe

MRS. WAITSTILL H. SHARP: Extensive traveler; first-hand authority on refugee problem in Europe

DR. GUY EMERY SHIPLER: Editorial Chief, The Churchman; rector, St. Paul's Church, Chatham, N.J.

PRESIDENT GEORGE SHUSTER: Hunter College; author; educator; editor

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER: Zionist leader; author; civic leader

DR. HANS SIMONS: Dean, School of Politics, New School for Social Research

HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH: Member of United States Senate

DR. RALPH W. SOCKMAN: Minister, Christ Church, New York; author; radio & platform personality

REV. JOSEPH M. SOMERS: Lecturer on current events

REV. LEX KING SOUTER: Veteran; minister

REV. CLAUDE W. SPROUSE: Minister; lecturer on national and international affairs

HON. TOM STEWART: Member of United States Senate

DR. WILLIAM L. STIDGER: Boston University; popular radio commentator; author; world traveler

REV. ARTHUR G. SWARTZ: Chaplain; minister

REV. PHILLIP ALLEN SWARTZ: Pastor; contributor to religious press

HON. ELBERT D. THOMAS: Member of United States Senate

DR. WILLIAM J. R. THORBECKE: Netherlands diplomat; economist; lived in Palestine one year

MRS. WILLIAM J. R. THORBECKE: World traveler; author; spent one year in Middle East

MRS. MILTON E. TILLY: Director, Christian Social Relations, Methodist Church, Southeast

HON. CHARLES W. TOBEY: Member of United States Senate

MISS MARIE TOLSTOY: College of the City of New York; granddaughter of Count Leo Tolstoy

REV. EARL H. TOMLIN: Pastor; educator; traveled in Europe, Near East and Palestine

REV. DR. HERMAN L. TURNER: Popular lecturer; leader in youth movements

ALEXANDER UHL: Foreign and national editor, PM; Associated Press Correspondent, Europe, 6 years

MRS. HOWELL VAN AUKEN: Civic leader

REV. DR. JOHN ARTHUR VISSER: Radio sermons; educator; lecturer

DR. CARL HERMANN VOSS: Traveler; writer; editor; authority on international problems

J. RAYMOND WALSH: Radio commentator; economist; political scientist; educator

REV. WILFRED WAKEFIELD: Member Chicago Church Federation

MISS HELEN WAREN: Visited displaced persons camps in Germany; stage and radio performer

DR. HOWARD B. WARREN: Author; minister; lecturer

LAMBERTUS WARTENA: Educator; traveler; author; lecturer for Netherlands Information Bureau

REV. LOUIS E. WATSON: Popular lecturer on international affairs

MRS. NEYAN WATTS-STEVENS: Expert on international affairs; daughter of a former ambassador

DR. HARVEY CURTIS WEBSTER: Professor of English, Fisk University; contributor to periodicals

DR. PHILIP WELTNER: Pres., Oglethorpe University; authority on government and housing

REV. ARTHUR S. WHEELOCK: Chairman, Int'l Relations Com., Congregational-Christian Churches

RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE: Veteran Zionist leader; distinguished lecturer; author

Ci-

MEDIA 1563-W

C-r Spivey

COMMUNITY WORKSHOP ASSOCIATION
INCOPORATED IN PENNSYLVANIA

DOROTHY RUNDLE FOUNDATION
FELLOWSHIP CENTER
WALLINGFORD, PA.
(SUBURB OF PHILADELPHIA)

January 27, 1948

JAN 28 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesleyian Memorial Building
Atlanta, Ga.

Dera Mr. Mitchell:

We have just received a letter from Mary L. Elkuss, telling us of your talk to them about our work, and asking for our help.

We know of no place which we are more interested in helping, and appreciate your putting them in touch with us. We believe that you understand our aims and purposes very well and are glad to have you as our spokesman whenever you find a place that we can help to good advantage.

Best regards to you and your work.

Sincerely,

Willis T. Spivey

Willis T. Spivey

Ci -
Clary, Geo E.

January 29, 1948

The Reverend Dr. George E. Clary
224 Barnard Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clary:

I have had a most agreeable letter from Mrs. George Karnopf, telling me of your kindness in helping to get her and her husband oriented in Savannah.

Nothing is of more pleasure in working with the Council than to find the generosity and kind spirit of its members.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Say Movement

Carver

48

% The Ohio Book Store
544 Main Street
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

RECEIVED
FEB 4
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter and the outline arrived today. Was it Miss Price who did all this painstaking work for me? Do give my thanks to whoever did it. The people at Tuskegee were most kind to me. Reverend Richardson was especially helpful. I was unable to get half of the material needed--and so plentifully at hand--in the two weeks which were all I could spend at the time. I shall be back in Tuskegee in April. I do appreciate your offer to allow me to have your files. Since I shall be in the south soon I believe it would be as well to come to your office to examine them and take notes. I am proud that you are willing to trust them to me, but since it will be as easy to get the information on the spot will come to you for it.

I should be glad to have you look over anything I may write. I don't want to cause trouble of any sort. If I do so it will be unintentional. Having you read what I write should take care of that. The people at the Institute are going to do the same thing.

I was most interested in the mention of Dr. Carver's working out a diet for Ghandi. I had wondered how the two men became acquainted, but hadn't been able to get any definite information on this point. Hadn't realized that he was a Presbyterian either. Reverend Richardson had heard the same thing and was asking me about it while I was at the Institute. I wrote him this evening asking for information about A.L. Holsey. While at Tuskegee I read some very fine articles by Mr. Eleazer in the files of the Tuskegee Messenger. It is easy to see why Jim Hardwick admired him.

Please ask Miss Price to write me if she gets any more information about the Mississippi State College for Women incident.

Thanks again for your kindness and cooperation.

Very Sincerely Yours,

Ethel Edwards

Carver, G. W.

January ~~28~~ 30, 1948

Miss Ethel Edwards
c/o Ohio Book Store
544 Main Street
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Dear Miss Edwards,

Since you were here one of our young ladies has dug out of the files a good deal of material bearing on Dr. Carver. It is contained in a couple of folders.

She has prepared a precis of a representative group of the items, given in item #I, attached. In addition, in case you should wish to go through some of the material closely yourself, she has made an inventory of the items which is attached as item #II.

If you would like to examine the whole file we will be glad to send it on to you, you accepting responsibility to get it back as inventoried. Because of the nature of our work we would have to have your agreement to let us see in advance any manuscript material from your pen resulting from these files. This is a clumsy request, we know, but we feel a responsibility to protect the various Southern persons from any chance of injury.

Very truly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:gm
Encl

I. Precis of Representative Material

A. Correspondence

1.Oct. 30, 1925. Robert Eleazer to Secretary, Royal Society of Arts, London, England.
Is it true that Professor George Carver is a member of the Royal Society, and if so, by whom was he nominated and on what grounds?

2. Nov. 13, 1925. G.K. Menzies, Secretary, Royal Society of Arts, to Robert Eleazer.
Professor Carver is a Fellow of the Society, elected in 1916, nominated by the Council of the Society on the basis of membership in a kindred American society.

3. Jan. 5, 1927, Jackson, Miss. Blake W. Godfrey, Mississippi State YMCA Secretary, to W.W. Alexander.
President Holtzclaw (of Utica Institute) and I want to have Dr. Carver arrive at Columbus February 25th or 26th. We will make speaking engagements for M.S.C.W. in Columbus, A & M, Ole Miss, Millsaps, Mississippi College, Utica, Alcorn, and any other places time will permit. Please send confirmation as soon as possible.

Enclosure: Signed carbon copy of letter dated Jan. 9, 1927, G. W. Carver to Blake Godfrey.
I have letters from you and Mr. Alexander urging a trip (through Mississippi). How many schools and how much time would be involved? Could I have as little train riding at night as possible and someone to help me with heavy baggage when train changes are made. Last fall I had the experience of missing a train, being alone with heavy baggage, in cold weather, with no colored person at the station, no way to telegraph. I don't complain, but want to provide against this happening, as it hinders the work.

4. Jan. 10, 1927. Godfrey to Alexander.
Thank you for helping us get Dr. Carver. I feel sure he will come. It would seem advisable to have Mr. Eleazer accompany him (as suggested), and I approve the idea. There is no way of providing expenses or honorarium either from the colleges, who might cancel the visits if financing were suggested, or from the "Y", which has no funds, so I hope the Commission can undertake this.

5. Jan. 9, 1927. Carver to Eleazer, holograph.
I have letters from you, Dr. Alexander, and Mr. Godfrey. Mr. Alexander feels the Mississippi trip is our greatest opportunity so far, and I believe I will make it. I wonder how the middle of March will suit Mr. Lanham. Could you find out? I have had rheumatism since this last trip, but can walk now.

B. Clippings (summaries)

1. Afro-American, Nov. 22, 1930. Story states Carver has collaborated in making up a nourishing diet for Mahatma Gandhi, after request by representative who came to Tuskegee to ask his help, as announced at Carver's Morgan College lecture in Baltimore. Carver spoke on the peanut, gave same lecture to group at Johns Hopkins University. Summary, with quotations, is given of usual lecture describing inspirational keynote of his research, analytic and experimental methods in peanut product research. Work with sweet potato, clay pigments also described. Asked in interview whether products have practical commercial value, Carver answered he was not a business man and could not judge commercial value, but that everything he showed had been used and found practical. (Entry 11, clipping inventory)

2. Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va., May 12, 1934. Photograph of Dr. Carver with Henry Wallace, made at Tuskegee, shown. Feature article on Carver, written from interview, describes clothes, personality, habits, lists honors and accomplishments, discusses rumor that one of Carver's peanut oils would be used in treatment of prominent person for polio, fact that Henry Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, was friend of Carver's and former student of his at Iowa. (Entry 16, clipping inventory)

3. Illustrated Feature Section (Negro paper, name not given), May 30, 1931. Story datelined Christiansburg, Va., written from interview or lecture given April 25. Most of story quotes Dr. Carver's account of his having observed a spider which made its web in his dormitory window, of the lessons on life he learned from it, of how, in simple generosity, he dropped several spiders outside the door of each student on his corridor when his spider hatched eggs. (Entry 12, clipping inventory)

4. Kaiser, Berwin, "The Scientist Who Asks God." This Week, Feb. 27, 1938.
This is a half-page article with usual biographical material and comment, draws almost entirely on earlier stories. A good photograph of Carver in his laboratory is included. (Entry 14)

C. Leaflet Material (descriptions)

1. Collection of editorial exerpts, mostly from Southern newspapers, 1917-1923. Most of these are apparently in connection with a 1923 speaking tour. All praise Dr. Carver's work and influence. Included also is one brief exerpt from the Survey Graphic of July, 1923, and a letter of appreciation to Dr. Carver from the UDC, Georgia Division. No date or publisher for the pamphlet is indicated. Entry 1, Leaflet Inventory.

2. Carver of Tuskegee Institute, Classroom Material No. N-2, Service Bureau for Education in Human Relations, assisted by WPA for New York City. ~~(Entry , leaflet inventory)~~.
The leaflet includes biographical material arranged for classroom

Entry 3

use, with suggested related reading and projects

II. Inventory

A. Correspondence

1. Nov. 13, 1925. R. B. Eleazer to Secretary, Royal Society of Arts, London, England. See I-A-1.
2. Nov. 13, 1925. G.K. Menzies, Sec., Royal Society of Arts, to Robert Eleazer. See I-A-2.
3. Jan. 5, 1927, Jackson, Miss. Blake W. Godfrey, Mississippi State YMCA Secretary, to W.W. Alexander. See I-A-3.
4. Jan. 9, 1927. Carver to Godfrey, signed carbon. (Date discrepancy noted). Enclosed with above (3). See I-A-3.
5. Jan. 10, 1927. Godfrey to Alexander. See I-A-4. Ink spots upper r.h. corner.
6. Jan. 9, 1927. Carver to Eleazer, holograph. See I-A-5.
7. Jan. 20, 1927. Godfrey to Carver. Tentative itinerary for Mississippi trip.
8. Jan. 24, 1927. Carver to Eleazer. New Year's greetings note.
9. Jan. 11, Furman University, Greenville, S.C. Richard W. Chaplin, Jr. to Interracial Commission. This letter and the three immediately following concern a request for Carver to speak at a South Carolina conference, not granted due to Mississippi trip.
10. Jan. 12. Eleazer to Chaplin.
11. Feb. 1. Chaplin to Eleazer.
12. Feb. 3. Eleazer to Chaplin.
13. Feb. 4. Godfrey to Eleazer. Details of Miss. trip.
14. Grenada College, Grenada, Miss., undated. Sarah Luckie to Sue Hill (of the Commission). Request for Carver to speak at college.
15. Feb. 15. Sue Hill to Sarah Luckie. Suggests contact Godfrey.
16. Feb. 15. Telegram, Eleazer to Godfrey. Stresses importance of engagements at Mississippi state schools.
17. Feb. 15. Telegram, Godfrey to Eleazer. Trip canceled.
18. Feb. 15. Godfrey to Carver. Trip canceled.
19. Feb. 15. Eleazer to Carver. Explains no cancellation intended by Commission.
20. Feb. 15. Eleazer to Godfrey. Cover letter for carbon of above (19).
21. Feb. 17. Carver to Eleazer, holograph. Will make Miss. trip, despite difficulties.
22. Feb. 17. Copy of telegram, W.H. Holtzclaw to Carver, enclosed with above letter (21).
23. Feb. 18. Telegram, Alexander to Godfrey. Urges continue to plan on Miss. trip.
24. Feb. 18. Alexander to Godfrey. Summarizes correspondence on cancellation incident, quoting all wires.
25. Feb. 19. Telegram, Alexander to Flo May Johnson, MSCW YWCA Secretary. Notifies that Carver will be in Mississippi.
26. Feb. 19. Telegram, Alexander to Godfrey. Tentative inineraty.
27. Feb. 7, Nashville, Tenn. Wilson L. Newman to Sue Hill. Lists contacts in Louisiana, in case possible to extend trip that far.
28. Feb. 19. Sue Hill to Newman. Asks further information on La. openings.
29. Feb. 21. Newman to Sue Hill. Discusses La. possibilities, Miss. state school cancellation.
30. Feb. 11, Peabody College, Nashville, Tenn. M.D. Dunlap to Sue Hill. Requests Carver for speaking visit.
31. Feb. 23. Hill to Dunlap. Discusses possible Tenn. trip.

32. Feb. 28. Carver to Alexander. Discusses Miss. trip results.
33. March 22. Eleazer to A. L. Holsey, Tuskegee. Asks Carver's church connections. Original returned with note indication Presbyterian.
34. April 22, Washington and Lee, Lexington, Va. Karl Zerfoss, YMCA sec., toSue Hill. Comment on Carver's visit.
35. May 4. Hill to Zerfoss. Thanks for comment.
36. April 30. Carver to Hill, holograph. Feels can make no more tours soon.
37. June 13. Hill to Carver. Discusses possible Atlanta trip.
38. June 15. Carver to Hill, holograph. Suggests following fall for Atlanta trip.
39. March 13, 1928, Richmond, Va. Forrest Brown, State YMCA Student Secretary, to Eleazer. Cover letter for enclosed itinerary.
40. Tentative itinerary for Virginia trip, enclosed with above (39).
41. March 26. Carver to Eleazer, holograph. Discussion of Virginia trip.
42. April 22, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va. Mary Jenness to Eleazer. Requests write-up on Carver.
43. April 30. Forrest Brown to Eleazer. Discusses Virginia trip and reactions.
44. April 30. Brown to Carver, carbon copy. Reports Virginia reactions to tour.
45. April 28. Carver to Eleazer. Comment on trip.
46. May 1. Eleazer to Carver. Sends check for trip expenses.
47. May 3. Carver to Eleazer, holograph. Virginia trip.
48. May 17. Carver to Eleazer, holograph. Virginia trip.
49. Jan. 1, 1929, Southern Pines, N.C. L. R. Reynolds to Eleazer. Requests information on Carver with N.C. tour in mind.
50. Jan. 20. Carver to Eleazer, holograph. Probably cannot make N.C. trip, due to health.
51. Jan. 22. Eleazer to Reynolds. Carver probably cannot make trip.
52. March 3. Carver to Eleazer, holograph. Mentions Founder's Day.
53. March 14. Eleazer to Carver. Looks forward to their meeting Founder's Day.
54. June 9. Carver to Eleazer. Covering letter for 56.
55. May 21, Montgomery, Ala. Copy of letter, Leon McCord, Presiding Judge, Fifteenth Judicial Circuit Court. Letter of praise.
56. Oct. 8, 1930, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. Forrest Brown to Eleazer. This letter and the five immediately following concern a request for mats of Carver in connection with a speaking tour, and some general discussion of student interracial work.
57. Oct. 11. Eleazer to Brown.
58. Oct 23. Eleazer to Brown.
59. Nov. 5. Eleazer to Brown.
60. Nov. 4. Brown to Eleazer.
61. Nov. 6. Eleazer to Brown.
62. Nov. 29. Carver to Eleazer. Discusses food product research.
63. Nov. 2, 1933. Memo, Philip Weltner, Chancellor, to Heads of Institutions of the University System of Georgia. Comments on Carver's chapel talk.
64. Nov. 14, 1933. Carver to Eleazer, holograph. Cover letter for copy of letter on race relations. Latter not in files.
65. Nov. 16. Eleazer to Carver. Acknowledges above.
66. Aug. 11, 1939. Eleazer to Ralph Davis, Dept. of Research and Records, Tuskegee. Requests recent information on Carver.
67. Aug. 15. Davis to Eleazer. Cover letter for enclosed biographical material. (See leaflet inventory, entry 8).

B. Clippings.

1. No paper, Nov. 4, 1922. Feature, stresses peanut products.
2. Eleazer, R. B., "The 'Goober Wizard'". Intercollegian, March 1924, 10-11.
3. Daily News-Record, Harrisonburg, Va., April 19, 1928. News story on lecture at Bridgewater College.
4. Roanoke (Va.) Times, April 22, 1928. Notice of coming lecture.
5. Virginia Tech, V.P.I., Blacksburg, Va., April 24, 1928. News report on lecture.
6. Caudill, Rebecca, "An Adventure in Black". The Epworth Era, August, 1928. Biography, personality, achievements.
7. Phillips, the Rev. Ray E., "A Negro Scientist". The South African Outlook, Oct. 1, 1928. Describes visit to Carver's laboratory.
8. East Tennessee News, Knoxville, Nov. 26, 1928. Notice of Carver article in Farm and Fireside for that month.
9. Chicago Bee, Jan. 1929. Reprint of Farm & Fireside article on Carver.
10. Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City, Okla., Jan. 1930. Story in connection with Carver speaking to local teachers' associations.
11. Afro-American, Baltimore, Md., Nov. 22, 1930. Story on local lecture.
12. Illustrated Feature Section, no paper indicated, May 30, 1931. Feature.
13. Constitution, Atlanta, Ga., June 2, 1931. Ill. News story on plaque of Carver given Tuskegee.
14. Press Release, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, May 5, 1932. News story on Mississippi tour.
15. Sunday School Worker (Ga. Baptist publication), Sept 7, 1933. First of biographical series on Carver's life, composed of reprints from various newspapers.
16. Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va., May 12, 1934. Ill. Feature.
17. Stewart, Ollie, "Dr. Carver and the South's New Deal". Southern Workman (Hampton Institute publication), Sept. 1934. Biographical article.
18. Kaiser, Berwin, "The Scientist Who Asks God". This Week, Feb. 27, 1938. Biographical article.

Undated:

19. Marked Charleston Messenger, datelined Columbia, S.C., Feb.-- News story on Carver S.C. speaking tour.
    Editorial comment, credited as reprint to Christian Index, March 19, 1931. Discusses Soviet's offer to Carver.
    (The two above clippings are mounted together.)
20. Carter, Carl, Crusaders News Agency. Feature. Written 1930's.
21. Eleazer, Robert, press release feature. Marked for release Feb. 17. Apparently used in publicity for speaking tour of 1928.
22. Probably Atlanta Journal, July 2-, probably 1942 or '43. News story on Carver's visit to Henry Ford.
23. Press release (ANP), June--, probably 1940. Newsstory on award of plaque to Carver by Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians.
24. Brawley, Benjamin, "Negro Builders and Heroes", exerpt. Biographical outline.
25. Atlanta World, probably 1931. Reprint from Birmingham News of of feature praising Carver.

C. Leaflet material.

1. Leaflet of reprints of articles from magazines; selected editorial exerpts, mostly from Southern papers; a letter of appreciation from the UDC, Georgia Division. No date or publisher. 2 copies.
2. List of Fellows, Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, 1924-25. William Clowes and Sons. London, 1924.
3. Carver of Tuskegee Institute. Classroom Material No. N-2, Service Bureau for Education in Human Relations, assisted by WPA for New York City.
4. Dickens, Arthur, et. al., Paints, Calcimines, and Stains for the Farm. Leaflet No. 2, Agricultural Research & Experiment Station, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

5. Stewart, Ralf B., Jr., Stains from Alabama Clays. Leaflet No. 3, A. R. & E. S., Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
6. Pamphlet of Southern press reports and editorials, for most part on lecture tour of Virginia and Carolinas, May 1933. No date or publisher indicated for pamphlet.
7. Southern Workman, May, 1939. Special George W. Carver issue containing the following articles on Carver:
   a. Zuber, Osburn, "Negro Scientist Shows 'Way Out' for Southern Farmers". Montgomery Advertiser, Dec. 22, 1929. Reprint.
   bb. Turner, Thomas W., "Dr. George W. Carver".
   Attached is a slipped second copy of the articles.
8. George W. Carver: South's Great Agricultural Scientist. Mimeographed INFORMATION BULLETIN ON LIFE AND ACHIEVEMENTS, including list of published bulletins, prepared at Tuskegee.
99 Two photographs of Carver in his laboratory. Glossy prints, 8" x 10", slightly frayed at upper corners.

Comer, Donald

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GENERAL OFFICES:
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ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO THE COMPANY

Birmingham, Alabama
February 13, 1948

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

It looked for a moment that I could be in Montgomery on Tuesday, February 17 but we have arranged to meet with the Alabama newspaper publishers that day in connection with the continued promotion of the newsprint paper mill at Childersburg and I have to be here.

Yours truly

Donald Comer

RECEIVED
FEB 16 1948
Southern Regional Council

Carver, G. W.

February 17, 1948

Miss Elizabeth Tittsworth
Wesley Foundation
Columbus, Mississippi

Dear Miss Tittsworth:

Thanks muchly for the information on Dr. Carver. I have sent it along to Miss Edwards.

If Wesley Foundation ever gets out an alumnae letter, be sure to send me one!

Sincerely,

M Price

Dear Margaret:

I did not have to tickle my memory, to remember you. I do that with pleasure.

Mr. Carver spoke at Union Academy which is the High School for Negroes at Columbus. Miss Elsie Moore, M.S.C.W. faculty member heard him. She said he did not speak at a church.

Sincerely,
Elizabeth Tittsworth

Feb. 11, 1948

NA-0302

COLUMBUS, MISS.
FEB 11
12 30 PM
1948

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Miss Margaret Price
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Corr, GW

February 6, 1948

Miss Elizabeth Tittsworth
Wesley Foundation Director
Mississippi State College for Women
Columbus, Mississippi

Dear Miss Tittsworth:

If you tickle your memory, I think you will remember who I am! I was an M.S.C.W. gal in the days when Miss Sampley was Wesley Foundation Director, and my sister Kathrine graduated from there a couple of years ago. I expect you knew her as Kathrine Blackburn.

I've a request to ask of you, which I hope you will refuse if it involves too many difficulties. A week or so ago a Miss Ethel Edwards of Cincinnati, Ohio, was in the office seeking information on George Washington Carver. Her boss, Mr. James Hardwicke, was a YMCA secretary at one time and traveled over the South with Dr. Carver who was making speeches at schools and colleges under the auspices of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. (As you probably know, the Commission was absorbed by the Southern Regional Council when the latter was chartered in 1944.)

As I understand it, Mr. Hardwicke is exploring the possibilities of writing a book about his experiences with Dr. Carver, and Miss Edwards is doing field work for him. She came to this office to get what material she could from the Commission files. In the course of our conversation she mentioned that Dr. Carver had been scheduled to speak at M.S.C.W. but was refused permission. I pricked up my ears and jogged my memory and remembered that I had heard something about the incident.

The story is something like this: College authorities had given permission to Dr. Carver to speak in the auditorium, but when the time came they got cold feet for some reason and decided that he should not speak there. Hardwicke and others tried to arrange for him to speak in the Central Methodist Church (isn't that the one across from the campus?) but were unsuccessful. He finally spoke at a Negro church in Columbus. Just to make the record complete, Miss Edwards would like to know the name of the Negro church.

I told her that I might be able to find out what church it was by writing to you. Do you think you could find out without too much trouble and without stirring up fresh trouble? I doubt that this bit of information is important enough for you to spend much time and effort on, but if you can get it with a minimum of trouble it would complete the story for Miss Edwards. I think the incident took place in the early Thirties--about 1932.

How are things at M.S.C.W. and at Wesley Foundation? My family has moved from Columbus all the way to Alabama, so I get only tidbits of news.

I remember with much pleasure working at Wesley Foundation. It was then practically the only spot of liberalism on the campus, and I imagine it still has that status!

Many thanks for whatever you can do about the Carver incident, and best wishes to you and all the Wesley Foundation folks.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

CARE

February 24, 1948

The Reverend Mr. George Avent
Wesleyan College
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mr. Avent:

Thank you very much for sending the money order for sixteen dollars which the young ladies in your classes contributed toward food relief in Austria.

I have sent the money to CARE in New York City, with the request that this amount be forwarded in food, less postage, to Herr Utas.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: ltr to CARE,
dtd 20Feb48

CARE

February 20, 1948

CARE
50 Broad Street
New York 4, New York

Sirs:

The enclosed should be self-explanatory.

The letter was sent by me to the Reverend Mr. George Avent, teacher at Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia. The young ladies at the college, presumably students in Mr. Avents' classes, contributed the enclosed money order for sixteen dollars.

I should be grateful for your kindness in forwarding the proceeds, less postage, in food to Herr Utas.

I have written Herr Utas as enclosed of this request to your organization for its kind services.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures

GSM:eb

February 20, 1948

Herrn

Israel L. Utas, Chairman
Judischer und Ehemals
Judischer Arbeiter
Lothringerstrabe 6
Vienna 4, Austria

My dear Herr Utas:

I turned over your letter of November 6 to the Reverend Mr. George Avent, a professor at Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia.

Professor Avent's students have kindly contributed the sum of sixteen dollars. I have forwarded the sixteen dollars to CARE in New York City, with a request that they forward to you the amount of food which the money will buy, less postage.

I regret that this matter has been so slowly handled.

It was gratifying that this large group of young women were brought by your letter into first-hand acquaintance with the conditions of need in Vienna.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

CARE

March 9, 1948

Miss Violet Oaklander
Educational Unit
CARE
50 Broad Street
New York 4, N. Y.

Dear Miss Oaklander:

Thank you for your letter of March 3. It was good of you to take care of the shipment to Mr. Utas.

This will authorize you to place the remaining six dollars in your General Relief Fund.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

CARE
C-

March 9, 1948

The Reverend Mr. George Avent
Wesleyan College
Macon, Georgia

Dear George:

Here is a letter back from CARE.

The students who have kindly put up this money will have met with sincere appreciation, I am sure.

I have written to CARE and authorized them to add the extra six dollars to their General Relief Fund.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures : Ltr from CARE,
dtd 3Mar48;
GSM:eb cy ltr to CARE,
sgd GSMitchell,
dtd 9Mar48.

C
O
P
Y

CARE

50 Broad Street, New York 4, N. Y.

March 3, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 20th and your money order in the amount of $16.00. A $10.00 CARE food package will be sent to Mr. Utas and when the package is delivered, a receipt signed by the recipient will be returned to you.

The remaining $6.00 will be placed into our General Relief Fund, unless you would care to send us another remittance for $4.00 and we will send a second package to Mr. Utas or anyone else of your choice. We will hold this portion of your money order until we hear from you. A return envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

We certainly do appreciate the interest displayed by the students at Wesleyan College to alleviate the suffering in hungry Europe. If we may be of service to you again please do not hesitate to call upon us.

Sincerely yours,

/a/ Violet Oaklander
/t/ Violet Oaklander
Educational Unit

Co—
Council of State Govts

March 2, '48

Council of State Governments
1313 East Sixtieth Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Gentlemen,

The article beginning on page 2 of the enclosed copy of February NEW SOUTH may be of interest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Feb Extended

April 11 & 12

Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems

1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.

WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

A national organization of Catholics formed to promote the study and understanding of industrial problems by the calling of conferences at which no vote is taken on questions of industrial policy.

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Social Action Department
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Washington, D. C.

INTERRACIAL SECRETARY

MARGARET GARRITY
Social Action Department
National Catholic Welfare Conference
Washington, D. C.

53 [redacted] 53

March 3, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 5 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It was certainly a pleasure meeting you and the members of your staff in Atlanta last week and I thought the meeting went off very well. I also can't begin to tell you how grateful I was for your accepting our invitation to speak at New Orleans.

The meeting is to be a two-day one, starting with Mass Sunday morning at 10:30 and an afternoon and evening session Sunday, and then a morning, afternoon and evening session Monday. You are scheduled to speak Monday night at 8:00 and the title we have given is "The New South--Positive Achievements". Following you will be a speaker from the C.I.O., I am in hopes Mr. Bitner, who will talk on "Trade Unions Plan Toward Full Employment" and then Father McGowan will speak on Catholic social teaching. The talk, as you outlined it to me, sounded very good and we will consider it a privilege to have you on our program.

Again may I congratulate you and the other members of your staff for the successful conference last week. Looking forward to seeing you in New Orleans, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Garrity

Margaret Garrity
Interracial Secretary

MG:mp

Clover

State A. and M. College
Orangeburg, S. C.
March 6, 1948

Tickler Marked

Miss Margaret Price
Publications Division
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED
MAR 8 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Miss Price:

Thank you for your letter of March 1st.

The Digest copies of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights have been received. Thank you. Money order in amount of the fee is enclosed.

Will be glad to receive copy of pamphlet on "Condition of Civil Rights" when ready for distribution.

Thank you again for your cooperation in my recent requests.

Very sincerely yours,
Ray B. Charis

Mrs. McCoy can you put this in the tickler file? no

C-
Carroll Service
Council

March 8, 1948

Mr. Carson Pritchard
Carroll Service Council, Inc.
Carrollton, Georgia

Dear Carson:

Thank you very much for the copy of the pamphlet, which I have safely received.

Sorry to miss you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems

March 8, 1948

Miss Margaret Garrity
Interracial Secretary
Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Miss Garrity:

Thank you for your letter of March 3. I will definitely be on hand in New Orleans all day Monday, April 12, and shall try to be there for Sunday afternoon and evening.

Please confirm that I am right in understanding from your office by telephone today that the dates for the meeting are April 11 and 12.

Will you also please tell me where the meeting is to be?

My speech requires my having available a blackboard and colored chalks. Can that be arranged?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

C-
Carter, Hodding

March 10, 1948

Mr. Hodding Carter
504 Arnold Avenue
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Carter:

In the course of some recent research, we have discovered that we do not have, or have misplaced, a copy of your article, "Chip on Our Shoulder down South", which was published in the Saturday Evening Post of Novemeber 2, 1946.

Since it is a valuable and useful article, we would like very much to have a copy of it for our reference files.

If you have such a copy which you could send us, we would be most appreciative.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

C—

March 16, 1948

Mr. Edwin H. Maynard, Editorial Assistant
The Christian Advocate
740 Rush Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Mr. Maynard:

At the request of Mr. Louis Hosch of the American Council on Race Relations, I take pleasure in sending you three copies of our mimeographed pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights--From the Files on Human and Civil Rights in the South," and three copies of the digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Mr. Hosch tells me you are coming South. Please make every effort to come to see us here in the Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: 3 copies digest;
2 copies "Condition of Our Rights
Workshop Summary
Publications list

GSM:eb

P. S. I regret to discover that our stock of "The Condition of Our Rights" has been depleted. We are sending you, therefore, two copies of this pamphlet now and, as soon as more copies have been run off, we will send you the third promised copy.

GSM

Carter, Hodding

Delta Democrat Publishing Company

PUBLISHERS OF THE DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES

MEMBER ASSOCIATED PRESS

GREENVILLE, MISSISSIPPI
March 17, 1948

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

I am sorry that I do not have but one copy of the article and I need that for my own files. It is quite probable that if you were to write the Saturday Evening Post, they would send you a copy. If I should run across another copy I will be glad to send it to you.

Sincerely,

Hodding Carter

Hodding Carter

HC:vh

C5-
Cohn, Helen T.
L 1 2 2

March 22, 1948

Miss Helen F. Cohn
1122 Lowerline Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Miss Cohn:

I am so glad you are coming up to Atlanta. I shall be in the office March 30, 31 and the morning of April 1, but I have to be in Kentucky the rest of the time you will be in Atlanta.

Do come and see me as soon as you can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

AIR MAIL

1122 Lowerline St.
New Orleans, La.
March 17, 1948

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED
19 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell;

I have written you previously concerning the research I am doing on Southern social movements.

I plan to be in Atlanta from Tuesday, March 30 through Saturday, April 2. I hope during that time I will be able to talk with you and others connected with the SRC about the past and present work of your organization.

I will call you the morning of March 30 as soon as I arrive.

Yours truly,

Helen F. Cohn

Cit
Citizens' Fact-Finding
Movement

March 23, 1948

Mrs. Charles Skinner
Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement
of Georgia
Forsyth Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Skinner:

We are still trying to work our way up from out of the work which has piled up as a result of the Conference. We appreciate your good help and did not mean to let so much time go by before sending the attached.

Our thanks and all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:S

Enclosure

Carbon Ck.

COMMITTEE FOR AMNESTY

FOR ALL OBJECTORS TO WAR AND CONSCRIPTION

A. J. MUSTE, Chairman
EVAN W. THOMAS, Treasurer
ROBIN MYERS, Secretary

5 Beekman Street, Room 1029
New York 7, N. Y.
BEekman 3-0463

April 2, 1948

RECEIVED
8 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
R432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for sending us the carbon of your letter to the President on amnesty. To date, they seem simply to be sending a brief form reply to people who write to protest, not attempting to justify the Board's report, but merely saying that the matter is settled. I think, however, that thanks to your good work and that of others, it will become clear that it is not settled at all.

One of the latest developments is the refusal of the Department of Justice even to give pardon application forms to men who were not on the Amnesty Board's list. We are checking the legality of this, as any felon is entitled to make application for pardon.

I hope that the Southern Regional Council will strengthen our campaign by reaffirming its position for amnesty at any convention or conference which may take place in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

Robin Myers

Robin Myers

Can. on Clemency

See also material files - Conscription

THE PRESIDENT'S AMNESTY BOARD

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OWEN J. ROBERTS, CHAIRMAN
WILLIS SMITH
JAMES F. O'NEIL

WILLIAM W. NARAMORE, SECRETARY

March 30, 1948

RECEIVED
APR 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of March 26, 1948, addressed to the President in connection with pardons for conscientious objectors who violated the Selective Service Act, has been referred to this office for acknowledgment.

The President's Amnesty Board made a study of this subject and submitted a report containing recommendations, a copy of which is enclosed for your information. The President acted upon the recommendations of the Board.

Sincerely,

William W. Naramore

William W. Naramore

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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CIVIC EDUCATION SERVICE

1733 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

PUBLICATIONS
THE AMERICAN OBSERVER
THE WEEKLY NEWS REVIEW
THE JUNIOR REVIEW
THE YOUNG CITIZEN
THE CIVIC LEADER

April 10, 1948

RECEIVED
12 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Conference, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

Thank you very much for sending us copies of your more recent materials. I am sure that we shall be able to make use of them and perhaps mention some of them in our future articles dealing with intercultural relations.

I am truly sorry if my mentioning the leaflet, "I Never Knowed," has caused you inconvenience. The fact of the matter is that I wanted to check with you about its availability but found my deadline too close to make that possible. I feel sure that you were able to supply the teachers sending you requests with other materials just as appropriate.

Sincerely yours,

William J. Shorrock

William J. Shorrock
Editor, The Civic Leader

file

Cr —

May 21, 1948

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

I am sorry you have had so much difficulty.

Thanks for your order and also for your kind contribution to the Council.

At the time of the Walton County lynchings, the Negro leadership in Atlanta raised a sum of money for possible needs in connection with that matter. That group, as the Georgia Citizens Defense Committee, has announced that it will build a three thousand dollar house for Mrs. Ingram and her children near their home community of Ellaville. At present we understand the children are being cared for by the eldest daughter. I do not know about the stock.

The case has been appealed to the Georgia State Supreme Court, and a legal staff in which there is every reason to have confidence will on June 14 press for a new trial.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:eb

Ingram Case

The case has been appealed to the State Supreme Court, before which Atty. Walden will appear on June 14 to ask for a new trial.

Incidentally, the Georgia Citizens Defense Committee has announced that it will build a $3,000 house for Mrs. Ingram and her children near Ellaville. At present, the children are being cared for by the oldest daughter.

HCF

HC: Ingram case inq to SSM

2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

~~SM.~~
5/18/48

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Please pardon my not answering your letter of March 22nd - my daughter has been very ill in the hospital, was operated on two weeks ago. I now have her at home and she is improving each day.

Thank you for the copies of "The Conditions of Our Rights". You will note I desire 14 copies (140 M.R.) of "To Secure these Rights" for distribution and enclosed find check for same and $5 for my S.R.C dues.

MS. 5/19/48

Kindly let me know if there is any change in the status of the Ingram case. We have heard the mother has had a heart attack since she has been in jail. Has the stock etc been returned to the family? Is there

anything else our Commission can do in connection with the case.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely

Mrs. Jas S Crate.

Note – Mrs. Crate enclosed our form completed form for Civil Rights Meetings covering 4 Meetings — this is filed in the work taken on this subject in N.R. office.

RECEIVED
MAY 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

Cr- Crate, Mrs. J. S.

May 19, 1948

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

I find I am to be in Dallas at a Methodist pastors' school August 2-4. While we know work as a rule is at low ebb during the Summer, we here in the office thought it might be well for me to get in touch with you to see whether it would be possible for me to meet with some interracial groups in any of your towns or to meet with your Executive Committee or to have a conference with you.

Please think through this and let me know.

I could plan to spend an extra week in Texas after the August 4 date.

We are very much interested in what State groups are doing, and close contact with them really gives us an opportunity to point up State programs and pass on information and inspiration we receive.

With every good wish to you,

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

DT:eb

C —

June 7, 1948

The Editor
The Christian Science Monitor
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Sir:

Here are the two most recent publications of our Southern Regional Council.

The larger one, on housing in the South, has been pretty widely noticed in the press, with a full column in the New York Times for May 17, 1948.

The May issue, on hospital construction and health in the Southern states, has just come from the printer.

We thought it possible that the Monitor would wish to use one or both of the pamphlets as material for a story.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures Apr '48 and May '48 New South

GSM:eb

6-G-Misc

Enclosures: Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation
Machines in the Cotton Fields
Fleming (SRC)
March, April and May '48 New South
Oct '47 New South
Digest of Civ Rts Report
Condition of Our Rights
Price list
Wanted: An Educated South

June 18, 1948

Dr. W. C. Cogdell, Dean
Florida Normal and Industrial College
St. Augustine, Florida

Dear Dean Cogdell:

Our good friend, Mrs. Henry Havens, brought me the other day word about a pleasant conversation with you at St. Augustine, where she had gone to talk with Mr. L. O. Harper about relating the SRC's work to things being done at Florida Normal and Industrial College. She suggested that I write you, with some discussion of the literature which the Council has available for teaching purposes.

I send you herewith a small packet of our most recent pamphlets, together with a price list. Some, or all, of these have been widely used in schools and colleges in the South as direct text material. In many instances, professors have listed them as required reading, and college bookstores have stocked a supply.

I call attention particularly to the two related pamphlets on civil rights, the one a digest of the Report of the President's Committee, and the other, called "The Condition of Our Rights," a factual summary of events in the recent past illustrating the distressing need in the South for enlargement of civil rights. We have found this latter one a sure-fire provoker of discussion.

We work exigently in matters of money, and we are always grateful if we can be helped by orders for some of our sizable stock of pamphlet material.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures

GSM:eb

Copy to Mrs. Havens

6-Ci-Clay file

1837 Sylvan Drive
Clearwater, Florida
June 20, 1948

RECEIVED
JUN 21 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thanks a lot for the several copies of NEW SOUTH which came along with your letter of June 7. I kept one to give to a man here who is trying to do something to improve our local hospital and sent the others to my brother, Dr. Clement C. Clay in New Haven.

Until the World War interrupted his work, my brother was Medical Director of a hospital in Minneapolis. During the past year, however, he has developed and directed a course in Hospital Administration at Yale University, under a Kellogg Foundation grant. He is already planning the work for next year and I am sure that he will find good use for the information contained in the excellent article in NEW SOUTH. SRC deserves congratulations for this article and for the fine pamphlet on housing.

I was greatly pleased to hear about the Negro police who were added to the Atlanta force in the spring, or was it late winter? (I have a hard time keeping up with the seasons here!) The Commission, through the Georgia Committee, worked so many years to try to get Negroes on the force that I had almost despaired of its ever being done. I hope very much that these men will receive the support which they deserve and that Atlanta will appreciate what they mean to the city.

The enclosed clippings may interest you as much as they did me. Atlanta papers could well follow the example of these two much smaller dailies, in which it is not uncommon to see the pictures of Negroes as a part of the regular news, and in which the proper titles are used. The struggle has seemed long and slow, but it is good to see signs of progress now.

My period of unemployment will end soon. Since February 1, I have been devoting full time to the art of weaving, in the hope of getting a job in the Adult Education Weaving Program of Pinellas County and my efforts have been rewarded. I have just been notified that I have been appointed to the staff for the coming school year. Negroes of the County have expressed interest in weaving and I am hoping that it will be possible to get something started for them. The county supervisor of Adult Education is sympathetic, which should be a great help.

I still have hopes of owning a mud house! Last week the SUN carried an article about a man who has founded a new industry in a nearby community, Pinellas Park. He has located some clay deposits there and is now manufacturing adobe brick under the name "Casadobe." We are going out to talk with him soon. I always think of you when I hear anything about mud houses!

Best wishes to all the staff, to your family, and to the Executive Committee when they meet again. I miss you all and think of you often.

Sincerely, Emily H. Clay

6-C- Cobb, W. Montague

July 9, 1948

Dr. W. Montague Cobb
Department of Anatomy
School of Medicine
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Cobb:

Here are two Southern Regional Council pamphlets we thought you would be interested in.

The section on health services in "The Condition of Our Rights" begins on page 30. It was for material for this section that I wrote you last spring.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

Condition
May h. S.

6 - Ci - Commission on Town & Country

July 19, 1948

Commission on Town and Country
Home Missions Council of North America
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Gentlemen:

My friend Mr. Paul Maris showed me a copy of your report on "A Protestant Program for the Farm Family." Our Council would be much interested in helping to implement a program of that kind.

I should like to be kept informed as to the development of your plan and, if possible, should like to have a copy of the mimeographed program.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

6-Ci-Collier, Tarleton

July 20, 1948

Mr. Tarleton Collier
The Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Tarleton:

I passed through Louisville the evening of July 13 and, of course, picked up a copy of the July 14 Courier-Journal. It had in it, on the first page of the second section, a story by Allan M. Trout on the new relationship between Kentucky State College and the University of Kentucky.

I merely want to send my compliments for so clear, complete and balanced piece of reporting. Maybe the standards of the Courier-Journal are just way above what I am used to hereabouts, but in any case that story was well done.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

5-C- Carney, Mabel

July 27, 1948

Miss Mabel Carney
Cairo High School
Cairo, Illinois

Dear Miss Carney:

Mr. Trigg is now President of St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, North Carolina, and I am sorry that your letter traveled there and then, promptly by special delivery, to us again.

We send you forthwith:

Fifty copies of "America's Tenth Man"
Ten copies of "Singers in The Dawn"
A tolerably complete file of issues during the last two years of New South
The following pamphlets:
"Machines in the Cotton Fields"
"Wanted: An Educated South"
"Wanted: A Healthy South"
"Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation"
"By The People"
"Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940"
"Housing in the South"
Two copies of Lillian Smith's "There Are Things To Do"
Five copies of our Digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights"
Five copies of our accompanying textlet, called "The Condition of Our Rights"

Sorry we haven't got any maps, charts or graphs.

On bibliographies, the best I can do is a single copy of Julia Waxman's list of 1945 and a fresh list done by this Summer's Race Relations Institute at Fisk.

On procedure in interracial committees, I have one copy of "Step by Step," which I send you. It's pretty good.

The New Orleans Committee on Race Relations did a smart thing last Fall and Winter. By careful prearrangement with the city schools and the parochial schools, colored and white, they gave a course to eighty teachers. Sixteen sessions. Teachers completing it got credit toward upping their certificates. I don't know what they called their course, but the subject was intercultural education. For the first time, the city brought to the surface the cliches of race prejueice circulating in the schools and alerted the teachers in an effort to down the cliches.

You are within a long arm's reach of the American Council on Race Relations, 4901 South Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois, which will cheerfully give you a great deal of help in getting things underway in Cairo.

We are delighted that you are working at this problem.

We appreciate the check for five dollars. Total list price of the material sent comes to $10.30. We shall be happy to settle for the inclusive sum of $7.73, which means that if, at your convenience, you could send us another $2.73, we would be most appreciative.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures
GSM:eb
SPECIAL DELIVERY
P. S. Remaining material going forward to you today by regular mail.

RECEIVED
JUL 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

MABEL CARNEY
MARSEILLES, ILLINOIS
POST OFFICE BOX 155

Cairo High School
*~~2611 Park Place West~~
Cairo, Illinois
July 24, 1948

5.00

Mr. Harold L. Trigg,
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Trigg:

This letter is an S.O.S. from Macedonia so I trust that it will reach you promptly. If you are out in the field when it arrives I trust further that some good secretary or other Official on hand in the Council offices will come to my assistance, and that as quickly as possible.

The point of all this urgency is that I am now working temporarily in a Teachers' Workshop here in Cairo, Illinois, composed of both white and colored teachers. Sometime next week, preferably on Monday or Tuesday, August 2 or 3, I plan to talk to this combined group and other visitors on Negroes in the United States and Techniques of Interracial cooperation. For this discussion I want to arrange an Exhibit of helpful reference material. Hence my hasty appeal to headquarters of the Southern Regional Council and also by other letters to the N. A. A. C. P., the National Urban League, Federal Council of Churches, the Southern Education Foundation, and similar agencies.

Cairo, Illinois, as you undoubtedly know, is extremely Southern in its whole setting, attitude and practice. Half or slightly more than half of the population here is colored. Many of the colored people, moreover, and some of the white, are recent arrivals from Mississippi, Arkansas, and the backward areas of Kentucky, accustomed to a low standard of living and attracted here by the more generous relief aid of Illinois. This large element in the population of the city constitutes a serious problem to both white and colored of the better type, and is often a threat to such racial cooperation and good will as the city now enjoys.

To complicate the situation still further, not only in Cairo but in the whole southern area of Illinois, leaders of the White and Negro groups seldom get together on joint projects of any type, and but little is known on either side about the workable methods and techniques of interracial cooperation developed in either the North or the South. There is no Urban League here, for example, no Interracial Commission, but little knowledge of the Foundations, and little real study of racial matters in any organized way.

Some encouraging beginnings are being made however. Joint meetings of white and colored churches are held once a year, a local N.A.A. C.P. was organized about two years ago, and largely through its efforts supported by the Headquarters Office in New York, equalized salaries for white and colored teachers were put into effect last September, 1947.

In a situation so challenging I am keen to do my bit, of course, and a first step in this direction will be the discussion referred to above before this joint group of white and colored teachers in our workshop next week. From your office, for this purpose, I should like to receive the following:

(1) 50 copies (or fewer if 50 are not available) of any current bulletin you have on hand similar to your former publications called ONE TENTH OF AMERICA or SINGERS OF THE DAWN.

I mean any bulletin which tells that Negroes constitute at least one-tenth of the present population of the United States and that they have made distinctive contributions to our national culture, prosperity and progress.

(2) A half-dozen sample copies of your Southern Regional Council bulletin. The publication from your office now issued monthly.

(3) Any other leaflet material you now have available for sale or distribution, showing the contribution of Negroes to American life, the problems they still face, and how whites and negroes are working together in the South to meet these problems.

(4) Any maps, graphs, charts, or other pictorial material to be used for wall displays in connection with the above leaflets and bulletins.

(5) 50 to 100 copies of any short book lists ~~on~~ of reading references you have on Negro Life in the United States.

(6) Above all, I desire leaflet material explaining the old Interracial Commission idea of joint committees composed of an equal number of white and colored leaders in various units as states, cities and counties. This plan of procedure seems to appeal to people here and they will welcome information on it.

To meet costs and postage involved in the foregoing, I enclose my personal check for $5.00. If this sum is inadequate, send the material right on please without delay. Then notify me of the shortage and an additional check will be sent promptly. If any change remains return this in postage if preferred.

I will write you more fully about conditions here later asking for further help probably. But just now my great need is to receive some or all of this material by return mail so as to have it available before my talk on August 2nd or 3rd, and most certainly before our work closes August 6th.

Thank you most gratefully for anything any of you in the Atlanta Office can do to help me out. All my own personal material on Race Relations is packed away in my home up in Northern Illinois where no one else can sort it to send me desirable selections.

Cordially yours,

Mabel Carney

Mabel Carney
Formerly at Teachers
College, Columbia University,
New York

P.S.

If not too much trouble it will help me very much further if you will send <u>one copy</u> of each bulletin, leaflet, reading list, map or graph you have available in a large envelope by parcel post special delivery, addressed as follows:

Miss Mabel Carney
Cairo High School
Cairo, Illinois

These advance copies will assist me in preparing my own discussion since I am down here absolutely without any of my personal material.

MC

5 - C - Misc
Christopher, Paul

August 9, 1948

Dear Paul:

Nice.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Mr. Paul Christopher
22 Circle Hill Drive
Knoxville, Tennessee

6-C-1 Misc. - Cole, Fred

TULANE UNIVERSITY

College of Arts and Sciences

NEW ORLEANS 15

Office of the Dean

August 12, 1948

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council
AUG 16-48

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am grateful for your kind letter of August 2. I hope that I shall continue to please those people in the South who are interested in solving our very evident problems.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Fred Cole

Fred Cole, Dean

FC:vnd

6-Ci-Misc.
Cole, Fred C

August 2, 1948

Dean Fred C. Cole
College of Arts and Sciences
Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Dean Cole:

The Chattanooga Times of July 22 carried an Associated Press story on your talk of a day or two before to the Kiwanis Club in New Orleans.

Most of what you said neatly fits what our Council believes, and we should like to tell you that it was much appreciated.here.

It seems to us of great importance for the South to get its mind off the contention about civil rights as a moral and legal issue and begin to think constructively in terms of the health, housing, education and opportunity (agricultural and industrial) which can produce that basic equality from which every day civil rights will really follow. We are in favor of legislative measures in the field of civil rights, of course, but we are eager to get these other things furthered, too.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure, SRC (Fleming)

GSM:eb

September 14, '48

Mrs. E. Richard Carhart
Girl Scouts of America
155 East 44th Street
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Carhart,

My humble apologies for being so very late in replying to your kind and welcome letter of August 24. It came just at the time of the death of my father, and I have been heavily occupied.

I do hope it is not too late for you to schedul some time for me, and us here at the Council, when you are in Atlanta. I expect to be in town, at the office, and available just when you may wish.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

5-C-misc-
Carhart, Mrs.
E. R.

GIRL SCOUTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS 155 EAST 44TH STREET TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-2505

New York 17·N·Y·

August 24, 1948.

RECEIVED
AUG 26 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Conference
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

So often I think of you and of your wonderful participation in the Housing Panel of the National Board of the Y.W.C.A. this past spring.

I have read your literature concerning the Southern Regional Conference with great interest, and have shared it with the members of our Community Relations Staff.

At the present time, we are working on a field trip scheduled for me, and I am hoping to be in Atlanta, Ga., October 18 to 20. I should like very much to have the opportunity to see you and to talk with you. Would it be possible for me to have an appointment during that time? I should appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible.

I should like to offer my sympathy to you in this time of your bereavement. I read of the passing of your father and realize that another great man has passed. I know that your feeling of personal loss is very great.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Lee Rife Carhart

Mrs. E. Richard Carhart
Adviser
Community Relations Division

MLRC-M

27 September 1948

Mr. Frederick E. Robin
Executive Secretary
Committee for the Nation's Health
1790 Broadway
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Robin:

Mr. Harold Fleming, our Director of Information, has asked me to write you and thank you both for the recent material on national health insurance which you sent us and for putting the Southern Regional Council on your mailing list.

The material from your office came at a most opportune time, as we are planning to run a summary article on the national health plan in our monthly publication NEW SOUTH sometime in the near future. We shall be greatly interested, therefore, in receiving your publications.

We shall also be happy to put the Committee for the Nation's Health on our mailing list so that you may receive our publications regularly.

Sincerely yours,

Jane P. Simpson

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

6-Ci-Misc-
Committee for the Nation's Health

COMMITTEE FOR THE NATION'S HEALTH, INC.

602 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE S. E.
WASHINGTON 3, D. C.
Atlantic 2343

1790 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.
Circle 5-4660

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New York
September 20, 1948

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We shall be glad to put the Southern Regional Council on our mailing list and send you material on national health insurance and the nation's health needs.

Attached for your convenience is a complete kit of our literature which we shall be glad to have you reprint. Since paying doctor and hospital bills concerns all Americans, your officers and members may wish to have copies. The mimeographed material is available at no charge, and there is only a nominal cost for the pamphlet, "This Will Kill You".

Perhaps the most important event in this field has been the recent release of the ten year health program submitted to President Truman by the Federal Security Administrator. The Report stresses the immediate need for national health insurance. It would be helpful if you could run the enclosed statement and condensation of the Report in your house organ.

We should appreciate very much being put on your mailing list to receive the Council's literature and publications. Any time you mention medical costs or national health insurance, we shall be greatly interested.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick E. Robin

Frederick E. Robin
Executive Secretary

FER:bke
Encs.

170

2 OUT OF 3 AMERICANS CANNOT AFFORD ADEQUATE MEDICAL CARE

6 - C1 - Misc. - Clay, Emily H.

October 14, 1948

Miss Emily H. Clay
Clearwater, Florida

Dear Emily:

We only just got you on the Board and, until you have had the five or six years we allow to others to show whether they will be tolerably good about getting to board meetings and whatnot, I for one am not favorable about letting you off.

Name me four other people who have anything approaching your long vision at what this show is about. If you can name more than four, I will let you off.

Come when you can get here.

For some reason I am reminded of a story that Mrs. Tilly used to tell us last year of visiting her sister in Rabun County. There had been a big pushover in the county to enforce the school attendance law, and the county superintendent called a meeting to push it some more. One old sister from the far hollows stood up and said, "I ain't for none of it." And they asked her why. "When it come a war, them what can't read -in't tuck!"

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Dear George,

Getting started in a new job — in a field of work entirely new to me — has kept me in a swivet! I had hoped to write a letter to accompany these clippings, but have decided to send them along without further delay.

Congratulations on the fine statement issued by the Executive Committee. I was especially glad to see it, though not fully reported, in our little local paper, The Clearwater Sun. I have

also been pleased to see references to it in Time.

Since I am again a "P.W.G.", it will not be possible for me to get away at the time of the SRC meeting. I'm terribly sorry. You must be thinking of someone else to serve on the Board; it would not be right for me to continue as a member when I have no real contribution to make to the expansion of the program. You need a person of influence in my place.

Greetings to all.

Sincerely,

Emily

Clearwater
October 9

October 15, 1948

Professor Walter Chivers
Morehouse College
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Chivers:

I greatly appreciate your being willing to go up to Chattanooga next Thursday and check this over.

Please take off the facts you want and send the letter back to me.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

RECEIVED
OCT 21 1948
Southern Regional Council

110 21st Ave. South
Nashville, Tenn.
Oct. 19, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 21 1948
Southern Regional Council

Southern Reigonal Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

Please find enclosed my check for four dollars and twenty five cents to cover cost of membership and the following publications:

1 copy Jacksonville Looks at its Negro Community	$1.00
5 copies "By The People" ~~x~~ @ 20¢	$1.00
5 copies May, 1948 New South @ 5¢	.25
	$2.25
One full membership	$2.00
Total	$4.25

Sicerely Yours,
Hardy C. Clark
Hardy C. Clark

Material already sent

R-C
CAC
11-1-48

Mr. Hardy C. Clark
110 21st Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

October 18, 1948

1 copy Jacksonville Looks At ItsNegro Community		$1.00
5 copies "By The People"	@20¢	1.00
5 copies May , 1948 NewSouth	@5¢	.25
		$ 2.25

J.S.H.
10/18/48

6 - Ci - Misc -
Clark, Hardy C.

October 18, 1948

Mr. Hardy C. Clark
110 21st Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Clark:

Thank you for your letter of October 13.

I send you a copy of the full survey, five copies of the reduced version of it which appeared in New South, and five copies of a later report in New South on some of the follow-up results, plus a statement of the price of these items.

The Jacksonville survey was skillfully organized. Those who accepted responsible places in connection with it and a very large proportion of the people who did the actual inquiries were effective local citizens who could get things done. In consequence, when they had themselves gone out and seen the facts, they were enthusiastic and amazingly successful in later months in putting through the reforms that were necessary.

The Council is greatly interested in getting other communities in the South to make surveys of that kind. We are now preparing a manual cast to be useful for this purpose in smaller cities and towns. We hope to have it in print within a month or so.

Would you not like to become a member of the Council? I send along a leaflet (the one with the tan map) which will tell you about us. It has a membership blank on the back.

Have you seen our recent statement on civil rights? Copy of that goes along too.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

RECEIVED
OCT 15 1948
Southern Regional Council

110 21st. Ave. S.
Nashville, Tenn.
Oct. 13, 1948

The New South
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I have recently read with great interest your excellent issue of June 1947, Vol.2, No. 6., which covers the community survey made in Jacksonville, Florida.

I would appreciate any additional information you might be able to offer concerning the survey. I am particularly desirous of obtaining a copy of the original survey and of purchasing some reprints of your June 1947 issue.

You have my thanks for any help you can give me.

Sincerely yours,
Hardy C. Clark
Hardy C. Clark

5-C-misc-
Childs, Marquis

December 6, 1948

Mr. Marquis Childs
c/o United Feature Syndicate
220 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Childs:

We have followed here with interest your columns bearing on the South. We were all particularly struck with the one which appeared in the Atlanta Journal on November 8, with the title "Surely a Middle Way Possible for South".

I want to be sure that the Council's September 15 statement on the whole problem of civil rights reaches you. This letter is belated, but the statement will stand for a long time to come.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

SURELY A MIDDLE WAY POSSIBLE FOR SOUTH

Atlanta Journal 11/8/48

By MARQUIS CHILDS

Washington.

WHAT SHOULD not be lost sight of in the astonishment over the most extraordinary upset in American political history is that this is a victory of the middle way. It is a rout of the extreme right and more especially of the extreme left.

In that fact is the hope of genuine social progress.

It will be easy enough to read the leaders of the Dixiecrat revolt out of the Democratic party. They made such a poor showing that the leadership of the party in the South will take care of that little item of business.

But, measured against the background of the problem of the South this is minor. On the record is the stand of the President for civil rights legislation. The platform of the Democratic party goes even further in declaring for legislation to implement the civil rights program.

On the record, too, is the implacable resistance of almost every element in the South to that program. This is not merely the Dixiecrats and the Talmadgeites.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Not even the most progressive leaders, such as Jonathan Daniels of Raleigh, N. C., who worked hard and long for President Truman's re-election, could support the kind of legislation which would mean the use of federal force to compel equality of opportunity. Hodding Carter, publisher and editor of the Delta, Miss., Democrat-Times and one of the most courageous liberal editors in the South, declared during the campaign for Dewey. Obviously he did so because he could not accept the civil rights program.

In this interim period before the new Congress convenes, what is urgently needed is a workable compromise acceptable to all but extremists in North and South.

The first step would be to call a conference of Southern leaders. Such a conference should represent virtually all moderate and progressive elements, excluding the white supremacy diehards and the Dixiecrats.

The logical meeting place is in North Carolina. North Carolina has demonstrated through the years that progress is possible by state and local action. More than any other state, it has shown how the two peoples, Negro and white, can live side by side in harmony with the comman goal of equality of opportunity.

To such a conference, held in Raleigh or Chapel Hill, the President could be invited to speak. With the bitterness of the campaign in the past, he could be expected to approach the subject with reason and fairness.

MIDDLE WAY POSSIBLE

Surely a middle way which will mean genuine progress is possible. Take, for example, one of the touchiest features of the program — a proposed federal antilynching law. This would mean the use of federal force to detect, to apprehend and to convict and punish those guilty of the crime of lynching. This goes against the passionate conviction of a large part of the South.

But it would surely be possible to work out federal-state legislation that would not violate this conviction and yet would strengthen the barriers against lynching. The state law might, for example, provide that when local authorities failed to take effective action in a lynching, the governor would be required to take effective action in a lynching, the governor would be required to call on the Federal Government for assistance and the government in Washington would be required to respond to such a request.

Federal aid to education could be given to the states on condition that they lived up to equality of educational opportunity.

Unless such constructive action is taken, we can expect one of several unhappy results. A political stalemate, after floods of violent Dixiecrat oratory, would produce a deep disillusion among those who voted for Truman in the belief he would remedy known wrongs.

If arbitrary legislation is passed after a bitter battle by a narrow margin, the danger of explosive violence in the South will be increased. It will make hopeless the position of Southern liberals and give the real enemies of the South their long awaited opportunity.—(c1948.)

5-C-misc. -
Childs, Mrs St. J

December 8, 1948

Mrs. St. Julien Childs
75 King Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Childs:

I hasten to send fifty more copies of the October, 1947 issue of New South, which you so kindly sent $2.00 for.

I will need to ponder a day or two for an answer about the Charleston Committee and so on.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

-12-8-48

5-C-
Childs

June 28, 1948

Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs
73 King Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Childs:

Thank you for your note.

I could not get any very definite impression from Mr. Bryan Smith. He had to come to this country on film business, and friends of mine there urged him to extend his journey into the South. I am very glad that he saw Charleston, and I am sure he saw much the more for your kindnesses.

To whom could we turn in South Carolina for a brief article about all the recent primary business? It is of the greatest interest, and we should get the story either for our files or for use in New South. It need not be more than three or four typewritten pages.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Francis F. Coleman
MAYOR

ALDERMEN:
J. B. WESTON
J. C. SCHWEERS
J. E. ROYALL
C. P. DARBY
P. A. FOSTER
H. G. TAYLOR, JR.

CRESCO MOUNT PLEASANT

Town of Mount Pleasant

SOUTH CAROLINA

June 4, 1948

Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs
73 King Street
Charleston, S.C.

My dear Mrs. Child:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your registered letter of June 2, 1948, requesting a hearing before the Charleston County Democratic Executive Committee to discuss the merits of the party oath as a prerequisite for voting in the Democratic primary.

I am calling a meeting of the Executive Committee on Friday, June 11, at 6:00 P.M. in the Coroner's Office, Fire Proof Building, Charleston, S.C., and it will be a pleasure to have you and any other interested party or parties to appear before the committee.

I wish also to state to you that I was incorrectly quoted in the article appearing in The News and Courier of June 3 and which was subsequently corrected to my satisfaction on June 4.

With kindest regards, I am

Very truly yours,

Francis F. Coleman

Francis F. Coleman, Chairman
Charleston County Democratic
Executive Committee

FFC/BMC

Mrs. Simons estimated that about 4,000 white citizens were represented at the hearing - Jewish, catholic, women's organizations. The result to date is nil - Committee decided to keep the oath swearing all sorts of things as a requirement for voting in the

primary. I am thinking & looking around for financial backing for a suit if the State committee does not see the light.

We enjoyed meeting Mr. Brian Smith, St. Julien & I both liked him very much, so glad you sent him to Charleston.

The mosquitoes constantly pop up & down on me from glass bricks to your memory.

Faithfully yours

Margaretta P. Childs

C-
Children

Filed 5-17-48

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

This is an official check for the SRC even though it looks so personal.

We all enjoyed your visit very much. You have made an indelible impression on our young. Our handicapped children had quite a larger time than most of their toys.

We hope you will be in Charleston

reasonably sure and, since the letter

ladies of the family.

In the meantime good luck with the

work.

Marguerite Childs

Childs

February 19, 1948

Dear Mrs. Childs:

I got back on schedule from a week of travel. The whole week long I enjoyed the recollection of the visit in your home and with your friends in Charleston. As a Scotsman anywhere must love Edinburgh, so it seems to me any Southerner must delight in Charleston.

I am still working hard at trying to move the Governors in what seems to us the right direction.

May I trust you to give Mrs. Thoms my very warm thanks for her many kindnesses? Please thank also our doctor friend who gave up the whole afternoon to get me to and from the meeting.

In whatever way our office can serve you or your friends, call on us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs
73 King Street
Charleston, South Carolina

C-
Childs

February 3, 1948

Dear Mrs. Childs:

As the time comes nearer for those scrambled eggs, I am trying to nail down the moment.

According to the railroad time-table, I arrive at Charleston at 9:10 AM, coming over the Georgia Railroad and then the Coastline. A bus transports me to the City Market at 9:47 AM.

That would seem to make the eggs realizable at about ten o'clock Sunday morning, February 8.

Let us assume that the train will be on time and that I will arrive, therefore, at your doorstep shortly before ten o'clock. As I have young children of my own who want to be fed at eight o'clock, Sundays included, I do not see how you are going to provide breakfast other than à seul at ten o'clock.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. Delighted to accept for two o'clock Sunday dinner!

Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs
73 King Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Childs, Mrs. St. J.

January 26, 1948

Dear Mrs. Childs:

Thank you a lot for inviting me to spend the night at your home when I come to Charleston for February eighth.

My plan is to arrive Sunday morning on a sleeper from Atlanta, which, I believe, gets in around eight o'clock. I expect to go out that night by sleeper to Washington. I look forward very much to a sunny Sunday morning in Charleston. Don't you almost have camellias by February eighth?

Could I simply invite myself to Sunday morning breakfast at your house? The meeting is at four o'clock that afternoon and I guess I should be on hand at the church at a quarter to four. I have seen the usual Charleston sights, including even the Spanish Fort and Goose Creek Church. But I never tire of just walking about.

As soon as I can look up the train I will give you an hour of arrival, but definitely not for purposes of being met--only for coordination of the time to scramble the eggs.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Mrs. St. Julien Childs
73 King Street
Charleston 4
South Carolina

RECEIVED
21 1948
Southern Regional Council

93 King St.
Charleston 4

My dear Dr. Mitchell,

We are looking forward to ~~seeing~~ you the Sunday of the Interracial Meeting. Can

you spend Sunday or Saturday
night with us? It would be
very pleasant for St. Julien & meet
you and find & see you again. We
were both fond of Brooks at
the Hopkins and in fact I
presume on a certain fraternal
similarity in asking you
here, as the accomodations
in the attic and the extra-
ordinary number of small
children always underfoot

would daunt any but the
bravest Scions of old Baptist
stock. If your plans do not allow of
an overnight stay, may we have
you at dinner or supper?

Faithfully
Margaretta Pringle Childs
(Mrs St. Julien R.)

6-Ci-Misc-
Cochrane, Rev. Fr.

January 4, 1949

The Reverend Father Cochrane
Bethune-Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Cochrane:

You, and your wife, were particularly kind to me yesterday, and I appreciate it greatly.

Call on us for any service we can do you in or from Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Bring to GSM's
attention 1/24/49

January 12, 1949

Mr. R. E. Cureton
54 White House Drive, SW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Cureton:

When the Negro school principals met in Macon just before Christmas, we asked a friend at Mercer, Dr. Howard McClain, to carry a bundle of pamphlets there for sale. He did so and has sent us a small check.

He says that at the meeting it was suggested to him that a note about the Council and its materials be carried in the magazine of the Association of Negro Teachers in Georgia. Could you get me the name and address of the editor of this publication?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

P. S. This will remind you that the Advisory Committee will meet next Monday, January 17, at 3:30 P.M. in the Council office.
GSM

C-Musel
Curator

THE HERALD

VOL. XV. DECEMBER, 1948 NO. 2

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Homer T. Edwards ..... *Vice President*
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Send news and editorial communications to Dr. Aaron Brown, Albany State College, Albany, Ga.

Address matters regarding advertising and circulation to C. L. Harper, Executive Secretary, 250 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

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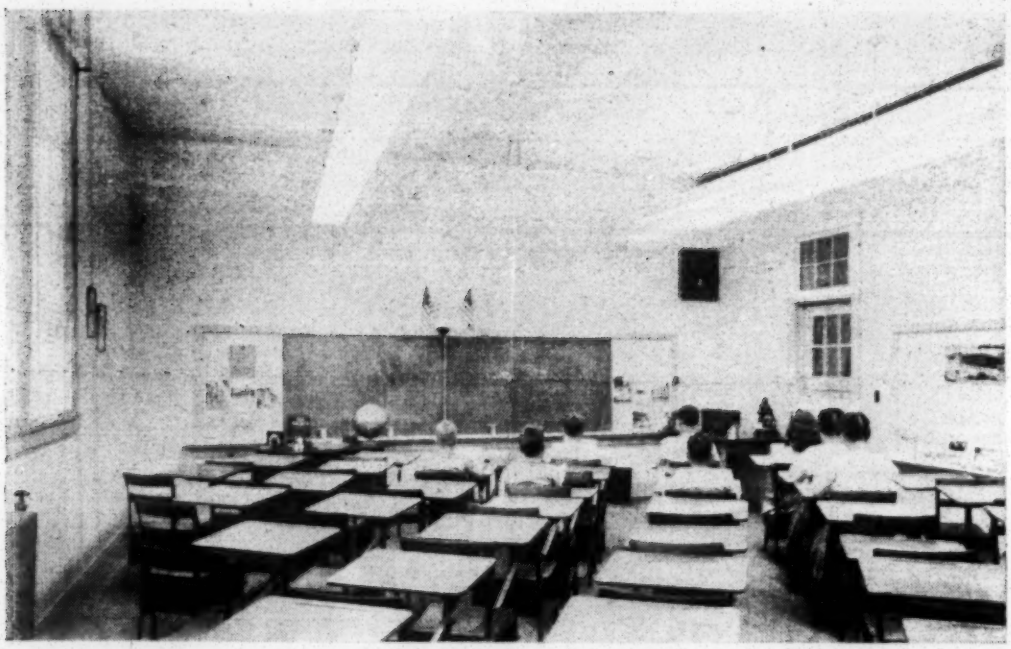
"Brighter Rooms Mean Brighter Students"

says

Reta Lee

School Lighting Specialist



Take This Class Room for Instance ...

The DeKalb County schoolroom illustrated above offers an excellent example of good seeing conditions in the classroom.

Natural lighting is properly controlled. Wall finishes are designed to reflect light without glare. Overhead lighting fixtures are planned and installed to give shadow-free, evenly-distributed light. Result: the entire classroom has been lightened and brightened.

And — as every teacher knows — a brighter room means brighter students.

The lighting conditions in *any* schoolroom can be improved with a little effort.

Write to Miss Reta Lee — the Georgia Power Company's school lighting specialist — for help in modernizing *your* classroom. Her services are available without cost or obligation. Just write direct to Miss Lee, Georgia Power Company, Atlanta — or ask for her services at any Company office.

GEORGIA POWER COMPANY

A CITIZEN WHEREVER WE SERVE

file

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, TRAINING AND
RESEARCH IN RACE RELATIONS

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15 · ILLINOIS

6-Ci-Misc-
Committee on Educ., Training & Research in Race Relations

January 21, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 24 1949
Southern Regional Council

Editor
New South
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sir:

The Committee on Education, Training and Research in Race Relations of the University of Chicago, in cooperation with the American Council on Race Relations is conducting an inventory of research in racial and cultural relations. The completeness of this inventory depends largely upon the extent to which the cooperation of all the persons and agencies carrying on research in race relations is secured.

We are asking a number of scientific and learned journals to carry a notice regarding the inventory of research, in order to bring it to the attention of as many interested persons as possible. Could you include the enclosed announcement in the next issue of your journal?

A copy of the second bulletin of the inventory of research is being mailed to you under separate cover. One or more studies published in your journal appear in this bulletin in abstract form.

Your cooperation will contribute to the value and usefulness of the inventory. We hope we may count upon it.

Respectfully yours,

Louis Wirth

Louis Wirth
Chairman, Committee on
Education, Training and
Research in Race Relations

Encl.

Committee on Education, Training
and Research in Race Relations
University of Chicago
4901 Ellis Ave.
Chicago 15, Ill.
Louis Wirth, Chairman

ANNOUNCEMENT

The Committee on Education, Training and Research in Race Relations of the University of Chicago, in cooperation with the American Council on Race Relations, is conducting an inventory of research in race relations and minority group problems, in order to make available information on current research which will be of value to persons and agencies carrying on research and also to those engaged in action programs in the field. It is planned to issue quarterly bulletins describing current and recently completed research projects. Two bulletins have already been issued, dated June 30, 1948, and December 31, 1948. The inventory bulletins carry accounts of two kinds: (1) descriptions of studies reported in answer to the inventory questionnaire and (2) abstracts of studies contained in published articles, pamphlets and books. All those who are engaged in research in racial and cultural relations are invited to write to the Committee for the inventory questionnaire, on which they can report studies already completed or in progress. The address is Committee on Education, Training and Research in Race Relations, The University of Chicago, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

* * * * * *

6-G-Misc -
Clark, Felton G.

January 24, 1949

President Felton G. Clark
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Clark:

That was mighty kind of you to have me so comfortably met at Addis, to telephone back and forth about my visit, and to give me a long afternoon of your company, care, and friendships.

I have written the three main people, as enclosed.

I called briefly also on Mr. Favrot, for old times' sake. He was far from well, but I was glad to renew the link.

I want to get Mrs. Tilly to come over into central and northern Louisiana. I know she can count on your continued help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

cc: Mrs. Tilly

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY

F. G. CLARK, PRESIDENT

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

January 14, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 15 1949
Southern Regional Council

(Via special delivery - MEJ)

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Southern University will be happy to have you with it on January 20. As you mentioned, I shall check with Dr. Marion Smith at Louisiana State University. In the meantime, you might wish to let us know of when you think you would be available. Of course we will send for you when you arrive at the Louisiana State campus, and also arrange to get you back there to to the station as you prefer.

Sincerely yours,

Felton G. Clark,
President.

cc: Dr. Marion Smith
Dean J. B. Cade

January 12, 1949

VIA AIR MAIL

President Felton G. Clark
Southern University
Scotlandville, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Clark:

I am to be in New Orleans January 18 and 19, and will speak on the 19th at a teachers' institute sponsored by the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations. I have to be in Fort Worth the 21st. I really haven't necessary business in New Orleans on the 20th, and could spend that day in and around Baton Rouge, if usefully. I think my train would get out that night about 7:30 or eight o'clock for Fort Worth.

I am writing Professor Marion Smith to see if LSU has a class that they will want me to talk to.

If you or someone else at Southern would like to be relieved of an hour's teaching, I offer myself for free. Wide range of subjects. Eloquence not guaranteed.

If you take me up on this, it would be a good idea to check with Professor Marion Smith (Department of Sociology) to see if there would be time for me to get either out to or in from Scotlandville, as the case may be.

Nice to have word by Monday of next week. Still workable if word reached me at the St. Charles Hotel, New Orleans, on the 18th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

6-Ci-Misc-
Connolly, Wm. L.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau
DIVISION OF LABOR STANDARDS
WASHINGTON

January 31, 1949

RECEIVED
FEB 2 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mr. John W. Gibson, Assistant Secretary of the Department, has told me of your interest in workers' education.

As you know, the Bureau of Labor Standards had such a program for a short time but in 1946 it was discontinued due to withdrawal of funds for its operation.

Several bills on this subject have already been introduced in the present Congress and we will try to watch developments carefully and do whatever we can to see that your group has an opportunity to be heard.

Very truly yours,

William L. Connolly

WILLIAM L. CONNOLLY
Director

5 - C - Misc. Census, Bureau of

2 February 1948

Mr. Russell H. Stokes
Bureau of the Census
U. S. Department of Commerce
Candler Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Stokes:

Thank you very much for the Current Population Reports concerning the migration of population from the Southern states.

The material has proved most useful, and we are grateful for your cooperation.

If we are not already on your mailing list, would it be possible for us to receive future releases of population estimates and population characteristics?

Thank you again for your help.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

OFFICE OF FIELD SERVICE

BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE

FIELD SERVICE

ATLANTA REGIONAL OFFICE
P. O. BOX 1595
418 ATLANTA NATIONAL BUILDING
50 WHITEHALL STREET, SOUTHWEST
ATLANTA 1, GEORGIA

February 1, 1949

RECEIVED
FEB 2 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. James Simpson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

With reference to your recent inquiry regarding the migration of population, particularly the non-white population, from the southern states, we have mailed to you under separate cover several of the Current Population Reports of the Bureau of the Census pertaining to this subject.

Of particular interest is the table on page 9 of the P-25, No. 12 report, showing the average annual net rates of migration by states for the prewar, during war, and post-war periods. Also the data on page 5 of the P-20, No. 9 report giving the percent change, 1940 to 1947, of the non-white population, by major geographical regions.

We trust that the material will be found useful. Please let us hear from you whenever we can be of further service.

Very truly yours,

C. Parker Persons
Regional Director

By: Russell H. Stokes

R. H. Stokes

5 - C-Miss. Census, Bureau of

OFFICE OF FIELD SERVICE

BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE

FIELD SERVICE

ATLANTA REGIONAL OFFICE
P. O. BOX 1595
418 ATLANTA NATIONAL BUILDING
50 WHITEHALL STREET, SOUTHWEST
ATLANTA 1, GEORGIA

February 8, 1949

RECEIVED
FEB 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

We acknowledge, with thanks, receipt of your recent letter stating that the Current Population Reports have been useful to you.

These reports, other releases of the Bureau of the Census, and the many other publications of the Department of Commerce are announced in our Regional "Bulletin of Commerce." This leaflet, a copy of which is attached, is distributed without charge and should you wish to receive each issue please sign and return the attached order blank.

We also invite you to make use of the material kept on file in our business reference library. Please let us hear from you whenever we can be of further service.

Very truly yours,

C. P. Persons.

C. Parker Persons
Regional Director

Ordered 9 Feb 48

Enclosure - 1

C - Misc

So. Sta. 5766

Feb. 13, 1949

Southern Regional Council
FEB 16 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I hope that you have had time to examine my study of the Texas Election Laws which I sent you, at your request, a few days ago. The purposes of your organization are so much in line with what I am attempting to do here that I should like to know more about what you are attempting to do. It is possible that I can join my efforts with yours advantageously to both of us.

Indications are that my effort at the reform of the Texas election laws will bear fruit. At least the first steps which have been taken are, in my opinion, the correct ones to take. The third bill introduced in each of the houses of the Texas legislature call for the appointment of a commission to work out a revision of these laws. The bill introduced in the House limits the commission to three experts on government. The Governor's committee recommended that line of procedure. Unless short-sighted politics prevents the employment of capable men to do the job, Texas may be expected to have within an appreciable length of time a model set of election laws.

Personally I feel that most of the demogoguery in politics can be removed by correct attention to the election machinery. I am told, for instance, that the Long forces in Lousiana actually resorted to threats of physical violence to assure that they would show a majority in the elections. Election machinery should somehow prevent such men from holding office if elected.

You may be interested to know that my intention is to treat in my next pamphlet the matter of academic freedom as it has taken form in publicly supported educational institutions. My experience in this matter has been such as to enable me to speak with authority on this subject. The foundation of what I shall have to say is contained in an article which was published in School and Society on December 6th 1947. The subject of the article is "Disciplinary Action Against Controlling Agencies of Publicly Supported Educational Institutions".

If you want me to do it, I shall be glad to call on your Mr. Carter Wesley, in Houston, Texas, and discuss this subject with him.

Very truly yours,
F. B. Clark
F. B. Clark

To J.S.:
For such reply
as you think
Feasible & useful.
GSM

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, TRAINING AND
RESEARCH IN RACE RELATIONS

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15 · ILLINOIS

February 25, 1949

RECEIVED
FEB 28 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta
Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Committee on Education, Training and Research in Race Relations of the University of Chicago in cooperation with the American Council on Race Relations is conducting an inventory of research in race relations and minority problems.

The essential information on current research collected by the inventory is published quarterly and is designed for use by research and action programs in this field. The nature and objectives of the inventory are described in the enclosed statement.

The value and usefulness of this inventory depend largely on the extent to which we are able to secure the cooperation of all the persons and agencies carrying on such research. We should like to request you to fill out the enclosed questionnaire for any project which you have underway or have completed since January 1, 1946, and to return the completed schedule as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Louis Wirth

Louis Wirth
Chairman, Committee on
Education, Training and
Research in Race Relations

2 Enclosures

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, TRAINING AND
RESEARCH IN RACE RELATIONS

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15 · ILLINOIS

INVENTORY OF RESEARCH IN RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

EXPLANATION OF INVENTORY AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMPLETING QUESTIONNAIRES

Purpose and Scope

The purpose of this inventory is to make readily available an up-to-date record of research in racial and cultural relations and minority group problems. It aims to minimize duplication of effort and improve communication between research workers and action agencies in the field.

Use of Inventory

To insure the maximum utility, the information obtained through the inventory is available in the following ways:

a. Bulletins carrying (1) descriptions of projects reported in response to the questionnaire and (2) abstracts of studies published since January 1, 1946, in articles, pamphlets and books, are issued quarterly, the first bulletin having appeared on June 30, 1948.

b. Upon request the office of the Committee on Education, Training and Research in Race Relations will provide a list of studies and other essential information on specific topics.

c. The inventory, which is being classified by author and subject, may be consulted in the office of the Committee on Education, Training and Research in Race Relations.

Need for Cooperation

It is obvious that such an undertaking requires the cooperation of all agencies and persons engaged in research in this field. The usefulness of the inventory will depend upon the extent of its accuracy and coverage. We are therefore urging your cooperation in reporting research on which you or your agency are engaged, and in calling our attention to other agencies or individuals conducting research in the field of race relations and minority group problems.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Each question of the questionnaire should be answered as completely as possible.

2. The questionnaire is designed to cover all types of research projects in the field of race relations and minority group problems. The wide variety of projects, however, makes it inevitable that it will not be appropriate for some. Do not assume from the inclusion of the questions on method and hypotheses that we are interested only in formal research. We are equally interested in descriptive, "fact-finding" and evaluation studies. Questions which are inappropriate for any given project should be merely so labelled. Additional information should be attached on a separate sheet. If a mimeographed copy or reprint of the study can be sent along with the questionnaire, you are urged to do so.

3. The terms "racial and cultural relations" for purposes of this inventory are broadly defined. There are areas of research which are not directly concerned with race relations and minority problems, but are either basic to the field or have important implications for it. Please include such projects.

4. Additional copies of the questionnaire will be sent upon request, or additional projects can be reported by repeating question numbers with appropriate answers on blank sheets of paper.

5. We need reports on all projects completed subsequent to January 1, 1946, as well as on all projects now in process.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, TRAINING AND
RESEARCH IN RACE RELATIONS

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15 · ILLINOIS

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR INVENTORY OF RESEARCH

In process or completed since January 1, 1946.

1. Full title or description of project _____
(e.g., Racial attitudes and related
_____
personality characteristics of 400 adults in Detroit.)

2. Person carrying on the project: (a) Name _____

   (b) Address _____

3. Person responsible for direction of project (e.g., committee chairman, faculty adviser): (a) Name _____

   (b) Address _____

4. Agency, organization or institution, if any, under whose auspices project is undertaken: (a) Name _____

5. Expected cost of project _____

6. Source of funds _____

7. (a) Date project was started _____

   (b) Actual or estimated date of completion _____

8. Racial, ethnic or religious groups, if any, studied _____
_____

9. (a) Hypotheses, if any, being tested or specific additions to knowledge sought:

   (b) Scientific or practical problems to which the project is expected to make a contribution:

10. Methods employed: (Attach or describe tests, questionnaire, sampling, tables, experiments, interviews or other techniques used.)

11. Description of data obtained, including source of data:

12. Conclusions, if study has been completed:

13. Publication plans, if any:

14. If no publication plans, under what conditions will data and results be available?

15. If this research is part of a larger project or of a series of studies, please describe:

16. Person reporting this project:

(a) Name_____(b) Title_____

(c) Agency or institution_____

(d) Date of report_____.

Note: 1. Please use separate sheet if space for reporting on any question is insufficient.

2. Please put us on your mailing list to receive copies of reports of projects when available and inform us of publications arising out of projects.

5-C - Misc -
Cavenaugh, Margaret

February 28, 1949

Mrs. Margaret Moyer Cavenaugh
Veterans Administration
Davis Island
Tampa, Florida

Dear "Miss Moyer":

My various jobs in the last four or five years have taken me two or three times to Tampa, and each time I have inquired as to where was a social worker, sometime named Margaret Moyer. I never hit the right bunch of people until recently, when I made a speech to the Tampa Urban League. Most of the Board members knew about you. Some of them said you were a mighty handsome lady with a beautiful head of white hair.

I told them about the thirteen-year-old at the edge of my Old Town District that wouldn't play with the younger kids but finally did call me sweetheart, and you had her sent to Rosewood Home--the only girl I ever had to call me sweetheart, and that's what happened to her!

How does the world go?

I live in Atlanta and run this show. Mighty nice wife from Ashland, Virginia, and two girls, aged ten and twelve. Let me know when the Cavenaughs come to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

6-Ci-Misc-
Coconut Grove Citizens Cttee
(Fla.)

COCONUT GROVE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR SLUM CLEARANCE, INC.

COCONUT GROVE, FLORIDA

PHONE 4-1496

MRS. VLADIMIR VIRRICK
CHAIRMAN
REV. THEO. R. GIBSON
VICE-CHAIRMAN
DAVID A. GRAVES
RECORDING SECRETARY
MARSHALL POLLARD
TREASURER
NEDRA McNAMARA
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

MARJORY STONEMAN DOUGLAS
LOUIS DeF. DOWNER
WILLIAM GIBBS
B. J. GUILFORD
MELVIN JACKSON
MRS. EDWIN H. MAIRS
ALFRED BROWNING PARKER
DR. FRANZ STEWART

February 28, 1949

Miss Margaret Boyd, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Boyd:

Thank you very much for your most helpful letter of February 18th. We shall certainly follow the suggestions you made therein.

At the present time, all our manpower is being used to promote an initiative petition -- the first in the history of Florida -- to assure the proper zoning of the area. I am enclosing a dodger which will give you an outline of what we are going through. From this, you can see why we must wait until after this project has been consummated before going further into the matter of low cost housing.

Your interest and cooperation are sincerely appreciated and you will probably hear from us again for advice and help.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Virrick

Chairman

EV:nm

RECEIVED
MAR 3 1949
Southern Regional Council

VOTERS' VOICE

The City's Need is your Civic Deed !

Published by the Coconut Grove Citizens' Committee For Slum Clearance, Inc. 3435 Main Hwy. Phone 83-6932 Feb. 24, 1949

Citizens Take Initiative...for First Time in Miami's History

The first initiative in Florida's history is under way in Miami as the aroused voters attempt to force repeal of the 'pet' zoning ordinance of two speculative builders--favored by the City Commission over the plan backed by an overwhelming majority of citizens.

Actual circulation of petitions will begin Saturday, February 26.

The ordinance under fire, recently adopted though not advertised as required by law, would allow the erection of still more apartment-type dwellings in a colored slum section of Coconut Grove--a section already so crowded as to be a menace to the rest of the city from the standpoint of public health and morality.

Sparked by the Coconut Grove Citizens' Committee for Slum Clearance, the initiative petition demands the substitution of the re-zoning plan drawn up by a prominent group of architects and city-planners, and overwhelmingly supported by the citizens--colored and white--in the affected area.

Political scientists call the initiative the simplest yet most effective weapon available to voters in a democracy.

The right of initiative is set up under the Miami city charter in order to make into law the will of the majority of the people when the City Commission has seemed to ignore that expressed will, in this case, for the advantage of private interests.

0300 NAMES NEEDED

Experts Say Good Zoning Needed to Eliminate Slums

By ALFRED B. PARKER

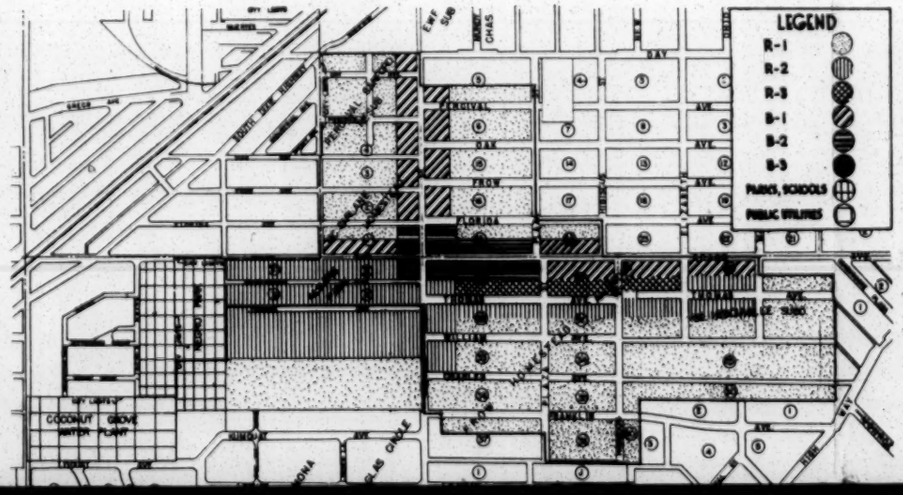
Striking at the very roots of the slum conditions in Coconut Grove--the lack of sound planning--the Re-zoning Plan Committee of the Slum Clearance group presented to the City Commission a comprehensive zoning plan which was enthusiastically backed by a majority of the citizens in the area.

It was this plan which the Commission largely ignored for the sake of two builders.

ALL GROVE RESIDENTS

The recommendations made by the committee composed of the following architects: Miss Marion Manley; Mr. Robert Fitch Smith; Mr. Robert Law Weed; and Mr. Alfred B. Parker as chairman, are embodied in the map in the next column.

RE-ZONING PLAN COCONUT GROVE COLORED TOWN



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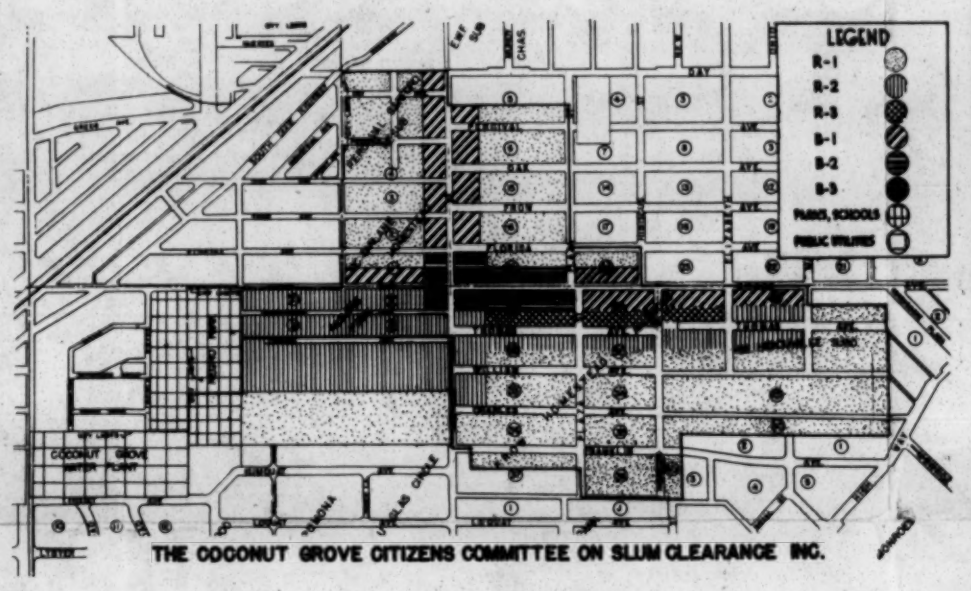
9300 NAMES NEEDED

For the initiative petition to become law it must be signed by ten percent of the registered voters in all of Miami--which means 9300 of the 93,000 now registered. It is then presented to the City Clerk who counts the names and certifies that they are the required, legal ten percent. It is then presented to the City Commission.

Within thirty days it is mandatory on the Commission to pass it as law, or else, to submit it to a referendum vote of the voters.

Officials of the Slum Clearance group hailed the first initiative in state history as the first opportunity for Miami voters to direct their Commissioners to bring good city planning to a city sorely in need of it.

RE-ZONING PLAN COCONUT GROVE COLORED TOWN



THE COCONUT GROVE CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON SLUM CLEARANCE INC.

Experts Say Good Zoning Needed to Eliminate Slums

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ALL GROVE RESIDENTS

The recommendations made by the committee composed of the following architects: Miss Marion Manley; Mr. Robert Fitch Smith; Mr. Robert Law Weed; and Mr. Alfred B. Parker as chairman, are embodied in the map in the next column.

Roughly, the plan can be described as a wheel with the most liberal business area located at the hub, and progressing outward through more restricted business zones to apartment-type dwellings, to duplexes, and, finally, to the wide outer rim of single family dwellings adjoining white property.

CONGESTION LIMITED

The advantages of this plan are apparent. Noisy business areas containing bars, filling stations, etc., are confined to a central location shading off to less noisy and congested areas. The wide outer belt of single family homes affords the best transition possible between white and colored areas, with fewer opportunities for radical situations and racial tensions to develop.

A survey undertaken before drawing up the plan indicated that 83.8% of the dwellings are single family residences even though most of the area was zoned for multiples. This pattern of single family residences is not only the desire of the colored people, it is one of the prime means to develop civic responsibility.

The plan, however, does not ignore the value and need for a certain amount of multiple housing. The plan rezones only 51% of the total area for single family units, leaving the remainder--minus the park and school--for either duplexes or apartments.

An important aim of the re-zoning was to make possible for FHA to guarantee loans to the colored people. Only two such home loans have been guaranteed, heretofore, by the FHA, and the blame for this situation has been placed squarely on the lack of a comprehensive and sound zoning plan.

The intent of the committee's work was neither to expand the present colored area nor to increase appreciably the population dwelling therein. It was a plan, rather, to allow the best and fullest use of the land in the section, in keeping with the wishes of the inhabitants and the good of the community.

Grove Slum Clearance Movement Reviewed

By MARJORY STONEMAN DOUGLAS

In the summer of 1948, twenty-four citizens, alarmed by the unrestricted building of multiple dwellings in the small, restricted area of Coconut Grove colored town, met to study the rapidly worsening conditions.

For years, this colored area had limped along with filthy can privies and polluted wells, in the absence of sewers and city water. The only redeeming feature of that little village of single family homes was the wide spacing between units. This one feature, allowing access to the clean winds and the sun, prevented this area from becoming a breeding place for disease which would have menaced the entire city.

This redeeming factor was soon to disappear as private builders crowded in more and more apartment-type dwellings. This threat of over-crowding with its inevitable disease, immorality, and human misery, forced the organization of the leading white and Negro citizens, under the leadership of Mrs. Elizabeth Virrick, in the Coconut Grove Citizens' Committee for Slum Clearance.

The immediate and enthusiastic community response resulted in the formation of a number of special committees to investigate, report, and take action on conditions.

The Sanitation Committee under Dr. Franz Stewart, cooperating with Dr. Cato of the Miami Health Department, launched a campaign of rat control and proper garbage disposal and collection. With Mr. Stutz of the Dade County Mosquito Control, they waged a successful war of mosquito eradication.

The most important blow in routing disease and the threats of epidemics was directed at the inadequate plumbing facilities. The committee presented the City Commission with a two-fold sanitation ordinance requiring all houses to be connected with city water, and every household in the city to be equipped with a septic tank, a sink, and a flush toilet.

Upon adoption, water mains were laid at once in every street in Coconut Grove, and, throughout Miami, over 2000 houses were supplied with city water for the first time. However, installing toilets and sinks proved impossible for many poor families.

A Loan Fund Committee was therefore set up to lend money collected from private sources to the poorest, most helpless families.

A Legal Assistance Committee guided by Mr. William Gibbs, was set up to supply much needed advice. The School Committee, headed by Mrs. Marjory Stoneman Douglas, was instrumental in having the school roof mended and, later, saw the purchase by the School Board of two and one half acres of land for school expansion.

The Youth Movement and Community Center, a Mothers' Health Clinic, and a successful community Clean-up Campaign round out the special committee work.

It was the Re-zoning Plan Committee, however, which struck directly at the roots of the trouble and misery in the Grove. A group of architects and city-planners created a plan which would allow the maximum healthful and orderly development in the Grove colored area. (The details of this plan and a map appear elsewhere on this page.) This plan, taking into account the wishes of the inhabitants, and the requirements of the community and of the city at large, was overwhelmingly approved by the affected citizens who expressed themselves through Committee meetings, telephone polls, and personal canvasses.

It was the flaunting by the City Commission of the citizens' plan, which promised so much for the welfare of all Miami, that led to the initiative now in progress.

sent Housing in South
By the People

February 18, 1949

Mrs. Vladmir Verrick
Coconut Grove Slum Clearance Committee
Coconut Grove, Florida

Dear Mrs. Verrick:

To be able to answer your letter as well as I could, I have asked the advice of Mr. Les Purcells who is with the Federal Public Housing Authority group here.

We understand, from your letter, that you have worked at rezoning there so that you have access to the land you need, had you the money to buy it.

Mr. Persells believes that your best bet, red tape or not, is the Government. Everything in Government Housing at this point seems to be dependent on the passage of the new Housing Bill. At any rate, we wonder if you have written to the Regional Director of Public Housing, whose office is here in Atlanta. He is Mr. M.B. Satterfield, Georgia Savings Bank Building. There is, under his direction, a Racial Relations Service, headed by Mr. George Washington, which gives special attention to Negro housing problems. I believe Mr. Satterfield would be glad to give you pertinent information about the Mortgage Insurance (up to 90%) which the Government is guarenteeing worthy low rent projects. As you undoubtedly know, this would allow some individual concern to borrow the money to finance your project and have his loan insured by the Government. We recommend that you get in touch with Mr. Satterfield if you haven't already.

As you say, though, your group must find some individual or private business concern willing to subsidize the building of the low rent units. Mr. Percells has suggested that you try to find a person who already has some business interest dependent on Negro patronage. He knows of an incidence in North Carolina where this set up was successful. A man who owned a chain of movie theaters catering to Negroes was willing to finance a low cost housing unit because of the "good will" involved as well as because it was a good business interest. The individual who had a business interest directly concerned with Negro patronage would, we believe, be much more likely to put up his own or borrowed money for the project, than would the ordinary benefactor who is already harassed by requests from worthy organizations.

Along the same line, there is the thought that large Insurance companies, such as Metropolitan, have been known to finance projects. Perhaps you could find a local, statewide, or national Negro Insurance company which would, with the recognition that Metropolitan has made such a move, be willing to undertake to act similarly.

Mr. Percells has suggested that you get in touch with a lawyer friend of his there in Miami who might be able to help you with contacts and "operational clues". His name is Mr. Burnet Roth. His office is in the Congress Building.

He further suggests that you cite to your prospective financers that similar projects to the one your group plans to build have been successfully constructed and operated in other Southern cities such as Birmingham, Memphis, and Atlanta, and that Raleigh is on the verge of putting up its low cost units. These rent for $35 - $40 for the most part.

I am afraid that this is the extent of the help that I am able to give you at this time. Your own area is unlike others in that you have a seasonal rise and dip in building costs as well as moneyed parties who are philanthropically inclined.

I am sending you a little pamphlet that we did on Housing, thinking that you might find it of interest. Also I am sending some articles that we have printed from time to time on a self-survey which occured with good results in Jacksonville. Perhaps something of this type would help build public opinion.

Sincerely yours,

(Miss) Margaret Boyd
Research Assistant

COCONUT GROVE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE
FOR SLUM CLEARANCE, INC.
COCONUT GROVE, FLORIDA

PHONE 4-1496

MRS. VLADIMIR VIRRICK
CHAIRMAN
REV. THEO. R. GIBSON
VICE-CHAIRMAN
DAVID A. GRAVES
RECORDING SECRETARY
MARSHALL POLLARD
TREASURER
NEDRA McNAMARA
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

MARJORY STONEMAN DOUGLAS
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WILLIAM GIBBS
B. J. GUILFORD
MELVIN JACKSON
MRS. EDWIN H. MAIRS
ALFRED BROWNING PARKER
DR. FRANZ STEWART

February 4, 1949

RECEIVED
FEB 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We have been advised that your group may be able to assist us in finding a philanthropic organization or individual interested in financing at a moderate rate of interest, a low cost housing project in this area, on a relatively small scale.

We appeal to you for this information since we fear the Government plans will not be materialized for some time, and our needs are immediate. Immediate is, in fact, an erroneous word; they have been for too many years, but right now, these needs are reaching the crisis stage, and primarily because of the efforts of our Committee to eradicate the unsanitary, slum conditions under which our colored people in Coconut Grove have been forced to live.

Through our efforts, an ordinance has finally been passed which provides for such fundamental living essentials as running water in these homes. But, these "homes" are in such condition that many owners, faced with providing decent conditions for living state:

1. We'll demand double or more the rent, or evict
   - or
2. The place isn't worth the cost of installing such facilities.

In most cases, the latter statement unfortunately is true. And these people have no place to go. Aware of this situation are several opportunists in our area who are now attempting to build for subsequent high rental, "multiple units." Our organization has been

battling in the courts against this high cost housing. To detail the facts would require too long a letter of explanation and we know you are familiar with the picture.

Briefly, our particular area is a comparatively small one, with an approximate Negro population of 3600, a large portion of whom desire and are capable of paying for their own small homes. For the rents asked by owners of multiple apartment units -- $65 to $108 per month, completely unfurnished, no stove, no refrigerator, no utilities provided -- these people could be purchasing their own homes.

Our group is not opposed to multiple units. We realize their necessity for the small income group, and our latest battle in the courts has been a re-zoning issue to provide for multiples, duplexes and single unit residences at reasonable prices in the areas best suited for the good of the whole area. But we are most definitely opposed to the advantage which some wish to take of the situation.

High cost apartments, as you are aware, is no answer to the low income individual. Only more slum conditions arise through that alleged answer to the problem. The Miami papers as you may know, have for several years, at interims, deplored the colored housing situation. So far, nothing has been done about it. But we insist in doing something about it, constructively. Hence this appeal to you. Any assistance you can offer us will be most appreciated.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Virrick

Elizabeth Virrick
Chairman

nm

Crate
~~SRC~~ = Fellows

March 2, 1949

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

One of our Fellows at Hampton Institute in Virginia, Mr. Roscoe E. Lewis, has suggested as a suitable person to be made a Fellow Miss Laura Roberts of Dallas.

She is described to us as a teacher of the social sciences in the Amarillo High School and a sincere contributor to and student of intercultural affairs. We are told that she would welcome the opportunity of spreading the program of the Council among the people of influence within her area.

Texans who are now Fellows are the following:

Mr. Jackson Valtair, Dallas
Mrs. Pauline Watkins Campbell, Huntsville
Dr. R. C. Koeninger, Huntsville
Dr. E. B. Perry, Houston
Mr. Jewel Tatum, Beaumont
Mr. Glenn Turner, Crockett
Dr. Connie Yerwood, Austin

We would be disposed to ask Miss Roberts to become a Fellow, but we would like to have your judgment on it before we write her.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

6 - C1 - Misc -
Committee on Education
Training + Research in
Race Relations

March 4, 1949

Mr. Louis Wirth, Chairman
Committee on Race Relations
University of Chicago
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Wirth:

The Southern Regional Council does almost none of the formal research covered by the questionnaire for your Inventory of Research in Racial and Cultural Relations.

Our research is essentially a round-up and re-working of available material on the basic problems -- racial, economic cultural -- facing the South. What we do is find, interpret, and spread the facts upon which concrete action can be taken.

Thus the projects we have completed or have put under way since January 1946 are concerned with such specific topics as housing in the South, civil rights in the South, health and medical care in the South, race and suffrage in the South, legislative apportionment in the Southern states, and the development of community self-surveys in Southern towns and cities.

We have published such reports either as articles in our monthly magazine New South or as special pamphlets, both of which reach our 3,000-odd members. We are happy to send you, under separate cover, a complete set of the reports we have published up to the present. The reports themselves will show you the kinds of data used and the conclusions reached. The Southern Regional Council has sponsored, directed, financed, and carried out the projects in most cases. A few projects were undertaken by persons not on the Council staff; in these cases the reports indicate the author.

3/4/49 → Label made & order for assembling given to James Prunett by - NH

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:nh

6 - C. - Misc. -
Community Chests & Councils of Amer.

March 8, 1949

Mrs. Raymond T. Rich
Community Chests and Councils of America
155 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Rich:

I wish I could claim a long acquaintance. Until the last three or four years, most of my work has been in the eastern part of the South, and New Orleans was a promised land which I could only get to rarely.

Since I have been with the Council, we have had a lot of help from the many people who would be your friends at Tulane and in the Council of Social Agencies.

If you travel South and come to Atlanta, please come to see us here at the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Community Chests and Councils of America

INCORPORATED

155 EAST 44 STREET • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 6-5540
Ralph H. Blanchard, *Executive Director*

Conrad Seaga, Honorary President • Edward L. Ryerson, President • Philip M. Morgan, First Vice-President • J. B. Adoue, Jr., H. L. R. Emmet, Mrs. Henry P. Russell, Vice-Presidents • Milton H. Glover, Treasurer • Mrs. Oswald B. Lord, Secretary

Everybody Benefits
Everybody Gives

March 3, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for the copy of the Home Town Self-Survey. I am sure we will find it useful.

I am just curious enough to wonder if you are not the George S. Mitchell whom I knew at Tulane when I was executive secretary of the New Orleans Council of Social Agencies. I seem to remember that you became director of some important regional council in the South. Please satisfy my curiosity as soon as you find a moment.

Sincerely yours,

Wilmer Shields Rich

Wilmer Shields Rich
(Mrs. Raymond T.)

WSR/hb

RECEIVED
MAR 6 1949
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

C-5-misc -
Childs, Mrs. St. Julien

March 19, 1949
Dict. March 17

Mrs. St. Julien Childs
73 King Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Childs:

The Executive Committee of the Council met yesterday. I laid before them my action in withholding our invitation to Judge Waring to become a member of the Board of the Council, stating simply that trusted friends of the Council in Charleston had questioned the wisdom of proceeding with this invitation.

The Committee felt that the invitation to Judge Waring had necessarily to issue, by reason of the action of the membership meeting, and felt also pretty clearly that Judge Waring's service on the Board, if he did accept, would be helpful to the Council.

Accordingly, I have today written Judge Waring and expressed the hope that he could become a member of the Board.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

5-C-Misc -
Childs, Mrs. St. Julien

March 11, 1949

Mrs. St. Julien Childs
73 King Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Childs:

Thank you for your long note that we received February 28.

I think you did quite a lot.

Please let us know the amount of any expenses incurred by others, and we will be glad to take care of it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

For Dr. Mitchell

March 10, 1949

Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs
73 King Street
Charleston, S. C.

Dear Mrs. Childs:

This is to acknowledge receipt of the $1.00 in currency and 15 cents in stamps enclosed with your recent letter. This has been credited as per your statement enclosed.

You probably did not note in the November issue of New South that dues for single memberships were raised at the annual membership meeting of November 11, from $2.00 to $3.00 per year - (husband and wife membership $4.00). Won't you please, therefore, let us have an additional dollar so that your dues for the coming year may be paid in full?

I am passing your letter on to Dr. Mitchell for reply to the other matters discussed. Meanwhile, with all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

The London & Lancashire Insurance Co., Ltd.
EASTERN DEPARTMENT, HARTFORD, CONN.

STRENGTH — DEPENDABILITY — SERVICE

Owed to S.R.C.

For dues 1949 ---	2.00
Pamphlets ---	.40
Total --	2.40

Expense for S.R.C. ---	
phone call -----	1.25
Balance due 1	1.15

Enclosed - 15 cents in stamps and one dollar 6:11

1.00 Bill
15¢ Stamps
Mrs. R.

Mrs. St. Julien Childs
173 King St.
Charleston S.C.
2/28/49

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
FEB 28 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell,
Mrs Pinkney & Mrs S. was called up the governor as individuals. I called this afternoon in the name of Chas. Intercultural Committee & Anti-Defamation Leagues of B'nai B'rith. Got no where. The gov. said to take it up with local delegation - ~~He said~~ When I said, all right I would, but he had great personal influence it wouldn't be see that such legislation was started, - He said it was a very controversial matter (!!!) and that he has dealing with important matters he could not lay aside. He really seemed barely interested enough to answer. So many beauty queens to crown & American Legion rallies & fish fries to take precedence over lesser matters.

Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs
73 King Street
Charleston, S. C.

TERMS: NET CASH DATE: February 15, 1949

8 copies HOW A VIRGINIA COUNTY MADE UP ITS MIND @5¢ 40¢

STAMPS ARE ACCEPTABLE

AS THE COUNCIL HAS NO PROVISION FOR CARRYING CHARGE ACCOUNTS.
PROMPT REMITTANCE WILL BE APPRECIATED.

I expect to go to see one young leader of the delegation to-morrow, ~~but~~ really more for my own information than any hope of starting anything with the county delegation; which was states rights to a man & is in general pretty stuffy.

I may also get some response from the Catholic Women's Club, but so far have not reached the president.

I am glad you called me & am sorry the results aren't very good.

I think a delegate from Sumter, Cuttino, is a good man, if there is anyone to see him about this.

Had you all noticed that John Bolt Culbertson, one of the most Ku Klux Rangers in the Greenville trial of Willie Earle has been elected to

the legislature from Greenville. Thomas Pope of Newberry, the new Speaker, & J.B.C. ~~are~~ see things eye to eye, I believe, from the accounts I have read.

The International Committee puts in the mail a-day for each member of the local School Board "How a Va. County Made up Its Mind" with a very covering note.

On Feb. 13 we observed the International Sunday with an afternoon meeting in the Rutledge Ave. Baptist. Dr. Daniels from Raleigh spoke on the blind spots & weaknesses of each group in its dealings with the other. He was witty and good-humored, so a good many

unpalatable truths were pleasantly said and well received.

~~Did~~ The phone call from 1.25, and I must find out from Harriet about Ross. Miss Pinckney will probably pay for her own.

~~If~~ anything of interest comes up in regard to an anti-mask bill, I'll let you hear.

Faithfully

Margaretta Childs

The baby began to get better to-day but it had been a siege!

5-C-misc - Childs, Mrs. St. Julien

March 4, 1949

Mrs. St. Julien Childs
73 King Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Childs:

I had just been lecturing my secretary on how that is a moral and useful person who, when asked to stretch and do a needful thing on matters public, stretched and did it. In the middle of that somebody laid on my desk your incoming note of the things you did toward getting attention in the South Carolina legislature to an anti-Klan measure.

It was kind of you, and of the Simons' and Mrs. Kammerer.

Thank you also for sending us what Bishop Carruthers and his clergyman so usefully said.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

73 King St.
Charleston
S.C.

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

Enclosed clipping might be of interest.

Mr. Lionel Legge, dean of our County Delegation has promised to bring up the anti-mask legislation, if the matter of the assembly's att. has turned ~~[illegible]~~ the Klan at a delegation meeting to-night.

in Columbia, I don't believe.
Mr. Legge is himself convinced
that anti-mask legislation is
the thing, but he is a
most conscientious & public-
spirited legislator.
I also talked to Mr.
Nathaniel Colell. He is
personally anti-Klan in a
general way, but is
much too busy with

anti-Cancer, & welfare
legislation to have time to
think of initiating a bill.
He said it was a State-wide
matter, & why didn't I
take it up with the gov.

Mr. & Mrs. Albert Simons,
& Mrs. Kammerer (Elizi
Dunkin) sent a joint
telegram to the governor

Friday after I got in touch
with Mrs. Simons.

Faithfully yours
Marguerita P. Childs.

March 21, 1949

Mr. William M. Cooper, Secretary- Treasurer
Conference on Adult Education and the Negro
Extension Division
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Dear Mr. Cooper:

Many thanks for your letter of March 1. You will find ~~one dollar~~ ($1.00) one dollar enclosed for my membership dues.

I am interested in the Conference on Adult Education and the Negro and will look forward to information of its activities.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

mh

6-Ci-Misc -
Conference on Adult Education & the Negro

CONFERENCE ON ADULT EDUCATION AND THE NEGRO

HEADQUARTERS:
EXTENSION DIVISION
HAMPTON INSTITUTE, HAMPTON, VIRGINIA

WALTER R. CHIVERS, PRESIDENT
WILLIAM M. COOPER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
R. O. JOHNSON, ASSISTANT SECRETARY

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:
J. H. DAVES, CHAIRMAN
AMBROSE CALIVER
MORSE A. CARTWRIGHT
WALTER R. CHIVERS
WILLIAM M. COOPER
ALAIN LOCKE

March 1, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The next Conference on Adult Education and the Negro is scheduled to be held at South Carolina State College in Orangeburg April 6 through 8. A very interesting and informing program has been arranged with outstanding leaders from several states participating. We hope very much that you can attend.

You are also asked to please send immediately your $1.00 annual membership fee so that we may count you among the many who are supporting this important program for the removal of illiteracy and the spread of international understanding.

Accept my best wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

W. M. Cooper

William M. Cooper
Secretary-Treasurer

WMC:qr

RECEIVED
MAR 4 1949
Southern Regional Council

6-Ci-Mux-
Clay, Emily

March 31, 1949

Miss Emily Clay
1837 Sylvan Drive
Clearwater, Florida

Dear Miss Clay:

It is always a pleasure to hear from you whether it is a Christmas greeting or on a matter concerning the Council. I always want to sit right down and write you but something comes up and that big old thing called procrastination comes in for a stay. So you see it will not be on my conscience to write you on the Council's time this time because won't I also be attending to the business of the Council?

I spoke to Dr. Mitchell about your card, in fact, I gave it to him to read and he suggested that I send you a number of pamphlets which I won't list here, but which I shall send under separate cover, and he also suggested that you get in touch with Mr. R. P. Daniel, the Chairman of the Florida Division, or the Secretary Mrs. White, or Mrs. Havens. I should have added their addresses and shall later on. Both Mrs. Tilly and Mrs. Havens have been traveling around encouraging committees to be formed which they hope will grow and become Divisions if the members so desire.

It would be wonderful to have a committee right in Clearwater where it would be convenient for you to take an active part in it. I seem to be the only one left of the group that was here shortly after the Council was formed and I know just how valuable a person you are and what a contribution you could make to such a committee. Certainly the home office of the Southern Regional Council suffered a very great loss when you decided to move to warmer parts.

You did not mention your Mother and Sister but I am assuming that they as well as you are well and still think Clearwater is the best place to live. My father and Sary join me in wishing all of you the best of everything.

Dr. Mitchell sends his best wishes also.

Do not get the impression that I am always so extravagent with the Council's stationery, but it seems I got to the end of the other sheet before I ran out of all I wanted to say.

Please let us know when the committee is formed and what progress it is making.

Margaret came by to see us last Friday afternoon. It seems she was having a spring holiday and was making the rounds to see all the parents. We enjoyed having her here even for the short while. And according to her glowing accounts, she is very happy.

Try to find time to write me when you can. I always enjoy hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Separate cover

P. S. Here are the addresses of the officers of the Florida State Division:

Mr. R. P. Daniel, 1100 Florida National Bank, Building, Jacksonville
Mrs. William C. White, 1021 4th St. Palmetto, Fla.
Mrs. Henry Havens, 2845 Corinthian Ave., Jacksonville

Prewett:

Please send Miss Emily H. Clay the following pamphlets:

1 copy The SRC: Its Origin and Purpose
5 copies the Fleming pamphlet SRC
1 copy Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation
1 " Wanted: A Healthy South
1 " Machines in the Cotton Fields
1 " Wanted: An Educated South
1 " By The People
1 " Race and Suffrage in the South
1 " Sept. 1948 New South
1 " Reprint of Honest Answer
1 " How They Voted on The Anti-Mask Bill
1 " Housing in the South
1 " Mary 1948 NEW SOUTH
1 " Feb. 1949 New South
1 " Dec.-Jan. 1949 New South
5 lists.
5 circulars on the Home Town Self-Survey

I have rounded up all except the lists. Please be sure to get these out this day. March 31, 1949

JOO
3/31/49

1837 Sylvan Drive
Clearwater, Fla.
March 29, 1949

Dear Marie,

If you are no longer literature secretary, please pass this on! A friend of mine — a long-time resident of influence — thinks that the time is ripe for starting a committee of S.R.C. in Clearwater. She wants a pamphlet with suggestions as to how to proceed. If we have one, please send me a copy. She wants something she can read and study — not just suggestions from me!

(Have the Board?)

I'd love to hear about you and your family as well as about others in SRC. I had a fine letter from Margaret recently, also one from Anna Warwick.

Best wishes to all

Emily Clay

1
5 SRC
5678
Sept

CLEARWATER, FLA.
MAR 29
430 PM
1961

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mrs. C. D. Sayon
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

3 Circulars

6-Ci-Misc.
Ctee for Nation's Health

April 7, 1949

Mr. Chat Paterson
Executive Director
Committee for the Nation's Health
1416 F Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Paterson:

Thank you for your letter of April 5, which has reached the office during Dr. Mitchell's absence. It will be called to his attention when he returns the first of next week.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Taylor
Secretary to Dr. Mitchell

Note 4/18/49:
These matters were handled with Dave Garwin in person by staff: hence no further reply.
MET

COMMITTEE FOR THE NATION'S HEALTH,
Incorporated

KELLOGG BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1416 F STREET, N. W.
TELEPHONE: EX. 8156

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Matthew Woll
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Chat Paterson
PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR
Nathan Robertson
LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE
Margaret Stein

April 5, 1949

RECEIVED
APR 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I hope my phone conversation of last week wasn't too much of a surprise to you. I was, of course, glad to hear that you were thriving in your good works as usual.

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed form letter, questionnaire and general explanatory material which are being sent to thousands of people around the country who have said they want information about the President's health insurance program. We are trying to develop as many individual "contact points" as possible throughout the nation. I would be glad to send this material to as many hundreds or thousands of persons as you feel would be interested in being on our mailing list. Just send me the names and we will send the material on to them.

Dave Garwin will be in to see you on the 14th of April, and if possible I would like him to have a chance to meet you and get the benefit of your advice. I would of course appreciate anything you can do to help get the facts about our program across. Incidentally, I understand that Mike Davis' report on what national health insurance would mean to the South is a corker, and I hope we can really get it distributed.

Give me a ring if you get to Washington. With best personal regards,

As ever,

Chat

Chat Paterson
Executive Director

CP/o
Enclosures

COMMITTEE FOR THE NATION'S HEALTH,
Incorporated

KELLOGG BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1416 F STREET, N. W.
TELEPHONE: EX. 8156

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Mrs. Florence Mahoney
Dorothy Norman
Eric Peterson
Emil Rieve
Anna M. Rosenberg
V. Henry Rothschild, 2nd
Robert F. Wagner, Jr.
R. M. Walls, D.D.S.
Hubert Will
Matthew Woll

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Chat Paterson

PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR
Nathan Robertson

LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE
Margaret Stein

March 12, 1949

Dear Friend:

At the suggestion of one of your friends who felt you would be interested, we are sending you some material about the President's Health Insurance program.

The Committee for the Nation's Health was formed by several public-spirited citizens who felt that public support needed to be mobilized behind the courageous national health programs advocated by Presidents Roosevelt and Truman. It is particularly important at this moment to promote wide understanding of this program because the American Medical Association and its front, the National Physicians Committee, are currently raising 4½ million to distort and prejudice the minds of the American people against a program which is aimed at improving our most valuable national asset--the health of our people!

It is our belief that once the American people have the facts on our nation's health and understand them they will demand enactment of a program of national health insurance. It is a rare family which can stand the expense of prolonged or major illness. National Health Insurance is the only way to remove the present third "person" which exists between the patient and the doctor--the dollar bill.

The arguments and cliches being used against national health insurance are identical to those used to fight practically every forward looking measure in our nation's progress--from the establishment of public schools to the abolition of child labor to workmen's compensation to social security.

Are you interested in getting factual information about the proposed legislation, or if you are already convinced of the necessity for it, are you willing to help us get the facts to the people? The questionnaire and self-addressed envelope are for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Chat Paterson

Chat Paterson
Executive Director

Enclosures

America needs "a system of pre-paid medical insurance which will enable every American to afford good medical care . . . without further delay."—President Harry S. Truman, January 5, 1949.

QUESTIONNAIRE
(Please fill out and return)

To the Committee for the Nation's Health
1416 F Street, N. W.
Washington 4, D. C.

1. I am undecided on this issue but would like to be on your mailing list _____.

2. I am convinced that a system of national health insurance is needed and would be glad to help you by:

   a. Writing letter and getting friends to write letters to members of Congress and the President supporting the legislation _____

   b. Watching the local newspapers for items that need answering _____
   (Please send items to us if you need help in answering.)

   c. Speaking on the issue in local groups if you furnish me with speaking material _____.

   d. Contributing _____ this year toward the battle on health insurance,
   amount
   which is enclosed. (CNH is dependent on individual, voluntary contributions.)

3. I am in favor of this legislation but unable at the moment to spare time or money to help _____.

4. I suggest the following people who might also be interested in helping:

   NAME AND ADDRESS _____

   NAME AND ADDRESS _____

   NAME AND ADDRESS _____
   (Use separate sheet if necessary)

5. I am an officer or active member of the _____
   Organization

   _____
   Position held, if any

   This organization supports national health insurance _____
   opposes national health insurance _____
   has NO position but is interested _____

Name _____
Please print

Address _____

_____
Please print

Date _____

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES CONSIDERING HEALTH INSURANCE LEGISLATION

The National Health Insurance Bill was referred in the Senate to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and in the House to the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, which has jurisdiction over health legislation. (The revenue and taxing provisions will have to be considered in separate legislation, which will go to the Senate Finance and the House Ways and Means Committee.)

Members of the Committees are:

SENATE LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE COMMITTEE

DEMOCRATS

1. Elbert D. Thomas - Utah (Chairman)
*2. James E. Murray - Montana
*3. Claude Pepper - Florida
4. Lister Hill - Alabama
*5. Hubert H. Humphrey - Minnesota
6. Paul H. Douglas - Illinois
7. Matthew M. Neely - W. Virginia
8. Garrett Withers - Kentucky

REPUBLICANS

1. Robert A. Taft - Ohio
2. George D. Aiken - Vermont
*3. H. Alexander Smith - New Jersey
4. Wayne Morse - Oregon
*5. Forrest C. Donnell - Missouri

HOUSE INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE COMMITTEE

DEMOCRATS

Robert Crosser - Ohio (Chairman)
Alfred L. Bulwinkle - N. C.
Lindley Beckworth - Texas
*J. Percy Priest - Tennessee
Orren Harris - Arkansas
*George G. Sadowski - Michigan
Dwight L. Rogers - Florida
Eugene J. Keogh - New York
Arthur G. Klein - New York
*Thomas B. Stanley - Virginia
John B. Sullivan - Missouri
*William T. Granahan - Pennsylvania
*Andrew J. Biemiller - Wisconsin
John A. McGuire - Connecticut
*George H. Wilson - Oklahoma
Neil J. Linehan - Illinois
Thomas R. Underwood - Kentucky

REPUBLICANS

Charles A. Wolverton - New Jersey
Carl Hinshaw - California
Leonard W. Hall - New York
*Joseph P. O'Hara - Minnesota
*Wilson D. Gillette - Pennsylvania
Robert Hale - Maine
Harris Ellsworth - Oregon
James I Dolliver - Iowa
John W. Heselton - Massachusetts
*Hugh D. Scott - Pennsylvania
*John B. Bennett - Michigan

* Members of Health Subcommittee

April 13, 1949

Mr. Tarleton Collier
The Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Collier:

Many thanks for sending us the article on the Kentucky Country. We appreciate your help.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Norma Huff

6-Ci - Misc. - Collier, Tarleton

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED APR 12 1949 Southern Regional Council

April 8, 1949

Mr. Tarleton Collier
The Louisville Courier - Journal
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Collier:

We are anxious to obtain an article which appeared in the Courier - Journal on a Sunday either in March or toward the end of February. It concerns the Committee for Kentucky headed by Mr. Harry Schacter.

This is rather a thin string of information to go on, but we will appreciate your attempts to locate it for us.

Sincerely,

Norma Huff

(Mrs.) Norma Huff

I hope this is it

T. C.

April 30, 1947

Mr. W. F. Credle, Director
Division of School House Planning,
State Department of Education,
Raleigh, N. C.,

Dear Mr. Credle:

When I was in Raleigh a few days ago I wanted to see you but was informed that you were out of the city.

I learned from Mr. J. Warren Smith that 85% of the money for vocational buildings coming from the Federal Government for veterans education was being used by the colleges. Would you be kind enough to tell me about the disposition of the other 15%?

I hope all goes well with you.

Cordially yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

Crate
~~Sec - Fellows~~

April 22, 1949

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

When opportunity presents itself, we would appreciate word from you about the possibility of making Miss Laura Roberts at Dallas a Fellow. Our letter to you on this was March 2.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

6 - Ci-Juice
Cocke, Charles Lewis

April 25, 1949

Dear Eloise and Charlie:

It sorta crossed my mind that by this time you would be so prosperous you would take special delight in sharing your riches, so far as to shell out three dollars and join this fancy and useful Southern Regional Council.

I am not putting big store by an immediate reply, cash enclosed, but I would proposition you anyway.

All things cheerful at this end of the line. In the grace of God I get within seeing distance of the end of that sixteen-year period in which I have to pay the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company toward educating my daughters. I think they are going to need it, and I am grateful to you for fixing them up.

Come to Atlanta again. I hope to goodness I am here when you do come.

I met a sister of Eloise's at one of my God-fearing meetings somewhere not so long ago. Indeed it was here in Atlanta, and she was down from Bristol.

Howup!

George S. Mitchell

Mr. Charles Lewis Cocke, Esq.
Huntington, West Virginia

6-Ci-Misc. — Committee for Kentucky

Committee for Kentucky

A FACTFINDING COMMITTEE WHOSE OBJECTIVE IS THE WELFARE OF ALL OF KENTUCKY . . .

(1) ~~JPS~~
(2) ~~Ele~~

506 S. Third St., Louisville 2, Ky.

April 28, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your recent letter of April 22nd and for your comments regarding our recent report of progress.

We received today a copy of your manual for "The Home Town Self-Survey" published by the Southern Regional Council. We appreciate very much your sending us this manual and we will be delighted to review it and make the best possible use of it.

If we are instrumental in getting some of our communities to use this manual, I suppose additional copies would be available through your organization. At any rate, it was certainly nice of you to offer this material to us.

Sincerely,

Harry W. Schacter

Harry W. Schacter

HWS:mj

RECEIVED
APR 30 1949
Southern Regional Council

PRESIDENT: HARRY W. SCHACTER - - - - - - - - President of Kaufman-Straus Co., Louisville, Kentucky
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT: H. FRED WILLKIE - - - - - - - - - - - Vice-President, Jos. E. Seagram & Sons
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT: JOE BETTS - - - - Director of Information of the Kentucky Farm Bureau Federation
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT: DR. R. B. ATWOOD - - - - - - - - - - President of Kentucky State College
SECRETARY: DR. JOHN W. BROOKER - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Director, Public Relations, K. E. A.
TREASURER: EDWARD H. WEYLER - - - - - Secretary-treasurer of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR—MAURICE DEITSELL BEMENT
DIRECTOR, COMMUNITY SERVICE DEPT.—JAMES W. ARMSTRONG

April 22, 1949

Mr. Harry W. Schacter
Committee for Kentucky
506 South Third Street
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Schacter:

We read with the greatest interest and approval the April 8 Report of Progress of the Committee for Kentucky.

Our Council has lately done a manual for "The Home Town Self-Survey". We intend it for smallish places--say Elizabethtown, Horse Branch, or Cadiz--save the mark.

I send some circulars that describe the manual and the notion and what advice the Council could give for towns making surveys.

The main thing we want to do is get towns to do them, and the next thing is to get towns in the habit of picking up their advice from a neighboring college or from such a group as yours.

We tie no strings to this. It is offered to Kentucky or the Committee for Kentucky for any use it may be.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

7-Co-Misc
Crate, Mrs Jas. C

April 29, 1949

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

The newspapers report that an anti-lynching bill, supported by Governor Jester, has passed the House of the Texas legislature and is expected to pass the Senate. The provisions of the bill, however, have received hardly any attention in the press in this area.

Could you help us get some more specific information about the bill? Best of all, of course, would be a copy of the measure. If that is not feasible, any material you may have, such as a summary of the contents, would be most helpful.

We will appreciate any help you can give us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

7-Cr- Music -
Crates, Mrs. James S.

January 27, 1949

Mrs. James S. Crate, Chairman
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

On returning from Fort Worth, Dr. Mitchell told me that the Houston Committee, together with other organizations, is sponsoring a series of broadcasts on human relations. That is a most worthwile project, and the Houston Committee is to be congratulated for it.

It strikes us it would be well to pass on your experience to other local groups, so that they might go and do likewise. Would you jot down the essential facts about the series, for a note in New South, and send them along to me? I should benmost grateful.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

January 27, 1949

To: Harold Fleming

When I was in Fort Worth Mrs. Crate, who runs the Texas Commission, said that the Houston Committee of the Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation, with a number of other Houston organizations, is having made just now a series of broadcasts on human relations in Houston.

That seems to me newsworthy.

Could you write Mrs. Crate and ask her for a note or an item or articlette on it for New South?

I doubt if she is a polished author, but she could scare up something.

I understand that on each of the panel discussions now being broadcast they have a Negro. Two such broadcasts have already been made.

GSM

September 30, 1947

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

As you see from the attached copy of our letter to Miss Lena Mae Rust at Dallas and the list of the SRC members residing in Dallas also attached, there maybe some possibility of organizing a local chapter of the Texas Committee in Dallas. I sincerely hope at least that this is true and will be very happy to hear of any steps that may be taken in this direction.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s
att:

July 10, 1947

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

Thank you very much for your letter of July 5th, addressed to Dr. Mitchell. We are very appreciative of your cooperation in the case of Mrs. Marion E. Gonzales, and shall hope to bring her into active membership once more.

The minutes of the conference are in process of being mimeographed, and we shall not fail to send you your copy as soon as they are off the press. You did not mention the date you are to make your report, but I do hope it will reach you in advance as I can understand it might be good to refer to.

It was so very pleasant to have the opportunity of meeting you during the conference. If you should be in Atlanta again, be sure to come in to see us.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

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Dr. J. L. Clark, Huntsville
GROUP CHAIRMEN
Dr. Charles Sherer, Fort Worth
Prof. I. Q. Hurdle, Austin
Mrs. C. T. Schaedel, Bay City
Mrs. B. J. Covington, Houston
SECRETARY
Prof. H. J. Mason, Marshall
TREASURER
Mrs. J. L. Brock, Bryan

TEXAS COMMISSION ON INTER-RACIAL CO-OPERATION

MRS. JAS. S. CRATE, *Chairman*
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, Texas

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Prof. T. W. Pratt, Austin
Mrs. John M. Hanna, Dallas
Dr. Daniel Russell, College Station
Mrs. N. H. Hogue, Houston

RECEIVED JUL 7 1947 Southern Regional Council

July 5, 1947

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have been out of the city, which explaines the delay in reply to your letter. I had not heard of Mrs. Marion.E.Gonzales, she is not a member of our Houston Commission, so I phoned the address (2201 Jarrell St.) and told her I understood she is a member of S.R.C. which she didnot deny so I invited her to the meeting of our Commission next Thursday. She seemed delighted. It might be well for you to follow this contact of mine with another letter suggesting that she pay the current year. I found out she is a Negro.

I certainly appreciated the opportunity of attending the meeting of S.R.C. and realize we gain much through co-operating with you in the work.

Please send a copy of the minutes of the meeting as soon as convient. Iam to make a report on the conference and the minutes will be a great help.
Many thanks for the check for my expenses.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,
Mrs. Jas S Crate
Mrs. Jas. S. Crate.

June 20, '47

Dear Mrs. Crate,

In looking through the small stack of people who haven't paid dues for 1945, 1946 and 1947 I find the name of

Mrs. Marion E. Gonzales
2201 Jarrell Street
Houston 10, Texas.

We've sent the good lady bills, notices, and "we're sorry we're going to have to drop you" letters, but no results. Total due is five dollars.

Is she alive, and would she pay up, and if so on what approach?

We all greatly enjoyed having you here for the meeting. Thankyou for making a tedious trip.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
and temporary typist

September 7, 1945

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

I have recently heard rumors to the effect that a rather vicious anti-Negro pamphlet has been distributed in Houston. I wonder whether you have run across it. If so, could you send me a copy of it.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

7 Co Inc
Cunningham, Robt

May 23, 1949

Dear Bob:

I now know what to tell you in the way of news. I still run this Southern Regional Council. It is an interracial organization working to improve the economy and humanity of thirteen southern states. I divide my time between pushing along a monthly magazinelet called New South, urging our state divisions and committees to get more done, and worrying about where to find some more ten-centses to keep the show alive.

What do you do in St. Louis? I ought to know, but I forget.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Mr. Robert N. Cunningham
R. D. #7, Brown Road
St. Louis 14, Missouri

Paul Havens, the new editor of the OXONIAN, has written requesting class letters.

How about sending your secretary a word before you throw this reminder in the wastebasket?

Bob

Robert N. Cunningham

R.D.#7, Brown Road
St.Louis 14, Missouri

5-C-Misc
Cater, Douglas

May 26, 1949

Mr. Douglass Cater
The Reporter
220 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Doug:

Many thanks for the substantial supply of "Southern Liberals on the Move". We can put them to good use. Please convey the Council's official thanks to the appropriate persons on the magazine.

The third issue of The Reporter is by all odds the best yet. I enjoyed it greatly myself and have heard many favorable comments from people I know who are receiving it. (Some time I must ask you where the magazine got its mailing lists; the right folks in Atlanta -- or many of them, at least, are included.) Your piece on Russia's reverse ERP is an excellent analysis, it seems to me, and puts the Timestyle of reporting properly to shame.

Incidentally, we have had a number of reactions to the piece on the Council -- all good. And the reacters included both whites and Negroes.

Keep up the good work -- and keep me posted from time to time on how things are going.

Best regards,

5-C Dues
Cater, Douglass

May 10, 1949

Mr. Douglass Cater
The Reporter
New York, New York

Dear Doug:

We would be delighted to get copies of your article in unprocessed form. That's quite a break for us. As for the number, we could use as many as 500, or as many short of that as the circulation department will let you have. Maybe our distribution of these would help get The Reporter known about the South. (And by the way, how are the Southern subscribers coming in?)

We have had few reactions as yet to the article, possibly because subscribers' copies haven't been received down here; at least ours hasn't come. The reactions we have had have been favorable. I think, however, that both you and we can expect some fussing about it. It would be impossible to write anything about the controversial business of social change in the South without raising some disagreement. At any rate, I think most of your readers should like it.

We appreciate your sending copies to each member of the Executive Committee.

I will be looking forward to your piece in the third issue. Here's hoping you can crack the editor's resistance with some of your ideas for Southern stories.

Our thanks for helping us get hold of reprints.

Best regards,

Harold C. Fleming

A FORTNIGHTLY OF FACTS AND IDEAS

The Reporter

220 EAST 42nd STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

RECEIVED
MAY 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

May 9 , 1949

Dear Harold,

Thanks for the kind words. We are going to be faced eternally with that problem of trying to say a lot in a few words. Maybe after a while I'll learn to make each word count significantly. As it is, I have the feeling that the piece is rather raw from being condensed.

Anyway, we are pleased that you like it. Thank the good Dr. for me. We sent a copy of the second issue to every member of the Executive Committee of the Council.

As for reprints, naturally we are interested and delighted. A young magazine likes to get itself strewn about as much as possible. I just talked to the Circulation Department(by the way, it is run by Mrs. Larry Duggan, wife of the former director of the International Institute of Education). She told me that there are a great number of bodies of the second issue out at the plant which have not been hitched up to the cover. We would be glad to send you a number of these free in unprocessed form(which probably means the Council story attached to a page from some other story). This would only require a slicing job on your part to get the Council story on one page with The Reporter identified at the bottom.

D oes this interest you? If so give me the word along with how many you want (don't be modest). Do it quickly before they clean out the reserves at the plant.

My next story (switching fields completely)will be in issue three entitled "Russia's Reverse ERP" -- at least that's the title at the moment. Anyway, it is about how Russia treats her satellites economically. Following that I am working on something to be called "The Rise and Fall of a Postwar International" which will be a description of my experiences in the IUS. It may never run, though.

Thank you for your prompt attention to Mr. Rives. He wrote me and indicated his appreciation.

I am pounding the editor with all sorts of good southern stories for me to write, but so far no luck. I fear me that I shall become one of those grinds that they always keep in the home office.

~~My best~~,

Larry

Let us know if you have any reactions on the story!

5-C-Misc-
Cater, Douglas

A FORTNIGHTLY OF FACTS AND IDEAS

The Reporter

220 EAST 42nd STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

April 14, 1949

Dear Harold,

Within a few days, you will receive a complimentary copy of the first issue of The Reporter. I suggested that you be sent one because you are the kind of reader our magazine is written for.

I won't tell you much about the magazine here because you will find a statement in the issue of the reasons for putting out The Reporter and of the principles that will guide us in preparing it. We think that if America is to handle all the responsibilities it now has, Americans need a greater number, and a different kind, of facts and ideas than they are getting; and we think The Reporter provides them.

We are interested in your reactions to the first issue. We know that it cannot be perfect, because no first issue ever is. We would like to hear what you like about it and what you dislike, whether you think the performance comes up to the prospectus; and whether you want to subscribe.

Here it is. Cosmic piece will be in issue 2. Hope you like it. Keep pushing Mrs. A. She intimated she will give more.

Doug

FOUNDED IN 1897 BY GOVERNOR B. B. COMER

6 - Civ Prise
Comer, Donald

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Fabrics and Yarns

GENERAL OFFICES:
SYLACAUGA, ALA.
ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO THE COMPANY

Birmingham, Alabama
June 8, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I have your letter of June 3 and I have not read the enclosures carefully but I have glanced over them and the suggested ways for solving some of our problems down here do not have my endorsement. Even so, I am willing to work with a good friend like you and others associated with you in trying to correct our maladjustments just as fast as we can.

Be sure to come to see me if you come to Birmingham. If you will bring your wife with you, may be we can have another evening dinner on our back terrace.

Yours truly

Donald Comer

RECEIVED
JUN 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

6-Ci Misc
Cooper, J. R. Roy

June 16, 1949

Mr. J. R. Roy Cooper
Clemson College YMCA
Clemson, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Cooper:

You were most generous in paying my expenses for the trip to Blue Ridge.

Mrs. Mitchell and I greatly enjoyed it.

You had a fine group of young people there.

If the Council can ever assist you further, please let me know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

6- Ci-Fuse
Cohn, Irving

June 17, 1949

Mrs. Irving Cohn
1122 Lowerline Street
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mrs. Cohn:

We are most grateful to you for handling the matter with Mr. Salmon so promptly and so well. His letter serves the purpose perfectly and should remove any possible difficulty in the trade-marking of New South.

Dr. Mitchell asks me to convey his own appreciation for your help.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

6. a - Misc
Collier's

June 23, 1949

Mr. Frank B. Harrington
Promotion Department
Collier's
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Harrington:

Thank you for your letter of June 20 advising us that Collier's plans to publish an article on liberalism in the South. We shall look forward with interest to the appearance of the article and meanwhile would appreciate your sending us tear sheets.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Collier's
THE NATIONAL WEEKLY
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

June 20, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In an early issue, Collier's plans to publish an article entitled "New Rebel Yell in Dixie," dealing with the growth and aims of liberalism in the south.

The thought occurs to us that you might like to publicize this feature. Of course we realize that you cannot plan anything until you have seen the article. We will be glad to send you tear sheets as soon as they are available, should you wish them.

Sincerely,

Frank B. Harrington

Frank B. Harrington
Promotion Department

RECEIVED
JUN 22 1949
Southern Regional Council

FBH:gb

6 - Ce - Fuse
Cohn, Irvin Irving

June 27, 1949

Mrs. Irving H. Cohn, Executive Secretary
New Orleans Committee on Race Relations
1122 Lowerline Street
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Cohn:

Without accurate knowledge, my general understanding about the situation on the railways is that the ones in the South have been making and using their own private railway rules, attempting to enforce segregation. The meaning of the Irene Morgan case is that state statutes requiring segregation on common carriers are now, by reason of the ruling of the Supreme Court, unenforceable as to interstate passengers.

There seems to be some channel of appeal to the Interstate Commerce Commission from the application by the roads of their private rules as to segregation. All I know about that is that in March, 1948, the Interstate Commerce Commission dismissed a suit by three Negroes against the Southern Railroad, which the Interstate Commerce Commission admitted had subjected these persons to "prejudice and disadvantage" but which had provided accommodations "not substantially different" from those provided for whites.

The following is taken from the June-December, 1948, issue (Volume V, Numbers 9-12 inclusive) of Race Relations: A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends, published by the Social Science Institute at Fisk University:

Reserved Seat Trains

A Pennsylvania railroad official is quoted as having stated that the railroad would not assign colored passengers to a segregated car traveling South if they do not wish to be placed there. This clarification of the company's policy resulted from the repeated complaints of Negro passengers traveling south that they had been assigned to segregated cars at New York City or forced to move to segregated cars after passing through Washington, D. C. Since recent

> decisions protect passengers from such treatment, persons who desire to avoid segregation need only to state at the time of securing tickets that they do not want to be placed in a segregated coach.
>
> (p. 272)

Monthly Summary's note indicates that this information came from the Negro Press.

I should think, therefore, that the best thing to do would be to take or send a committee to see the New Orleans head office of the Southern Railway and ask for such relaxation of its habits or rules as would meet the wishes of Negro passengers.

The other course would be to work with the NAACP toward the establishment of a test case which would result in a legal ruling that the present practice of the railway officials at New Orleans is illegal.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

JP 6/14/49

June 14, 1949

Mrs. Irving H. Cohn
Executive Secretary
New Orleans Committee on Race Relations
1122 Lowerline Street
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Cohn:

JP → You ought to have a couple of complete sets of our pamphlets for yourself. I send them to you.

I am dashing for a train, and will answer at greater length when I get back.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

NEW ORLEANS COMMITTEE ON RACE RELATIONS

1122 LOWERLINE STREET

NEW ORLEANS 18, LOUISIANA

RABBI EMIL W. LEIPZIGER
CHAIRMAN

DR. A. W. DENT
VICE-CHAIRMAN

MRS. HARRY B. KELLEHER
SECRETARY

DR. HAROLD N. LEE
TREASURER

MRS. IRVING H. COHN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

June 9, 1949

RECEIVED
JUN 13 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

One of our members has recently consented to work on increasing our membership. She feels, however, that she needs to know more about the SRC than she does. Would you send her as soon as possible some information about the organization. I think some of the research publications which have been issued would also be helpful to her. (I have contributed my collection of publications about the SRC to the Tulane Library, along with other material I had). She is Mrs. L.E. Lashman, 313 Virginia St., N.O., La.

NCF has notified. MEJ

Will you tell Mr. Flemming that I have an appointment in the morning with Mr. Salmon to speak to him about their publication, South. I understand it is now no longer being published, incidently.

A question came up in the executive meeting about which I was asked to write you. We were told that the Southern Railroad has a streamliner out of here to New York, the Southerner, which provides 18 seats for Negroes. The result is that Negroes often have to wait a week or longer before they can get reservations back to New York, while seats for whites are often not all used. This was given as only one known instance of violations of ICC rulings governing interstate passengers. It seems the situation is spotty, and varies from one railroad to another, and from one part of the country to another. Do you have any information on this? Have you any suggestions as to what action might be taken locally, based on action that might have been taken in other communities?

We have some interesting suggestions for our program for next fall, which I will write you about after our next meeting in a few days.

Sincerely,

Helen Cohn

Helen Cohn

6 - Ci Juice
Cohn, Mrs Irving

June 2, 1949

Mrs. Irving Cohn
Executive Secretary
New Orleans Committee on Race Relations
1122 Lowerline Street
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Cohn:

A matter has arisen in which you can be of great help to us. We are undertaking to register New South as a trade-mark with the U. S. Patent Office. A possible complication is presented by the existence of a magazine called South, published in New Orleans. As you will see from the enclosed letter, what we need is a statement from South waiving any objection to the registration of our title.

Rather than mail the letter to the South people, we were wondering if you would be kind enough to make our request in person. Such a visit could convince them, as a letter alone could not, that ours is a responsible organization and that our request for a waiver is in good faith. As we have pointed out in the letter, our small circulation and our sphere of interest remove us from any possible competition with South. (My understanding is that South is a magazine devoted to Latin American affairs.)

One minor point we do not mention in the enclosed letter. Some years back, New South was registered as the title of a magazine published in Chattanooga. It has since, we believe, suspended publication. I mention this only in case the publisher of South raises the point.

We shall greatly appreciate your helping us out.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

encl

June 2, 1949

President
South, Inc.
Hibernia Building
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Sir:

Since January, 1946, the Southern Regional Council has published a monthly bulletin entitled New South. We are now taking the first steps toward having the title registered as a trade-mark.

It would facilitate the processing of our application if we submitted with it evidence that no conflict exists between New South and your own publication South. Ours is a non-profit organization concerned with Southern progress toward improved conditions for all the people of the region. New South deals with current developments in this direction of interest to our members and friends; its paid circulation is less than 4,000 and the total printing is 5,000. I am sure you will agree that there is little likelihood of difficulty or confusion arising from the titles of our respective publications.

We should be most grateful if you would furnish us a brief statement, preferably notarized, waiving any objection on the part of South to the registration of New South. This would make it possible for us to avoid any needless delay and correspondence in dealing with the Patent Office.

Thanking you for your cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

6-G-Misc-
Cohn, Helen (Mrs. Irving)

April 21, 1949

Mrs. Irving Cohn
1122 Lowerline Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Cohn:

How very kind of you to send your welcome check for ten dollars.

We will hope also for good news from the New Orleans Committee.

I am very sorry that by misadventure the Council was not directly represented at the meeting of the Southern Sociological Society. If I could have been there, I would have enjoyed your paper.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

1122 Laverline St.
New Orleans, La.
April 19, 1949

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Enclosed please find a check for $10.00 for the SRC.

You will be hearing from the N.O. Committee on Race Relations in a day or two. The question of affiliation will be voted on at a meeting tomorrow night. I think there's little question but what you'll be pleased with the outcome.

Sincerely,
Helen Cohen

10.00

RECEIVED
APR 21 1949
Southern Regional Council

6-Ci-Misc-Cohn, Mrs. Irving (Helen)

February 7, 1949

Mrs. Irving Cohn
Executive Secretary
New Orleans Committee on Race Relations
1122 Lowerline Street
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Cohn:

Thank you very much for the check. It will help our Council a lot.

It is also good of you to send us the list of teachers. We will see if some of them will join the Council. Lucy Mason's address is: 75 Ivy Street, Atlanta 3, Georgia.

I had a good time in New Orleans.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

P. S. Yes, we would like the list of parochial school teachers, if you can conveniently send it.
GSM

NEW ORLEANS COMMITTEE ON RACE RELATIONS

1122 LOWERLINE STREET
NEW ORLEANS 18, LOUISIANA

RABBI EMIL W. LEIPZIGER
CHAIRMAN

DR. A. W. DENT
VICE-CHAIRMAN

MRS. HARRY B. KELLEHER
SECRETARY

DR. HAROLD N. LEE
TREASURER

MRS. IRVING H. COHN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

February 2, 1949

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
FEB 4 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Enclosed you will find a check for $46.78 to cover your expenses for your recent trip to New Orleans to address the Institute for Teachers sponsored by the New Orleans,Committee on Race Relations.

May I say again that we all felt your talk was a valuable contribution to the Institute and we enjoyed having you with us.

I have also enclosed a list of the teachers who were in the group to which you spoke so that you might contact them individually.

I would appreciate your sending me Miss Mason's address as I want to return to her some material she lent me, but I find I have misplaced her address.

Sincerely yours,

Helen Cohn

Mrs. Irving Cohn
Executive Secretary

Southern Regional Council

1/25, 194

TO: ~~[illegible]~~ Mrs. McKay ☐

FROM: NET

This material is referred to you for:

1. Information	(✓)	4. Reply	( )
2. Consideration	( )	5. Suggested Reply	( )
3. Recommendation	( )	6. Signature	( )

7. Please circulate to:

Director	( )	Sec'ty.-Treasurer	( )
Associate Director	( )	_____	( )
Pub. Relations Dir.	( )	_____	( )
_____	( )	_____	( )

8. Please return to ~~this office~~. me ( )

9. Please return to secretary for filing ( )

COMMENTS OR INSTRUCTIONS

Enter
Noted - McK.

4/5

Mrs. McKay -

I gave you their ck.

This is for your information.

MEJ

Noted — MK.

January 25, 1949

Miss Helen F. Cohn
Executive Secretary
New Orleans Committee on Race Relations
1122 Lowerline Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Miss Cohn:

Here is a statement of my expenses for the trip to New Orleans the other day. Actually, I went on, on Council business, to Fort Worth, but it seems to me fair to charge the New Orleans Committee with a simple round trip, Atlanta-New Orleans-Atlanta. Railway fare and upper berth each way on that is $44.78.

Add $2.00 for a meal and a couple of taxi fares, and that will be a fair total amount.

I greatly enjoyed the opportunity to talk with that group of teachers.

Would you put to some governing body of the Institute the question of whether the Council might have a list of those who attended that session, with their addresses, in order that the Council might ask them individually by mail whether they would wish to become members of the Council?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

January14, 1949

AIR MAIL

Miss Helen F. Cohn
Executive Secretary
New Orleans Committee on Race Relations
1122 Lowerline Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Miss Cohn:

In Dr. Mitchell's absence, I am acknowledging your kind letter of January 12 addressed to him.

It is good of you to offer to make reservations for Dr. Mitchell. We wrote Mrs. Lippard yesterday, asking her to make a reservation for the evening of January 18.

Dr. Mitchell is looking forward to being with you on Wednesday afternoon.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Mitchell

CC: Mrs. Vernon Lippard

NEW ORLEANS COMMITTEE ON RACE RELATIONS

6TH FLOOR—211 CAMP STREET
NEW ORLEANS 12, LOUISIANA

January 12, 1949

RABBI EMIL W. LEIPZIGER, CHAIRMAN

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

MRS. JEAN L. BENSON
RALPH E. BOOTHBY
MRS. MOISE S. CAHN
REV. R. W. COLEMAN
MRS. CORNELIA S. CRAWFORD
DR. P. P. CREUZOT
LAWRENCE CROCKER
JOHN R. DAVIS
GEORGE H. DECKERT
MAUD DEDEAUX
A. W. DENT
HASKETT DERBY
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RABBI JULIAN B. FEIBELMAN
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MRS. ROBERT D. FEILD
ROBERT D. FEILD
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CLAYTON FRITCHEY
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JAMES E. GAYLE
MRS. H. B. GESSNER
HARLAN W. GILMORE
DR. CLARENCE E. GLICK
BISHOP S. L. GREENE
REV. L. L. HAYNES
ISAAC HELLER
JOY M. HIGGINS
BEATRICE HODGE
REV. N. A. HOLMES
RT. REV. JOHN L. JACKSON
VERY REV. MSGR. H. JOS. JACOBI
CARMELITE JANVIER
ALVIN H. JONES
BISHOP R. E. JONES
MRS. HARRY B. KELLEHER
DR. MILTON E. KIRKPATRICK
REV. J. S. LAND
CLARENCE LAWS
HAROLD N. LEE
MONTE LEMANN
MRS. RALPH P. LEVEY
GEORGE KING LOGAN
E. S. LORSPEICH
RABBI JEROME MARK
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REV. NORMAN A. MAUNZ
NIRNA MEAD
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REV. H. THOMAS PRIM
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REV. W. R. VIVRETT
DR. T. A. WATTERS
DR. JOHN M. WHITNEY
FANNIE C. WILLIAMS
LOGAN WILSON
ELIZABETH WISNER
ERNEST J. WRIGHT

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell;

We are looking forward with pleasure to having you with us at the Institute for Teachers next Wednesday afternoon.

We would be very glad to meet you and make any arrangements or reservations for you. If you so desire, would you let us know?

Sincerely yours,

Helen F. Cohn

Helen F. Cohn, Exec. Sec.

RECEIVED
JAN 14 1949
Southern Regional Council

6- Ci Misc
Collier's

THE NATIONAL WEEKLY
Collier's
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

June 28
1 9 4 9

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Attached are tear sheets of Collier's forthcoming article, "New Rebel Yell in Dixie," which will appear in the July 9th issue, on newsstands July 1st.

If we can be of any further help to you, we shall be glad to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Frank B. Harrington

Frank B. Harrington
Promotion Department

gb
encl.

RECEIVED
JUN 30 1949
Southern Regional Council

7-Co-Misc
Crill, Ed

June 30, 1949

Mrs. E. Homer Miller
Church World Service Center
New Windsor, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Miller:

Thank you for your request of June 28 that we send material on race relations to Mr. Ed Crill. I am mailing him today a packet of our publications which should be useful to him and the young people of the Church of the Brethren. The bill will be sent to you, as you requested.

Enclosed are two copies of the leaflet describing the Council, for your own use.

We greatly appreciate your help in getting the Council's material before interested groups.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enc

7-Ch-Misc
Crill, Ed

June 30, 1949

Mr. Ed Crill
Church World Service Center
New Windsor, Maryland

Dear Mr. Crill:

Mrs. E. Homer Miller has informed us of your training program for young people of the Church of the Brethren and has suggested that we send you some of our material on race relations.

I am mailing separately several of our publications which I believe you and the group will find useful. If we can be of help at any time, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Church World Service Center
New Windsor, Md.
June 28, 1949

Dear Sir,

We have a situation at the Center in which I think you will be interested. Twenty-nine young people of the Church of the Brethren (chiefly northern) are in training for volunteer service, some of which will be among southern Negroes. I believe the director Mr. Ed Crill, will be interested in receiving literature on the negro question. I have supplied some, but have lost sight of one of your leaflets giving the aims, accomplishments, etc. of S.R.C. This leaflet, together with others suitable for such a group, I should appreciate your mailing to Mr. Crill at once, since this week the emphasis is on ~~the~~ local Negro. You may send the bill to me. Sincerely yours,

Mrs. E. Homer Miller

The New South
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Air Mail

Attention Mr. Harold C. Fleming

7-Cr Mrs
Crittenden, Chris

July 1, 1949

Mr. & Mrs. Chris Crittenden

1637 Caswell Drive

Hayes-Barton

Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Janet and Chris,

Thanks a lot for kindnesses and conversation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

Cr-
Crittenden

February 19, 1948

Dear Janet and Chris:

You were both just terribly kind to me on Friday night. You fed me victuals, you warmed me and my shoes, Chris helped me to get to see Governor Broughton and drove me about in the thickest fog I have seen in a long time.

I quoted to Chris what I now quote to Janet--that my mother told me years ago "There is a grace to receiving as well as to giving." In that spirit I received.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. Chris Crittenden
Caswell Street
Hayes Barton
Raleigh, North Carolina

6- Ce Inter
Cohen, Melvin

July 1, 1949

Mr. Melvin N. Cohen
3845 Boarman Avenue
Baltimore 15, Maryland

Dear Mr. Cohen:

Thank you for your letter of June 21 to Mrs. McKoy.

We wish the Council were much larger in membership and more active in program.

It costs money to build membership. Three dollars ($3.00) a year is as much as we think people will pay. We divide the three dollars "even-Steven" with our State Divisions where we have them; and it costs us a good deal more than one dollar and fifty cents ($1.50) we get to put out the little magazine.

If we had the funds to pay secretaries in the various states, membership would grow rapidly. The same thing is true about getting in students, a very valuable thing to do but an expensive one.

The Council early accepted a definition of the South which did not include Maryland. I, myself, lived in Baltimore three years and know something of its problems. Of course, you have other organizations quite adequate there which could a good deal more, I should think, than a new and small chapter of the Southern Regional Council.

Did you read the article on "Patterns of Violence" in the March issue of NEW SOUTH? It has had a good deal to do with the awakening in the South to the grave menace of the Klan.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

3845 Boarman Avenue
Baltimore 15, Maryland
June 21, 1949

Dear Mr. McRoy,

I have been meaning to write you personally for a long time. I feel that the Southern Regional Council has been lacking in some ways. Your membership is composed of the intelligentsia mostly. You should organize into the "grass roots". You should form neighborhood organizations and form a separate student branch. Your organization should try to put a big organizing campaign, realizing that I am not a

heavy contributor to your organization, I realize that I am going in for the prerogative. I really can't afford to contribute heavily because the money comes out of my allowance.

I hope your organization maps out a program to fight the heavy Ku Klux Klan.

Also why don't you form a chapter of S.N.C. in Baltimore. It is badly needed. I should like to discuss these matters further with you.

Yours truly,

Milton N. Cohen

RECEIVED
JUN 24 1949
SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE
Southern Regio

Mrs. McKoy:

Can you supply any information as to financial standing of Melvin N. Cohen (Letter of June 21, 1949) of Baltimore. Is he a member of the Council, or a contributor? Are you personally acquainted with him or is this just an incoming letter.

George S. Mitchell

He became a member with 2.00 in Aug. 1948 –
He is not a contributor – but is not delinquent
as '49 dues will not be billed until August 1
Incoming letter only –

McK.

DR. R. F. POOLE
President of College

S. M. MARTIN
Chairman Advisory Board

P. B. HOLTZENDORFF, JR.
General Secretary

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Office Secretary

Clemson College
Young Men's Christian Association

Clemson, South Carolina

July 13, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

Before this time I should have written this letter telling you how much we appreciate your services with the student conference at Blue Ridge. Just after the conference I was away from the office for about 10 days and am just now getting to the letters that have been waiting.

You certainly helped us greatly in the conference program and I only wish there had been a longer period for the students to have for questions and discussion. Students do not enter into discussions as readily as it seems they should, but I think if there had been a longer period for your discussion without leaving the room there might have been some discussion.

It was good that Mrs. Mitchell could make the trip with you and I am glad you both enjoyed the trip. It is most gracious of you men who are willing to give your time and services in a conference of that kind when we can only offer your expenses for the trip. Operating the Blue Ridge conference as we do the only funds for financing the conference come from registration fees and they are not high, so it leaves us operating on a pretty close margin. I hope before too long we can have a surplus developed from some source that will allow us to add something as honorarium for the persons who help in the conference program.

All of us are grateful for your services and for your fine presentation of the problems of the South.

Sincerely yours
J. R. Roy Cooper
J.R.Roy Cooper
Director,
Blue Ridge Conference

RECEIVED
JUL 14 1949
Southern Regional Council

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R. F. Wiggins

June 6, 1949

Mr. J. R. Roy Cooper
Associate Secretary
Clemson College YMCA
Clemson, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Cooper:

Alice, my wife, agrees to go with me to Blue Ridge. If your hospitality is still available, we will arrive together at Lee Hall after supper in the early evening of June 13, and leave after breakfast on the morning of June 15.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

6-Ci, Misc
Cooper J. R. Roy

June 2, 1949

Mr. J. R. Roy Cooper
Associate Secretary
Clemson College YMCA
Clemson, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Cooper:

I will be on hand the night of the 13th and all day the 14th, and will probably sleep at Blue Ridge the night of the 14th too.

My best speech is not called "race relations" but it is called "The Map of the South". In about 37 minutes it explains, with a blackboard and colored chalk (and even an occasional laugh), the geography and history and politics and education and industry and agriculture of about ten southern states. In the course of doing that, the "innards" of race relations get visible. I trust that it will be all right to make that speech. I am not very good at a learned sociological discussion of race relations per se. But this speech most people do like, and I am sure it will provoke some discussion. It always does.

MET note

I will bring along some literature.

I don't know whether I can bring Mrs. Mitchell or not. I will try hard, but there are matters about children and so on.

Blue Ridge is an old stamping ground of mine and I know how to get there.

Sincerely,

GSM:t

George S. Mitchell

May 20, 1949

Mr. J. R. Roy Cooper
Clemson College YMCA
Clemson, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Cooper:

Thank you for your letter of May 18 to Dr. Mitchell. He will be out of town until the end of next week. When he returns, I know he will be interested in learning the details of the Blue Ridge Student Conference.

After talking with you about it over the 'phone he reserved June 14, and I know he is looking forward to being with you on that date.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Taylor
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

DR. R. F. POOLE
President of College

S. M. MARTIN
Chairman Advisory Board

P. B. HOLTZENDORFF, JR.
General Secretary

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Clemson College
Young Men's Christian Association
Clemson, South Carolina

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Assistant Secretary
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DOROTHY ABBOTT
Office Secretary

May 18, 1949

RECEIVED
MAY 20 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mithhell,

About ten days ago I called you by telephone and discussed briefly the subject which we want you to use at the Blue Ridge Student conference June 14. All evening platforms are being done by Scotty Cowan, minister of Everybody's Church in Lexington, Ky. We are anxious to deal with current Social issues in the morning platform periods and one of those we want to have discussed is Race Relations. We could not think of a man who would be more capable of making that address than you so have asked you to be with us for that period on the 14.

This conference is not in opposition to the student conference which is put on by the Area student council, but is one which is attempting to answer the conference needs of students who would not go to an Interracial conference. We do feel that Race Relations ought to be discussed intelligently with all college students and are trying to put that discussion into the program. I personally wish we could have a panel discussion on the subject, but that hardly seems possible in the short time we are to be at Blue Ridge so are doing what seems to us the next best thing.

There will probably be some questions after the talk and would like to ask if you will be willing to have questions asked and have you answer them then or if there are some students who wish to come back for further questions and discussion we could do that. Our planning committee is very much interested in having suggestions about how to deal with racial tensions and questions where racial groups are involved in cooperative enterprises of one kind or another. There is a growing need for more complete understanding between the Negro and White groups in this section of the country especially and many people who formerly resented cooperative enterprises are now convinced that the two groups can work successfully together. Any help which you can give to the group in the platform period and any literature which you may have that would be helpful will be greatly appreciated.

If you find it possible to do so I wish you would bring Mrs. Mitchell with you and we shall be glad for you to spend whatever time with you feel you can spare. If you cannot come earlier than the 13 just come on up and spend the night as room will be reserved for you and Mrs. Mitchell. We'll be glad to have you stay through the rest of the conference which ends on the morning of June 15.

Sincerely yours
J. R. Roy Cooper
J. R. Roy Cooper

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G. H. Aull
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P. S. Shealy
L. B. Smith
M. A. Smithwick
D. C. Sojourner
C. N. Still
R. T. Thomas
R. O. Watson
R. F. Wiggins

6 - Ci - Inst
Connor, Virgil

August 1, 1949

Mr. Virgil Connor
Apopka, Florida

Dear Mr. Connor:

Dr. George Mitchell, the executive director of our Council, suggested that I drop by and talk with you on my recent trip to Florida. Unfortunately, I did not find you at home. I am taking the liberty of writing about the matter in which we interested.

The purpose of my trip was to learn what I could about the background of the recent disturbances in the Groveland area. As you may know, one of the functions of the Southern Regional Council is to help its members and friends to understand the causes and possible cures of racial violence. Dr. Mitchell feels that your intimate knowledge of that area would make your observations particularly valuable to us. We hope to run an article on the subject in a forthcoming issue of our monthly publication New South.

I shall be most grateful for any information or comments from you.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Fleming
Director of Information

HF:wgd

6-Ce Misc
Clark, Felton G

August 3, 1949

Dr. Felton G. Clark
Southern University
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Dr. Clark:

I do greatly appreciate your kindness in sending me the names of the Louisiana ministers.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

6- Ci Fwd
Clark, Felton G.

August 3, 1949

Dr. Felton G. Clark
Southern University
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Dr. Clark:

I have been writing letters to the eight or ten people who very kindly undertook, at the Council's Annual Meeting in November 1948, money help to the Council for 1949 and have not as yet completed paying their pledges. This arises because I have had to go through the bottom of the barrel to meet the last payroll. We are pretty certain of substantial sums ahead, but right now are in a bad way.

You undertook to get us a hundred dollars either in memberships or money. The memberships you sent in in most gratifying batches amounted to $51.00. I write you this merely to give your already active conscience another moderate stimulus. Help us if you can. Meanwhile, I continue in admiration of the help you have been straight along.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

5-C-Misc
Chubb, Lyle

August 5, 1949

Mr. Lyle Chubb
152 Ridgeland Way, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Lyle:

Many thanks for your card and the offer of five dollars toward an award for Sheriff Hughes.

The idea of such a system of awards has been talked about from time to time since the Council was formed. As you probably know, the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation used to give some form of recognition to peace officers who actually tried to keep the peace. We haven't continued the custom for several reasons. The chief one is the difficulty of establishing whether or not the chief deserves the good press. Apparently, he does in the Berrien County case, but many cases are not so clear cut, and without an on the spot inquiry, it would be impossible to know whether the award was justified.

What we do instead is this: ask the head of our appropriate state group to write a commendatory letter if it appears likely that commendation is in order. Dr. Russell, Director of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, has written such a letter to Hughes.

This may seem a feeble procedure, but we are consoled by the fact that the conversative South (newspapers, civic groups, etc.) now seem quite ready to give recognition to a chief who shows courage and efficiency.

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Fleming
Director of Information

HF:wgd

Dear Harold: Can't the JRC give Sheriff Hughes of Berrien County an award — say a Crime Prevention Award? I think it ought to be cash or a certificate. This might be done in all similar cases from now on. I'll contribute $5 for Hughes if you like the idea.

Lyle

6 - Ce - Tuck
Council of State Govts

August 9, 1949

Mr. Frank Bane
Council of State Governments
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Bane:

A couple of years ago, you were so kind as to give us some advice in getting some of the Council's ideas before the Southern Governors. Here are a couple of documents which have had the light for some time and which we have faithfully circulated to the Governors.

I add a third and most recent one on the lynching at Irwinton, Georgia with some analysis of possible legislation.

I also enclose recent accounts of the legislatures in Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosures

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

copies sent to:
GCB, Carnegie, Embree

6 - Ci - Misc
Cousins, Robt.

State Department of Education

STATE OFFICE BUILDING
Atlanta 3, Georgia

M. D. COLLINS
STATE SUPERINTENDENT
OF SCHOOLS

August 10, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

The phamphlet about the educational crisis in a Virginia county which you distributed to Georgia superintendents has been very effective in acquainting these people with the legal obligations of the system Boards of Education for all of the children under their direction. Recently I have met with a number of system Boards of Education to help plan on how they may meet their obligations to the Negro youth.

Enclosed you will find a check for $10.00.

Very cordially yours,

Robert L. Cousins

Robert L. Cousins, Director
Division of Negro Education

RLC/gr
Enclosure

Dues: 1947 - 2.00
1948 - 2.00
1949 - 3.00
Contribution 3.00
10.00

CAC has

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1949
Southern Regional Council

6-Ce-Misc
Clarke, Helen

August 16, 1949

Miss Helen Clarke
1312 East Broad Street
Columbus 5, Ohio

Dear Miss Clarke:

Thank you so much for your letter of August 14 with its interesting clipping.

We are delighted that "Into Brotherhood" continues going into use.

We have shipped you one hundred more.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

HELEN CLARKE, PH. D.
CONSULTANT IN DIETETICS
1312 EAST BROAD STREET
COLUMBUS 5, OHIO

Aug. 14, 1949.

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

The July copy of New South is a reminder that I should thank you for your courtesy in sending it to me. Not living in the South now and with so many demands elsewhere I have not subscribed.

We have problems here, too. You'll be pleased to see that Mr. Shaw, local president of NAACP, chairmans a board. I recall several years ago that Mr. Shaw told me he regretted being unable to accept a place in Liberia to do police organizational work.

The Columbus Citizen editor, Don C. Weaver, is liberal, alert and fair. A recent editorial of his I sent on to Sen. Scott Lucas and received a personal reply which was gratifying to me and to Mr Weaver.

clipping file
Negro Police

Copies of Hymn to Brotherhood have gone to many parts of the U.S.A. and other countries. One acknowledgement came from Clarence Shedd, now in Switzerland writing a history of the International Y.M.C.A.

Enclosed is $1.00 will you please send me more copies of the Hymn to Brotherhood.

Very truly yours,

Helen Clarke

1.00 currency
M.T.K

R.C has order for 100 copies of the "Hymn"

August 29, 1949

Mrs. Willis T. Spivey
Christian Service Foundation
3316 Fairmount Avenue
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Dear Mrs. Spivey:

I was greatly pleased to have the letter from you.

I don't know anybody that just fits the job though it is a very tempting one.

Meanwhile, I had much pleasure in reading the printed things about the uniquely useful effort which you and Mr. Spivey are engaged in.

I don't know a better example of the virtue of voluntary activities.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Booklet Filed: 5-Church & Social action

5-C-Misc
Christian Service Foundation

Christian Service Foundation seeks couple, ages 25 to 45, for field and office work in practical Christian service training projects. Man should have education and experience in either agriculture, building, farm mechanics, or related rural activities. Woman to do part-time typing and office work. Permanent career with reasonable salary, advancement, and security insurance. Write full particulars to Christian Service Foundation, 3216 Fairmount Ave., Philadelphia 4, Pa.

CHRISTIAN SERVICE FOUNDATION

A PHILANTHROPIC RESEARCH AND ADVISORY ORGANIZATION
in
PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN SERVICE TRAINING

3316 Fairmount Avenue
PHILADELPHIA 4, PA.

August 19, 1949

Dr. George Mitchell
Director of Veterans' Services
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

We enclose information describing what we believe to be a very attractive position for a couple concerned with a career in practical Christian service. In our wide experience we have found no position offering more opportunity for human service at a reasonable salary.

Your organization may have a publication in which a notice based on the enclosed would attract the attention of the type of people we seek.

We will appreciate your doing what you can to help us, as we are in immediate need of this couple.

Sincerely,

Lenore W. Spivey

(Mrs. Willis T. Spivey)
Secretary

RECEIVED
AUG 26 1949
Southern Regional Council

CHRISTIAN SERVICE FOUNDATION

A PHILANTHROPIC RESEARCH AND ADVISORY ORGANIZATION
in
PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN SERVICE TRAINING

3316 Fairmount Avenue
PHILADELPHIA 4, PA.

RECEIVED
AUG 26 1949
Southern Regional Council

Career Position Open

We are advising several projects which provide practical training to leaders preparing to help needy people to help themselves.

We ask your aid in finding a competent couple with social consciousness and with training and experience in agriculture, building, farm mechanics, or related rural activities. The wife will be paid for part time typing, office or other congenial work. Both husband and wife should have the pleasing personalities necessary for contacts within the projects which we assist.

We offer a reasonable salary, dependent upon ability and experience, plus a pleasant home adequate to accommodate a small family. This is a permanent career position with advancement and security. We are concerned only with a couple having a definite sense of Christian social consciousness.

To help you and prospective applicants to understand the type of projects we are helping, we enclose folders outlining the work of one such project. We call your attention to the names of the leaders of this project, Dr. John R. Mott and the Higginbottoms.

We will appreciate your advice and shall be glad to make arrangements for interviews. May we hear from you as soon as you have located possible applicants, as we are in immediate need of this couple.

CHRISTIAN SERVICE FOUNDATION

6-Ce-Misc
Clements, Earle C.

COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
FRANKFORT

EARLE C. CLEMENTS
GOVERNOR

August 3o, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Permit me to thank you for the August issue of New South which contains the story of the Lake County, Florida, violence.

I am glad to make this information available to law enforcement officials of the State Government.

Sincerely yours,

Edward A. Farris

Edward A. Farris
Administrative Assistant

August 26, 1949

The Honorable Earle C. Clements
Governor of Kentucky
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Governor Clements:

I have the honor to send you a copy of New South containing an analysis of the outburst of mob violence last month in Lake County, Florida.

This account has in it some lessons which, I think, would be of interest to responsible officials in charge of law enforcement.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

5-C - Misc
Chattanooga Times
Popham, John

August 31, 1949

Mr. John N. Popham
c/o The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Popham:

Here is the advance release for Sunday papers.

It is brief, I know, but that is all the planning committee wanted to put out in advance. In fact, we would cheerfully do without all advance publicity, except for the need to placate the local papers.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enc

5 C - Misc
Chattanooga Times

Popham, John

August 22, 1949

Mr. John Popham
c/o The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Popham:

I was delighted to learn from Mrs. Tilly that you plan to cover the forthcoming conference on Sept. 8 and 9.

In order to keep the curiosity seekers off our necks, we are not planning to break the advance story until Sunday, September 4. I will send you a release for the Sunday story early next week.

Since the meeting will not be open to the public, the meeting place will not be given in that release. For your own guidance, however, the meeting will take place in the Wesley Memorial Church--the same building in which the Council has its offices.

I shall look forward to working with you at the conference.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:wgd

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

6 - Ci - Misc - Council of State Govts

THE COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

1313 EAST SIXTIETH STREET, CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

September 9, 1949

RECEIVED
SEP 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks very much for your letter of August 29th, with enclosure.

I shall read this with much interest.

Very sincerely,

Frank

Frank Bane
Executive Director

FB:mbh

6 - Ci - Inci
Council of State Govts

THE COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

1313 EAST SIXTIETH STREET, CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

August 12, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Since Mr. Bane is out of the city, we wish to acknowledge your letter of August 9th with enclosure. He will be away for about a week, but your letter will be brought to his attention as soon as he returns.

With kindest regards, I am

Very sincerely,

Mary Lou Hoy

Mary Lou Hoy
Secretary to Mr. Bane

MLH:en

RECEIVED
AUG 15 1949
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

6- Ce Mace
Council of State Govts

August 29, 1949

Mr. Frank Bane
Council of State Governments
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mr. Bane:

I have sent copies of this to the various Southern Governors drawing their attention to the finding of new mobility of mob violence and the difficulties of the appropriate counter measures.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

5- C-Misc
Central Christian Advocate

September 12, 1949

Dr. P. A. Taylor, Jr., Editor
Central Christian Advocate
631 Baronne
New Orleans, La.

Dear Dr. Taylor:

I stopped in the other day in Atlanta with proof in hand of this new pamphlet of the Council's, which has since seen print.

We want to get the pamphlet in the hands of white editors and newspaper staff members in order that they may learn the five or six simple rules laid down for the conduct of their papers on matters of Negro news.

We are also most anxious to have the pamphlet reach the hands of as many citizens as possible. The thought here is that citizen readers of local papers, using the pamphlet, could, from time to time, fruitfully point out to local editors instances in which their papers are grievously violating rules laid down in the little book.

The Council has the booklet for sale at fifteen cents a copy. It occurred to Bishop Bowen that you might care to give some little notice in the Advocate of the pamphlet and its availability.

I can think of no more useful group than the Methodist Ministers as readers of the little booklet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosures

5-C-Press
Christian Science Monitor

The Christian Science Monitor

Published by The Christian Science Publishing Society, One, Norway St., Boston 15, Mass.

RECEIVED
SEP 15 1949
Southern Regional Council

NEW YORK NEWS BUREAU
Telephone: Plaza 7-1222

588 Fifth Avenue
NEW YORK CITY 19, N. Y.

September 13, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 2.

We are grateful to be added to your complimentary mailing list for NEW SOUTH. I am, however, putting in a request that this office be permitted to subscribe to the publication and hope that it will be approved.

Sincerely yours,

John Beaufort

John Beaufort
Chief, New York News Bureau
The Christian Science Monitor

5-C-Misc
Christian Science Monitor

September 2, 1949

Mr. John Beaufort
Chief, New York News Bureau
The Christian Science Monitor
588 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Beaufort:

Thank you for sending me a tear sheet of your story on the Groveland violence. It is a most useful summing-up of the various reports on the affair.

I have added your name to our complimentary mailing list for New South, though we should welcome you as a subscriber or associate member.

Enclosed is a leaflet describing the Council, as well as a list of our publications -- some of which you may find a need for.

All of us here greatly admire the Monitor and will be glad to be of help to you at any time.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

encl

The Christian Science Monitor
Published by The Christian Science Publishing Society, One, Norway St., Boston 15, Mass.

NEW YORK NEWS BUREAU
Telephone: Plaza 7-1222

588 Fifth Avenue
NEW YORK CITY 19, N. Y.

August 29, 1949

RECEIVED
SEP 1 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is to acknowledge with many thanks your letter of August 23 with the very valuable enclosures. I was able to use them both and also the August issue of "New South." I am enclosing a tear sheet of our story.

I wonder whether it would be possible to be put on the mailing list for "New South." If there is a subscription price perhaps I could manage it out of my budget. Again, many thanks for your help.

Sincerely yours,

John Beaufort

JOHN BEAUFORT
Chief, New York News Bureau.

JB/as.
ENC

5-C - Misc
Christian Science Monitor

August 23, 1949

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. John Beaufort
The Christian Science Monitor
588 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Beaufort:

From your telegram, I was not quite certain which of our publications you wanted. We have published no report specifically on police violence; however, the March New South carried a round-up of acts of violence in the South between January 1948 and March 1949. I enclose that, and also a typewritten supplement for the period April 1 - July 24. The latter does not include the Alabama outbreaks.

Also enclosed is the July New South, which sums up the Irwinton lynching.

You may be interested to know that the August issue of New South is devoted to a report on the Groveland disorders. Unfortunately, it will not be off the press until tomorrow. Though it may be too late to be of use to you, I will air mail you a copy tomorrow afternoon.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

encl

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AA28

1949 AUG 23 PM 3 51

A=CDU355 DL PD=WUX CD NEWYORK NY 23 240P=

TU ATLANTA

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

=63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

GREATLY APPRECIATE YOUR SENDING ME AIRMAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY TONIGHT COPY OF YOUR REPORT ON POLICE VIOLENCE. GLADLY PAY ANY CHARGES FOR SAME. DESIRE IT IN CONNECTION WITH STORY BEING PREPARED ON GROVLAND CASE=

JOHN BEAUFORT THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 588 FIFTH AVE NEW YORK 19 N Y=

588 19=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

6-c, Misc
Columbia School of Journalism

September 16, 1949

Columbia University School of Journalism
Columbia University
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

How about glancing at your clock and marking aside three minutes for a careful look at this pamphlet?

It has long been needed in this part of the world. Incidentally, we got the notion from a glance many years ago at Headlines and Deadlines, which the Columbia School of Journalism must have had a hand in.

The Southern Newspaper Publishers Association is distributing a copy to each of its members.

Our impecunious Council sells them for fifteen cents each. It was just printed four or five days ago.

We would be most grateful for anything you could do to help it get wider use.

There is the beginnings of a wave in the South for fairer treatment of race matters in the press. The little pamphlet, read, and widely used, can speed and sharpen that movement quite a lot.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

5-C-Misc
Christian Herald

September 19, 1949

Dr. Daniel A. Poling
The Christian Herald Association
27 East 39th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Dr. Poling:

I just talked with Mr. Forrest C. Weir here in Atlanta about ways in which our Council could get known and used this new small pamphlet Race in the News.

We want to get it into the hands of newspaper editors and staffs. There it can serve as a manual on a copy editor's desk and as a teaching document for new reporters. A long step toward that has been taken through the kindness of the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association, which is sending it out to each of its members.

The next thing is to get it into the hands of newspaper readers in the South--of course, mostly in the hands of people who will be sensitive to the issues involved.

That done, the next thing is to get local citizen committees, preferably from both races, to bestir themselves toward conformity by their papers with the simple standards laid down in the little green book. We have already had proof that committee visits to editors, book in hand, do a lot of good.

The pamphlet itself is constructively and not carpingly written. It takes full account of the problems of thepeople, and you will see that it has the leaven of a little wit.

Fortunately, a good many Southern papers are already doing a lot better than they did a few years ago. A perceptible movement is already underway. What we want to do is speed it and make it exact.

We are doing what we can through our own Council's field forces to get this known, and we would greatly welcome whatever help the Christian Herald could give. We thought, perhaps, there would be an editorial note or maybe an article.

We offer the pamphlet at fifteen cents a copy.

I do hope this idea can have your approval and help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

5 - C. Price
Christian Century

September 19, 1949

Mr. Paul Hutchinson
Christian Century Foundation
407 South Dearborn Street
Chicago 5, Illinois

Dear Mr. Hutchinson:

Recently I talked with Mr. Forrest C. Wair here in Atlanta about ways in which we could get know and used this new small pamphlet Race in the News which I enclose.

The Southern Newspaper Publishers Association is sending out copies to all its members. This will get it into the hands of newspaper editors and staffs, where it can serve as a manual on the copy editors's desks and as a teaching document for new reporters.

Now we want to get it into the hands of citizen-readers in the South, especiall in the hands of those people who will be sensitive to the issues involved.

That done, the next thing is to get committees, made up of local citizens preferably from both races, to visit the editors, took in hand, and ask for conformity by their papers with the simple rules laid down in the pamphlet.

Race in the News, constructively and not carpingly written, takes full account of the people's problems, and you will see that it has the leaven of a little wit.

A movement is already underway in the South for fairer and more courteous treatment of Negro news. We want to speed this movement and make it exact.

Through our own field forces, we are doing what we can to get this known, and we would greatly welcome whatever help the Christian

Century could give. We trough, perhaps, there would be an editorial note or maybe an article.

The pamphlet is fifteen cents a copy.

We do hope this idea can have your approval and help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

5-C-Misc
Cleary, Rev Geo E

September 19, 1949

Rev. Mr. George E. Cleary
626 Maupas
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mr. Cleary:

I have two requests.

One, could you kindly get me, verbally, the facts on the enclosed matter of a sometime mayor's committee in Savannah? Give me or leave me the facts when you are here in Atlanta next Thursday. Two, a business about this brand new pamphlet Race in the News.

If you will look through it a few minutes, you will see what its possibilities are. We are getting it into newspaper offices over the South through the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association. Now I want, not only to get it into the hands of interested newspaper readers over the South, but also to get local bodies, church, civic, or others, to take up as a neat and useful project, some approach to the editor of the local paper in the interest of steady growth toward the better practices laid out in the pamphlet. There are few local activities on an interracial plane which for less fuss and controversy will so readily yield lasting betterment. It raises no question of church and state; it isn't political; and it is in the besttradition of interracial effort in the South.

I am doing all I can to reach official church bodies on behalf of widespread local activity of this sort. Plainly, however, it is not enough to reach head persons in great denominations. We still need to interest church leaders nearer to the people.

With that in mind, I talked yesterday with an acquaintance in the office of the Christian Index here in Atlanta. I was told that the head of the Social Service Commission of the Georgia Baptist Association is the Reverend Dr. L. G. Cleverdon at Savannah. Dr. Russell tells me that you and he are well acquainted.

The Georgia Baptist Association will have its meeting fairly soon. If, therefore, Dr. Cleverdon's Commission would understand and like this project idea, quite a lot of good could result.

Would you be so very kind as to go and talk with Dr. Cleverdon and see if he can be persuaded to lay the matter before his Commission as an effort which they might well incorporate, formally or informally, in their upcoming program of work?

If, in your judgement, the whole matter would be best approached by a letter directly from me to Dr. Cleverdon, I will, of course, write such a letter. My experience is though that the sort of approach you would make is usually best.

We would all be deeply grateful for your interest and action.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosures

5-C-9 Misc
Catholic Comm of the South

September 22, 1949

Mr. Philip S. Ogilvie, Executive Secretary
The Catholic Committee of the South
7927-A St. Charles Avenue
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Ogilvie:

The annual membership meeting of the Southern Regional Council will be held in Atlanta, November 9. We expect that the Board of Directors will also meet on November 10.

It has never been customary for the Council to schedule a night meeting on the day of its membership meeting. Therefore, the night of November 9 is certain to be free of any Southern Regional Council demand upon the time of persons present.

We suppose that the Board Meeting on November 10 will be over by 3:30 that afternoon.

If we can help you in any way, let us know.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

The Catholic Committee of the South

PHILIP S. OGILVIE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

7927-A ST. CHARLES AVE. NEW ORLEANS 18, LA.

September 19, 1949

RECEIVED
SEP 21 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The executive board meeting of the Catholic Committee of the South has been scheduled for Atlanta immediately before or after the Southern Regional Council convention. However, we've received no notification of the official dates of the SRC meeting. I would appreciate it if you can supply me with this information soon.

Best wishes from Father O'Connell and myself.

Sincerely,

Philip Ogilvie

Philip S. Ogilvie

PSO:mnw

Mr. Horace Cayton
1458 Union Street
Brooklyn, New York

5-C-Misc
Cayton, Horace

October 6, 1949

Dear Horace:

You are a good egg.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Mr. Horace Cayton
1458 Union Street
Brooklyn, New York

1458 Union Street,
Brooklyn, N.Y.
September 29, 1949.

Dear George:

I just received your letter of September 19th which was forwarded to me. I will try to use the material.

But it was awfully good to hear from you, George. Lots of water has gone under the dam since I first met you here in New York to embark on that study.

Your work in the south must be heart breaking. I appreciate what you are up against. But it isn't easy here in the North either. Some times it is better to know just where you stand. Working with liberals who talk a good fight but are not there when the chips are down has its draw backs.

Drop me a line when you get a chance.

Please give my regards to Alice.

as ever,

James

(Clayton)

RECEIVED
SEP 30 1949
Southern Regional Council

5-C-Iric
Cayton, Horace

September 19, 1949

Mr. Horace Cayton
c/o Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Horace:

I offer as possible grist for your column this pamphlet freshly delivered us by the printer.

We think it can be one of the most useful things our small show has ever done.

By fortunate cooperation from the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association, we are assured that it will reach every paper in the South. That means editors will have a chance to consider it from a policy point of view; copy desk men can keep it handy for use as a manual; and reporting staffs can be instructed by it.

We are doing all we can to get it into the hands of interested newspaper readers throughout the South. That effort will for the first time provide in the South a standard of good useage against which the up to this time formless and embittered sense of injury under current practices, can be audited.

Some small beginnings have been made in recent years by a few papers in the South toward air and courteous coverage. This little booklet can speed and focus that movement quite a lot.

I do hope you will like what we have done and find some way to push it along.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

5 - C - Misc
Cayton, Horace

April 25, 1949

Mr. Horace Cayton
c/o The Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Dear Horace:

I forget the name of your place of residence, so I send this to the paper.

I merely wanted you to see this quickie leaflet about our Council.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

5-C-Misc
Charnley, Mitchell

11 October 1949

Mr. Mitchell V. Charnley
2165 Carroll Avenue
Saint Paul, Minnesota

Professor of Journalism
Univ. of Minnesota

Dear Mitch:

As I promised before I left, I am faithfully sending you a copy of Race in the News. Along with it are various other things we have done, which I thought would give you a sampling of what the Council does. These you do not have to read, however, unless you feel so inclined!

Incidentally, Nixon has bought Race in the News for use in his journalism classes at Emory. Most gratifying.

I enjoyed meeting both you and Jean so much while I was home -- we must have another such evening the next time.

My best to both of you.

Sincerely,

November 1, 1949

Mr. D. R. Cumming, Jr.
51 Little Hall
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey:

Dear Mr. Cumming:

Here are some of the people you ought to see when you come to Atlanta:

Mr. James A. Mackay, Attorney
Masonic Temple Building
Decatur phone CRescent 2638

Mr. Calvin Kytle, Associate Editor
The Calhoun Times
Calhoun, Georgia

Miss Josephine Wilkins
Citizens Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia
Forsyth Building, Atlanta phone WAlnut 9443

Miss Dixie Drake, Executive Secretary
Georgia League of Women Voters
175 Peachtree St., NE phone WAlnut 0219

Mr. Lyle Chubb
c/o Charles A. Rawson Associates
Whitehead Building phone WAlnut 3594

Mr. A. T. Walden, Attorney
Walden Building phone WAlnut 3536

There is some manuscript material which could probably be made available to you that would be very helpful.

Alexander Heard, who is now working on his doctorate at Columbia University,

would be a valuable person, if you could get into New York to see him. He is in the department of Political Science. While at University of Alabama he assisted in the preparation of the book recently published called Southern Politics.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

RECEIVED
OCT 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

51 Little Hall
Princeton University
Princeton, N. J.

October 27, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your reply of October 21.

I realize that, as you say, I will hardly find the whole story on Arnall in the newspapers, and am therefore quite anxious to take you up on your offer to "open rich materials" to me.

We have a two week vacation at Christmas and I will be at home (Griffin) then. In addition, I certainly can take one extra week then, and very probably two. So I will very likely have a full month in Georgia. I hope that will be enough.

Please keep me in mind for that period and let me know what I should do in preparation for it -- in the way of writing for interviews etc. I mean aside from familiarizing myself, insofar as possible through written materials, with Arnall and Georgia.

Thank you again, very much, for your assistance.

Sincerely,

D. R. Cumming, Jr.

RECEIVED
OCT 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

C - Miscel

November 1, 1949

Mr. J. L. Clark
Division of Social Science
Sam Houston State Teachers College
Huntsville, Texas

Dear Mr. Clark:

Thank you for your kind letter of October 26.

The material you offer to send sounds as though it would be most helpful. It is always difficult for us here in the regional office to keep as well posted as we would like on significant developments in Texas and the other more distant States.

We regret that it is not possible for you to attend the annual meeting.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Sam Houston State Teachers College

Huntsville, Texas

DIVISION OF
SOCIAL SCIENCE
BIBLE
ECONOMICS
GEOGRAPHY
GOVERNMENT
HISTORY
SOCIOLOGY

DIVISION STAFF

FRANCES BALDWIN	R. C. KOENINGER
M. J. CARR	L. A. MC GEE
J. L. CLARK	J. D. MC LEOD
C. E. DAVIS	FRANCES MC MINN
J. Y. GATES	JESSIE NEWELL
K. R. GRUBBS	T. B. PRESCOTT
F. E. HOLLOWAY	EDWARD RIDER

E. M. SCOTT

October 26, 1949

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
% So. Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Fleming:

I am just now in receipt of Vol. 4, No. 9 of the New South. This issue contains very valuable information in condensed form. This statement, however, is true of practically all of the material now coming from the Southern Regional Council.

Some interesting developments are taking place in Texas in connection with the programs on each of the learned organizations. As soon as these programs are all completed I could send you a summary with the names of organizations and participants and perhaps a brief statement as to why certain things have come about. If such information would be useful kindly let me know.

I have the secretary's notice of the meeting of the members of the Council to be held in Atlanta Nov. 9. I regret that it will not be possible for me to be present at that time.

Very cordially yours,

J. L. Clark

J.L. Clark

JLC/nmp

RECEIVED
28 1949
Southern Regional Council

7-Gr-Music-
Crown, James

December 1, 1949

Mr. James Crown
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Mr. Crown:

Thanks a lot for your letter.

We will look for you in February, or whenever you can get here.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

1868 W. University Ave.
Nov. 30, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, exec. director
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
1 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

It was with much pleasure that I received your letter of Nov. 28 and Mr. Dudley's wire some days earlier which stated the same things. It is indeed good news to know that I may now proceed with research on the subject and that you will be good enough to offer me access to the most essential information.

In our conversations and in my correspondence with national P.A.C. it was, of course, understood that you would withhold such information as you thought Sidney Hillman might withhold at this date, since this is the only way this new information could be made available at all. As strong as my educational interest is in finding and presenting a more meaningful picture of P.A.C. in the South, I am much more concerned that the P.A.C. should succeed and should not be hampered.

Mr. Dudley has written to Senator Pepper and has received from him a letter O.K.-ing me. The Senator has forwarded a copy of this letter to the chairman of my thesis committee, Dr. Carleton.

University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

During the month of December I will be in St. Petersburg working for the Post Office in order to cover expenses of next semester. January will be mostly taken up with exams and by Feb. I hope to be heading for Atlanta.

Thank you for your help and kindness.

Best wishes to you and yours for Christmas time and the New Year.

Sincerely,
Jim Crown

7-Cr-Misc-
Crown, James T.

November 28, 1949

Mr. James T. Crown
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Mr. Crown:

Mr. Tilford Dudley has written that it will be all right for you to see the papers I have here on P.A.C. though I should want a veto power on your use of the material.

Let me know your wishes.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

November 28, 1949

Mr. Tilford E. Dudley
CIO Political Action Committee
1346 Connecticut Aveneu, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Dudley:

Thanks a lot for your letter of November 22. I have written Mr. Crown that it will be all right for him to come and look over the material provided he gives me veto power on use of it. I think that is a wise decision.

I do wish you would join our Council. Membership blank is in the back of the leaflet with the brown map.

We are tax exempt and so are non-political; but we are much interested in improving the quantity of the voting in the South for all concerned. I put in a copy of our best pamphlet on that matter. Look, also, at the green one Race in the News, which has done a dickens of a lot of good.

We have about thirty-five hundred members scattered over all the Southern states. We have state organizations in all states except Oklahoma and Arkansas.

Sincerely,

Executive Director

GSM:wgd

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
1346 CONNECTICUT AVE., N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C. ADAMS 0832

DIRECTOR
Jack Kroll

SECRETARY-TREASURER
David J. McDonald

November 22, 1949

RECEIVED
NOV 28 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

In response to your letter I suggest that you allow the student, Mr. Crown, to look at your papers subject to any veto of material which you think should not be used. There is no need to involve me at this distance. In view of the five years that have passed, and the nature of the work, I am sure that this will be okay.

I am intrigued by your organization, the Southern Regional Council, Inc. and would appreciate your sending me some material about it and its activities. Would it be possible to coordinate the work of the Council and PAC?

Very sincerely yours,

Tilford E. Dudley
Assistant Director

November 18, 1949

Mr. Tilford E. Dudley
CIO Political Action Committee
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Dudley:

Thanks for your letter of November 14.

The student, Mr. James T. Crown, came in to see me a couple of weeks ago. I told him that I had retained for my personal files a single copy of my series of weekly reports to Sidney Hillman, as southeastern PAC director. Practically everything else relating to PAC I sent on as direct to Paul Christopher. I do have a pretty complete file of PAC pamphlets, posters, and so on. I think the weekly reports to Mr. Hillman would be very welcome material to Mr. Crown. I don't think there is anything in them that would cause anybody real embarrassment. They mostly recount my experiences in trying to get local unions to get their people registered. At one or two spots they will have some complaint that this or that national union did not detach personnel to assist PAC as the unions were in duty bound, but I was cautious in my complaints.

I thought Crown was a serious, non-doctrinaire young student. On general principles it seems to me a couple of years early to allow students to be rooting about in 1944 material. But I have so few misgivings on the subject that I would advise on the whole that permission be given Mr. Crown to root into what I have. I would assuredly tie him up with an agreement giving me veto of any material he might wish

to use which in my judgment should not be used. What do you say he be tied also with a veto right in you?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P.S. My only reason for suggesting that Crown see my weekly reports as they exist in Atlanta was to save him the travel and expense of staying in New York long enough to go through them.

G.S.M.

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
1346 CONNECTICUT AVE., N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C. ADAMS 0832

DIRECTOR
Jack Kroll

SECRETARY-TREASURER
David J. McDonald

November 14, 1949

Dr. George Mitchell
Educational Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Wesley Memorial Blvd.
Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
16 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Professor William G. Carleton, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Florida at Gainesville, has asked permission for a student, James T. Crown of Gainesville, to use copies of clippings and PAC reports submitted during the 1944 campaign by you while you were District Director for the Southeastern states.

I was in Atlanta yesterday and intended to call you about this matter since the Professor states that you are willing to let Mr. Crown use the records if it is okay with us. Unfortunately my day was so busy that I did not get to the telephone; hence this letter.

We are quite willing for Mr. Crown to use the papers as long as his work will be honest, impartial, and in the general interest of scholarly study and progress of our country. If you have any knowledge or opinion as to whether we should grant permission, please let us know.

Very sincerely yours,

Tilford Dudley

Tilford E. Dudley
Assistant Director

CIO

LEGIS-LETTER

CIO

C I O LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

EXecutive 5581

718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

No. 9

October 20, 1949

WAGE-HOUR AMENDMENTS

Action of major importance to labor was taken by Congress in the closing days of the session when it passed the bill raising the minimum wage from 40¢ to 75¢ an hour. Approximately 1,500,000 workers will receive wage increases totalling an estimated $300,000,000 annually as a result of the Congressional action amending the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The Senate, by voice vote, and the House, by a vote of 131 to 19, adopted the Senate-House Conference Report. Previously, the House had passed the Lucas bill removing over 1,000,000 workers from coverage while upping the minimum wage to 75¢. The Thomas bill, on which the Senate had acted, likewise increased the minimum to 75¢, and, as amended by the Senate, would have removed approximately 200,000 workers from coverage. While official estimates are not as yet available on the number of workers removed from coverage, the final bill passed represents substantial improvement over the House bill in the matter of coverage.

The bill strengthens the child labor, homework and enforcement provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, gives the Wage-Hour Administrator the right to sue for back wages due under the Act upon obtaining the written consent of the employee, and extends coverage with respect to the 75¢ minimum to employees of fish canneries. Previously this group of workers had been exempt from all provisions of the Act.

Passage of the bill raising the minimum wage came after a terrific legislative battle over a five-year period. As Jacob S. Potofsky, Chairman of the CIO Minimum Wage Committee and President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, has stated, "Raising the Federal minimum wage from 40 cents to 75 cents an hour places a floor under wages which will make an effective contribution toward decent living standards for all Americans".

SOCIAL SECURITY

HOUSE

By a vote of 333-14 the House approved HR 6000 providing substantial improvement in the Social Security program. The bill passed by the House:

(a) Extends coverage to approximately 11,000,000 additional workers.

(b) Liberalizes benefit payments. Persons now receiving old-age and survivors insurance benefits would have their monthly payments increased by about 70%. Persons who retire in the future would come under a new formula which would practically double the average benefits payable today.

(c) Pays benefits to permanently and totally disabled workers on the same basis as for old-age benefits.

(d) Increases the minimum monthly benefit payment from $10 to $25 and raises the maximum family monthly benefit payment from $85 to $150.

(e) Gives veterans of World War II wage credits of $160 per month for time spent in service between September 16, 1940 and July 24, 1947.

(f) Increases the payroll tax on employers and workers to 1½% in 1950 and 2% for the years 1951 through 1959.

(g) Provides $256 million annually in additional Federal aid to public assistance and welfare services.

The key vote in the House on this legislation came on a Republican attempt to substitute a diluted bill for HR 6000. The move was blocked by a vote of 232 to 113. Action by the Senate on HR 6000 will not be taken until 1950.

F E P C

SENATE

The Senate Labor Committee by a vote of 11-1 has reported out, withoub recommendation, the Fair Employment Practices bill. The Committee had previously tied 6-6 on a motion to report out the bill with a recommendation for passage. Senate Administration leaders have indicated that the FEPC bill will be given top priority when the Senate reconvenes in January and will be one of the first items on the calendar.

SENATE

DISPLACED PERSONS LEGISLATION

Liberalization of the 1948 Displaced Persons Act has been set aside until the second session of the 81st. Congress. This occurs as the result of the Senate action in recommitting the Celler bill, H.R. 4567, to the Senate Judiciary Committee with instructions to report the bill back by January 25, 1950.

The Celler bill, already passed by the House, increases the number of Displaced Persons allowed to enter the United States from 205,000 in two years to 339,000 in three years. In addition, the bill prohibits discrimination in the selection of displaced persons because of race, religion, or nationality. (See attached vote)

RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS

SENATE

The Administration program for reciprocal trade agreements with other nations was enacted into law when the Senate, by a vote of 62-19, passed HR 1211 extending the Reciprocal Trade Act until June 12, 1951. The legislation grants to the President authority to cut U. S. tariffs as much as 50% below levels of January 1, 1945 in trade agreements with nations agreeing to reduce their tariffs. A series of Republican sponsored ripper amendments designed to restrict effective operation of the program were defeated on the Senate floor. As passed by the Senate, and previously passed by the House, the bill removes the limitations placed on the reciprocal trades agreement program by the 80th Congress.

LELAND OLDS

SENATE

The oil, natural gas, and utility lobbies had their biggest field day in this session of Congress when they recently succeeded in blocking Senate confirmation of Leland Olds for a third term on the Federal Power Commission. The Senate vote was 53 to 13 against confirmation.

As a member of the Commission for the past 10 years Olds had been an ardent champion of the public interest and bitter opponent of rate gouging by utilities. His nomination by President Truman for a third term on the Commission resulted in one of the most vicious smear campaigns ever witnessed here. It has been estimated that the Senate action in rejecting Olds will cost the American public $10 billion in higher gas rates alone. (See attached vote)

ADJOURNMENT

After a 9½ month session Congress adjourned last night. The second session of the 81st Congress will begin next January 3.

SENATE VOTE on Leland Olds AND Recommittal of H.R. 4567

... (1) Here is how the Senators lined up when they voted 53 to 15, October 12th, to defeat the reappointment of Leland Olds to the Federal Power Commission.

... (2) Here is how the Senators voted to recommit Displaced Persons Bill (HR 4567) to Senate Judiciary Committee October 15, 1949 - 36-30.

... Votes for are indicated by R; voted against by W; O is absent, pairs are marked PW and PR.

---

		(1)	(2)			(1)	(2)
ALA.	Hill (D)	O	R	NEB.	Butler (R)	PW	O
	Sparkman (D)	O	O		Wherry (R)	W	W
ARIZ.	Hayden (D)	PR	W	NEV.	Malone (R)	W	W
	McFarland (D)	W	W		McCarran (D)	O	PW
ARK.	Fulbright (D)	W	W	N.H.	Bridges (R)	W	O
	McClellan (D)	W	PW		Tobey (R)	PW	O
CAL.	Downey (D)	R	W	N.J.	Hendrickson (R)	W	R
	Knowland (R)	W	R		Smith (R)	PW	O
COL.	Johnson (D)	W	W	N.M.	Anderson (D)	R	R
	Millikin (R)	W	W		Chavez (D)	PR	PR
CONN.	Baldwin (R)	W	R	N.Y.	Ives (R)	W	R
	McMahon (D)	R	R		Dulles (R)	W	R
DEL.	Frear, Jr. (D)	O	O	N.C.	Graham (D)	R	R
	Williams (R)	W	W		Hoey (D)	W	W
FLA.	Holland (D)	W	W	N.D.	Langer (R)	R	W
	Pepper (D)	PR	PR		Young (R)	W	W
GA.	George (D)	W	W	OHIO	Bricker (R)	PW	O
	Russell (D)	W	W		Taft (R)	PW	R
IDA.	Dworshak (R)	-	W	OKLA.	Kerr (D)	W	W
	Taylor (Prog.)	PR	O		Thomas (D)	W	W
ILL.	Douglas (D)	R	R	ORE.	Cordon (R)	W	W
	Lucas (D)	R	R		Morse (R)	R	R
IND.	Capehart (R)	W	W	PA.	Martin (R)	W	O
	Jenner (R)	W	W		Myers (D)	R	R
IOWA	Gillette (D)	O	PR	R.I.	Green (D)	R	R
	Hickenlooper (R)	W	W		Leahy (D)	W	R
KAN.	Reed (R)	PW	O	S.C.	Johnston (D)	W	W
	Schoeppel (R)	W	W		Maybank (D)	W	PW
KY.	Chapman (D)	W	W	S.D.	Gurney (R)	W	W
	Withers (D)	O	O		Mundt (R)	W	O
LA.	Ellender (D)	R	W	TENN.	Kefauver (D)	PR	PR
	Long (D)	W	R		McKellar (D)	W	W
ME.	Brewster (R)	W	W	TEX.	Connally (D)	W	PW
	Smith (R)	W	R		Johnson (D)	W	R
MD.	O'Conor (D)	W	R	UTAH	Thomas (D)	PR	O
	Tydings (D)	O	O		Watkins (R)	W	W
MASS.	Lodge, Jr. (R)	W	R	VT.	Aiken (R)	PR	R
	Saltonstall (R)	W	R		Flanders (R)	PW	O
MICH.	Ferguson (R)	W	R	VA.	Byrd (D)	PW	W
	Vandenberg (R)	O	O		Robertson (D)	W	O
MINN.	Humphrey (D)	R	R	WASH.	Cain (R)	W	W
	Thye (R)	W	O		Magnuson (D)	PR	R
MISS.	Eastland (S.R.)	PW	W	W.V.	Kilgore (D)	R	R
	Stennis (D)	PW	PW		Neely (D)	R	R
MO.	Donnell (R)	W	W	WISC.	McCarthy (R)	W	R
	Kem (R)	W	W		Wiley (R)	W	R
MONT.	Ecton (R)	W	W	WYO.	Hunt (D)	PW	O
	Murray (D)	PR	PR		O'Mahoney (D)	PR	PR

C - Misc

December 6, 1949

Mr. Douglass Cater
The Reporter
220 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Doug:

Here is some info on the Southern School for Workers which Dr. Mitchell obligingly supplied in a quick memo. Hope it gives you what you need.

As for story ideas, I think you could pick up material for several good pieces in a few days down here. I still think Regional Education needs a good, thoughtful write-up. I don't know what MacMillan has sent you as the result of his Biloxi trip, but I hope it wasn't the stereotyped black-and-white treatment. The Board of Control for Southern Regional Education has come along amazingly on the matter of race, and one is justified in hoping that it will come along even further. John Ivey and his staff are doing a good job under tremendous difficulties. The Board, I think, performed quite creditably in the business of the Baltimore suit. In short, whatever you think of regional education, it is one of the most dramatic stories in the South right now and needs treatment that will go deeper than the stock NAACP approach. Then, there are the implications for education in the rest of the country, for the pattern is spreading to other regions.

Should you tackle such a story, your itinerary would be quite simple. In a couple of days in Atlanta, you could talk with Ivey and his staff, as well as other informed people; you could also see how the plan is working at Emory, which is a cooperating institution. You could do the same at Tuskegee, which is conveniently located.

I'm not sure it would be rewarding to tackle Herman & Co. just now. Things are fermenting in anticipation of the forthcoming 1950 Legislature and the gubernatorial campaign. Of course, you might want to do a piece on the ferment, in which case rich stores of material are ready at hand here in Atlanta. Ferment includes

Such issues as the voters reregistration bill, Herman's dubious eligibility to succeed himself, and the attempt to extend the county unit system into the general election (God save us!). I'm sure the people of the nation are uninformed about these complicated chicaneries — but then so are the people of Georgia.

The Klan is, as always, suitable meat for a story. You probably would want to peg your piece on the rising anti-Klan sentiment. No trouble about getting plenty of material.

There's a bang-up story to be done on equal-schools suits. One pending in Irwin County, Ga., is really stirring things up. Similar activity in Atlanta and other Georgia counties. The angle is that this is an acute dilemma mushrooming all over the South. Our region is having educational convulsions.

These are the best leads I can give you. All of them may sound offensively racial to you. Actually, they needn't be. Any one of them can be interpreted in the broader terms of what's happening to the South politically and economically. If you need more detailed information on these or other subjects, send me a hasty SOS and I'll try to oblige.

The "Negro Citizen" issue was mighty good. We're glad to have had a part in publicizing it.

Hope to see you soon.

All the best,

Harold C. Fleming

GSM opened this, thinking that matters material might be in it, which I could ease the handling of (to-day), instead of Tuesday, when I get back.

The Southern School for Workers is, in those circles, the ivy-walled institution. It started back in the early 'twenties, as the Scouthern Summer School for Woemn Workers in Industry. It met for many years at various mountainy places, for a several weeks' residential session. Took girls from mills and factories, and taught them something about trade unionism and citizenship. Louise McLaren, if I remember aright, was the guiding spirit. Lois MacDonald, now at N.Y.U., worked with them. Later they admitted men, and dropped the "Women Workers in Industry" part. Still later they ceased to have residential terms, and did only in situ work, if I may use another terms for taking the classes to where the people are.

The School's area has always been North Carolina and Virginia, with some work in South Carolina. It is really the "Upper South" workers education movement.

Brownie Lee Jones took it over, as Director, about six years ago. Offices in Richmond, on 9th Street. Brownie Lee is a straight trade union person, not a socialist, not a communist, not even a Democrat (!), just a trade union gal. One hundred per cent not prejudiced on matters of race, and operates the school without segregation.

She' had good support from CIO, mostly TWUA, and even better backing (in the way of students and classes) from the A F of L.

The Julius Rosenwald Fund gave them a grant at the same time that it assisted (much more liberally) the Georgia Workers Education Service.

Brownie Lee has been careful with what resources she could get, and has now a cash balance of perhaps 2000.00. But she'll soon be minus any substantial support except what TWUA gives, and that's not enough to keep it going at al

School has given much attention to education in literacy, with view to qualifying workers, especially

Negro workers, to vote. Has held voters' schools in various placesin Virginia

Important to keep the School going, because chances are pretty good that the Labor Extension Bill will pass, thus putting federal money into workers education. When that happens it will be a heap better if the effort, experience, and perhaps some of the personnel of the So. Smr. Sch. can go without complete loss of continuity into hetver is set up to receive the Federal Aid for Va. and N.Car and perhapsother nearby States.

Brownie Lee, to my knowledge, has worked closely with Negro leadership in Richmond and elsewhere in her area. She had some part in the scheming that produced the King George suit, etc.

So. Smr. Sch. is above suspicion, is doing a good job, is most seriously threatened, and ought by all odds to be helped.

Other sources of info.

Lucy Randolph Mason 75 Ivy St. NE, Atl
Louise Leonard McLaren (wher ver she is)
Eleanor Coit(ditto)
TWUA-CIO (N.Y.) (Emil Rieve?)

Everybody decent I know in the Upper South is worrying aboit how to pull the So. School through.

Sun
Sunday

A FORTNIGHTLY OF FACTS AND IDEAS

The Reporter

220 EAST 42nd STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

December 2, 1949

Dear Harold,

Thanks very much for the speed and goodwill with which you sent out our cards. I know it was much appreciated up here.

Mrs. Ascoli has referred to me a letter from a Mrs. Joseph Willen, 140 Riverside Drive asking her continued support for the Southern School for Workers. Do you know anything about this outfit.? Could you give me an evaluation of it which will be kept strictly confidential?

It looks as if I will most certainly be going home for the period betweenChristmas and New Year. If only I can work it right, I ought to be able to get a few more days to do a story or two. So come across with the ideas. What about our friend Herman -- has his regime solidified enough to provide an interesting story which hasnot been told so far. I haven't seen anything on him recently but, of course, I don't read. Is anything definite happening at Meharry or elsewhere to provide a color (not colored) story on regional education at work.

Let me hear from you as soon as possible because time is not on my side.

My best,

Don

December 21, '49

Mrs. F. Constance, Jr.
441 Parker
Mansfield, Ohio

Dear Mrs. Constance,

Thank you for your letter.

We are a non-political organization, enjoying tax-exemption on such contributions as are made to us, and we haven't taken stands as an organization for or against specific legislative bills. But we long ago endorsed the principle of Federal legislation in the field of fair employment practices, and we favor the program of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Here is a statement which, while long, will I think be worth your going through, as the position of a Southern liberal body.

Do join us. We would like to have you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

6 - Ci - Misc. -
Constance, Mrs. F.,

THE

OHIO COUNCIL OF CHURCH WOMEN

The Women's Department — The Ohio Council of Churches

CHAIRMAN
MRS. JAMES WYKER
R. D. 2,
MT. VERNON, OHIO

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MISS D. MAY BROOKS
303 DOVER ROAD
SPRINGFIELD, OHIO

DIRECTOR
MRS. FENTON FISH
63 SOUTH HIGH STREET
COLUMBUS 15, OHIO

63 South High Street — Columbus 15, Ohio
MAIN 6571

RECEIVED
DEC 19 1949
Southern Regional Conf.

Mansfield Ohio
Dec 16. 49

Mr Mitchell.

Dear Sir:

In a recent letter you invited me to join your group. I would be very glad to if I could do you any good - I am for F.E.P.C. and civil Rights - Thank you for your reply.

Mrs. F. Constance, Jr.
441 Parker
Mansfield, Ohio

Chairman of both interfaith and interracial comm.

5-C-Misc-
Carter, Hodding

December 22, '49

Dear Mr. Carter,

Cheerful news! In matching your mighty kind check for 50.00 toward sending Race in the News to the County Weeklies we got $10.00 from a leading Negro lawyer here in Atlanta (Mr. A. T. Walden) and the other 40.00 from the Negro Masons of one of the Atlanta lodges, through Mr. John Wesley Dobbs.

So we are rich enough, and will get them out.

Very many thanks.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

5-C, Miss
Carter, Hodding

September 15, 1949

Mr. Hodding Carter
The Greenville Democrat
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Carter:

We have had this new pamphlet in the cook for a good many months. It is now just back from the printer.

I do hope you will like it.

I have had word that Mr. Walter Johnson of the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association will be sending it all to all the Association's members. Meanwhile, I send you a couple ahead.

It is obvious to us all that a movement is already well begun for Southern papers to come up to scratch on this matter.

We have dared to hope that you would find the pamphlet worthy of some special comment in your own paper or in your column.

You will see that it has been not carpingly but persuasively written.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

5-Ca-Misc
Carter, Hodding

July 5, 1949

Mr. Hodding Carter
504 Arnold Avenue
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Carter:

We are delighted with your article in Collier's.

It is a wholesome statement of the forces at work in the South. We greatly appreciate your estimate of the Council's role.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

5-A-Misc.

Carter, Hodding

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

May 9, 1949

VIA PRESS RATE COLLECT

Mr. Hodding Carter
Greenville, Mississippi

PEURPHONE Rev. Kenneth Phifer, Presbyterian minister, Rock Hill, South Carolina; Rev. Charles M. Jones, Presbyterian minister, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Rev. Matthew Warren, Episcopal minister, Atlanta; Rev. Eugene Smathers, Presbyterian minister; Big Lick, Tennessee; Bishop William R. Moody, chairman, Protestant Episcopal Department of Christian Social Relations, Lexington, Ky.; Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, chairman, Catholic Committee of the South; New Orleans; Rev. John H. Marion, director, Committee on Christian Relations, Presbyterian Church U.S.; Dr. Hugh Brimm, executive secretary, Southern Baptist Social Service Commission, Louisville, Ky.; Rev. L. J. Twomey, director, Institute of ~~XXXXX~~ Industrial Relations, Loyola University, New Orleans;

...continued on next page

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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Mr. Hodding Carter (continued)

R. W. Starnes, CIO state director, New Orleans; Paul Christopher, CIO state director, Knoxville; Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Methodist churchwoman, member of President's Committee on Civil Rights, Atlanta; Lucy Randolph Mason, CIO Southeastern Field Representative, Atlanta; Mrs. Warren Zeuch, Episcopal churchwoman, Vero Beach, Florida; Mrs. Henry Havens, secretary, Protestant Episcopal Department of Christian Social Relations, Jacksonville, Florida; Professor Garnett Ryland, retired professor, University of Richmond (Virginia); James E. Chappell, editor, Birmingham News-Age Herald; D. Hiden Ramsey, publisher, Asheville Times, Asheville, N.C.; George Stephens, printer and publisher of Southern Packet, member of the Board of Trustees, University of NC, Asheville; Rev. Allen Easley, professor, Wake Forest College, North Carolina; Dr. Glenn Rainey, professor of English, Georgia Tech, Atlanta; John Griffin, director of community relations, Emory University, Georgia; Gordon Lovejoy, professor of human relations; Miami University; Josephine Hamilton, school teacher, Chattanooga; Gurney P. Hood, Commissioner of Banking, State of North Carolina; Wilson Brown, State Planters Bank, Richmond; G. Horace Hamilton, Rural Sociologist, N. C. State College, Raleigh; Gould Beech, Alabama State Department of Industrial Relatipns; Dr. H. M. Young, physician, Pleasant Hill, Tennessee; Dr. William E. Cole, head, Department of Sociology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville; Mrs. W. H. Ratliff, Methodist churchwoman, Sherard, Miss.;

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Mr. Hodding Carter (continued)

Mrs. C. B. Smith, Methodist churchwoman, Donelson, Tennessee; Herbert Davidson, editor, Daytona Beach Morning Journal, Daytona Beach; Florence Sytz, Tulane University School of Social Work, New Orleans; Dr. Hallie Farmer, professor of government and history, Alabama State College for Women, Montevallo; Dr. Stephen A. Stephan, Department of Sociology, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville; Rev. Howard McClain, professor of Sociology, Mercer University, Macon, Georgia; Rev. Dan Whitsett, First Methodist Church, Sylacauga, Alabama; Dr. Dorothy Dickins, Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station, State College, Mississippi; Charles McD. Puckett, publisher, Chattanooga Times; Rev. Dow Kirkpatrick, Methodist minister and professor, Young L. G. Harris College, Georgia.

On the Negro side, among so many of ability, we find it difficult to choose a few names, although we cite our Board members as representative. Sending airmail marked copy SRC Board of Directors.

George S. Mitchell

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

C

December 29, 1949

Mr. Charles B. Castner
4002 Napanee Road
Louisville 7, Ky.

Dear Mr. Casterner:

How very kind and generous it was of you to send to us on December 19 your check in the amount of ten dollars.

The Council is really in great need and what you sent was put to use immediately.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AMcK:wgd

LOUISVILLE
DEC 19
8 30 AM
2 1949

MAIL
EARLY

RECEIVED
DEC 20 1949
Southern Regional Council

UNITED STATES POSTAGE
3 CENTS 3

Southern Regional Council

Room 432 63 Auburn Ave N.E.

Atlanta 3

Ga

Not a member

C

CHARLES B. CASTNER
4002 NAPANEE ROAD
LOUISVILLE 7, KY.

10.00 ok

McK

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Feb. 16, 1950

GSM:

We have located the following material with reference to James Colston's request.

1. Digest of the Strayer Report. - published by the Board of Regents.

2. Annual Report from the Regents of the University system (1946-47) (Report which preceded Strayer's)

3. Georgia Citizens Fact-Find Movement pamphlet on Education - April 1939

4. 2 issues of Georgia Business (Feb. 1949 & May 1948) published by College of Business Administration - U. of Ga. on the Minimum Foundation Program - touches a little on higher education.

5. G.E.A. pamphlet Minimum Foundation program for Ga.

6. Newspaper clippings

   6 -- Strayer Committee

   2 -- Reduction of budget for University system.

nh

C - Miscell

1939

75-1-M-19

February 16, 1950

Mr. James Colston
15 East 11th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Colston:

I am very sorry I was not in town when you came by the office February 8.

Our files contain the following miscellaneous items that might be of interest:

1. Digest of the Strayer Report. - published by the Board of Regents.
2. Annual Report from the Regents of the University system (1946-47) (Report which preceded Strayers's)
3. Georgia Citizens Fact-Find Movement pamphlet on Education - April 1939
4. 2 issues of Georgia Business (Feb. 1949 & May 1948) published by College of Business Administration - University of Ga. on the Minimum Foundation Program - touches a little on higher education
5. G.E.A. pamphlet Minimum Foundation program for Ga.
6. Newspaper clippings
   6 - Strayer Committee
   2 - Reduction of budget for University system.

If you will tell us which if any might be useful to you, I will be willing to trust them to your care for the two or three weeks you might need to get through them.

I myself would turn for such information to Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, Atlanta Urban League, 239 Auburn Ave. N. E., Atlanta, Ga. or to Mr. C. L. Harper, Secretary of N.A.A.C.P., 250 Auburn Ave., N. E. Atlanta, Ga.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Wednesday Feb.8, 1950
4:30 pm

GSM

James Colston, formerly of Georgia State College called and requested a copy of Georgia's Educational Crisis by Marion Smith, published about 1941. We were unable to locate a copy.

He is now at New York U. and writing a digertation on state financial support in higher education in Georgia. He would like information on attitudes toward state financing, machinery for financing, etc. Any such material we might have he would like to see and guarantees that he will return it as soon as possible. His present address is:

15 East 11th Street
NY

check files for mat. of interest

Bd of Control

nh

C-Misc

February 16, 1950

Mr. James Cullen
Kampala Uganda

Dear Mr. Cullen:

I have cherished your letter of way back last summer and also an intent to write an appreciative reply. Meanwhile, here comes along after some delay in forwarding your kind and atractive Christmas remembrance.

It was really a great pleasure to have that hour with you and your friends and the few minutes of rejoicing in common Ballioness. I wish I had had the opportunity to spend much more time with your group. There was some talk of inviting me to the general convention in New York but nothing ever happened about it so I wasn't there, though I would have enjoyed it.

I see mounting and broadening reasons why this country needs to know more about Africa. Very particularly, southern white people need to know more about Africa--American Negroes too.

If you come across thingsthat to you convey the innerness of the story, will you be kind enough to send me copies or let me know about them.

I mail you three copies of our most recent and probably most useful pamphlet. It has, in a few months, transformed a lot of southern papers.

We had a visit in Atlanta from a certain R. Frederick Greene from Southern Rhodesia. He came over here hunting foundation money for education of Rhodesia's "colored." Don't think he got the money, but somebody did pay his travel. A good egg, white, and with a conscience. He might be a useful additional link for you with Southern Rhodesia.

Our Council and I, myself, and my home are at the services of any one we can help hereabouts with special knowledge of things African. With kindest regards and greetings from one outlier to another.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

C - Misc

February 21, 1950

Mr. Frederick D. Carter
1411 Pine Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Carter:

You will see from the enclosed what I turned up in Chicago. My guess is that if the University of Colorado would back a loan request from you it would be granted.

Here is a blank.

I will stand behind you, and you can use my name.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosures

5-C-Inc
Carter, Frederick D

September 29, 1949

Mr. Frederick D. Carter
1411 Pine Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Carter:

I am so glad you are through at Denver and ready to break into the bar. Many of my friends have had to take the bar exam two or three times in this and other states to pass it. Until you have been licked a couple more times on it, I wouldn't charge the difficulty more than a little to prejudice.

But if you are in need of a friend in Chattanooga, I suggest that you go to see Mr. Alfred Mynders, editor of the Chattanooga Times, or Mr. Charles Puckette, who is general manager of the paper. They are both good Council members and deeply sincere. It may be that their advice on the spot could show you ways to open doors.

I remember you with the greatest pleasure. Do come to see us whenever you can.

Here is our latest pamphlet, which we think is going to do a lot of good.

When you are a rich lawyer with a waistline, I hope you will be a handsome contributor to the Council's needs.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

P.S. I have written Mr. Mynders and told him about you, so you may feel the free-er to go and see him if you wish. I shouldn't emphasize the possibility of prejudice; your whole game would be

RECEIVED
SEP 28 1949
Southern Regional Council

3074 Champa Street,
Denver, Colorado,
September 24, 1949.

Mr. George Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Four years have passed since I last saw you. If I remember correctly you were giving me help and advice at that time and it is with a sense of shame I write you for the same now.

I am qualified now to take the Bar examination in the State of Tennessee and did take the examination in January, 1948. I was informed that I failed in the examination. At this time I am planning to take it again in January, 1950 and would like to have some advice relative to taking it.

As you know, there are no facilities in Tennessee for Negroes to study law and they must study law in another state and return to take a Bar examination which the majority of the group have studied in Tennessee first hand.

Then too, I have no political friends who can see that justice is done, even though I may write a near-perfect examination.

It is quite possible that you may have Senator Kefauver inquire into matters concerning me.

This letter is not to seek political help in having me slipped pass the Bar. I am only trying to get a fair break in order to do some of the things I have long wanted to do.

If you think that there is only a slim chance in helping me in Tennessee, maybe you can be instrumental in sending me

work so that I may come to Georgia and take the examination there.

If you should have to refer to me in any way, please give my address as, 1411 Pine Street, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Thank you very much for any consideration you may give this letter. Say hello to the staff members.

Sincerely yours,
Frederick D. Carter

Norma:

Jane says you found this material for Dr. Mitchell. Dr. Mitchell wants it got up and sent to Mr. Colston as he requests. When you get it up, give the letter back to me so I can tickle it three weeks hence to see if the material is returned.

WGD

Sent -
27 Feb 50
NH

C - Miscel

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

February 25, 1950

RECEIVED
FEB 27 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Coucil, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In your letter of February 16, you indicated your willingness to cooperate with me by supplying me with certain material you have available in your office. In that connection, I would appreciate your sending me the information listed below:

Georgia Citizens Fact-Find Movement pamphlet on Education---A pril 1939
2 issues of Georgia Business (Feb. 1949 & May 1948) published by College of Business Administration--University of Ga. on the Minimum Foundation Program
Newspaper clippings
S trayer Committee
Reduction of budget for University system

I shall return it to you within a period of two or three weeks. Your cooperation in this connection is greatly appreciated.

Yours very truly,

James A. Colston

James A . Colston
Department of
Higher Education

JAC:je

February 28, 1950

Dr. Mitchell:

I have searched the files but can't seem to locate your former correspondence with Mr. Clary. Should I spend more time in searching?

WGD

C - Misc

THE METHODIST CHURCH
SAVANNAH, DISTRICT
G. E. CLARY, SUPERINTENDENT
SAVANNAH, GA.

RESIDENCE AND OFFICE
626 MAUPAS AVENUE

PHONE
6858

February 7, 1950.

Dr. George Mitchell,
Wesley Memorial Building,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

At long last I am able to answer after a fashion your request of several weeks ago. Enclosed you will find a copy of the report Dr. Cleverton made to the Georgia State Baptist Convention. He tells me that he is not now on the Committee. The Committee to which you made reference here in the City was a Citizens Committee used by the former Mayor. That Committee seems to have died in the passing of the old Administration.

I hope to come up to Atlanta soon in the interest of a successor for Doctor Russell. We will certainly need your help as we try to work out plans to carry on in this important phase of the wrok.

With sincere good wishes, I am

Yours very cordially,

G. E. Clary

RECEIVED
FEB 8 1950
Southern Regional Council

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

LEROY G. CLEVERDON, PASTOR

February 3, 1950

Dr. G. E. Clary
District Superintendent, Methodist Church
626 Maupas Avenue
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clary:

In going over my desk today, I found a note to the effect that you had very kindly requested a copy of our Social Service report to the Georgia Baptist Convention last Fall. I regret not sending it to you earlier. You will find a copy herein. I had the privilege of writing the report but it does incorporate important suggestions from the other members of the committee.

Sincerely yours,

Leroy G. Cleverdon

LGC/m

Enclosure

REPORT OF THE SOCIAL SERVICE COMMISSION

GEORGIA BAPTIST CONVENTION

Augusta, Georgia November 15-17, 1949

Our churches are vitally interested in certain well-defined areas of social service, as the reports of this commission and of the Southern Baptist Convention's commission have pointed out from year to year. In fact, the Southern Convention's Social Service reports go back for a period of more than forty years. These reports, both State and Southwide, have covered a wide range of social interests such as: marriage and family relations, temperance and the problems concerned with alcoholic beverages, gambling, immorality, crime and juvenile delinquency, race relations, industrial relations, rural life problems, religious liberty and international relations.

This report to the Georgia Baptist Convention is limited to a brief survey of the work of social service now fostered by the Southern Convention, to an examination of the primary motives for social service, and to pointing out some of the problems within the areas of modern family life, the use of alcoholic beverages, race relations, labor and industrial relations, and world order.

Your commission is composed of active pastors, and hence, does not have the facilities for making exhaustive studies within the many fields of social service. It has considered, rather, its function to be the voicing of its convictions, and we believe the convictions of this Convention, on certain social problems of our time and region which directly affect many of our people.

Southern Baptist Commission Activities

The work of social service research and promotion comes properly within the province of the Southern Baptist Social Service Commission. Dr. Hugh A. Brimm, with headquarters at Louisville, Ky., is the able Executive Secretary of this useful agency of the Southern Convention. The Southwide Commission has a staff of only one person, Dr. Brimm, and some clerical help. It operates on a budget of approximately $10,000. The Southern Social Service Commission, however, has

demonstrated a great deal of life and force. It publishes a monthly periodical entitled, LIGHT, which is sent to pastors and denominational leaders. It gathers valuable statistical data on social problems and disseminates this information through its bulletin service. The Commission has held yearly conferences for pastors and others at Ridgecrest. Many outstanding speakers and social service specialists have appeared on the programs of these conferences.

The Southern Commission has fostered, during the past year, special church conferences on "Religion in Life", or "Studies in Applied Christianity". Special emphasis has been given to coordinating the local resources of related professional help for considering such problem areas as marriage and family life. Other fields will be explored and conferences arranged as time and circumstances warrant. The Commission has issued a valuable report on race relations. In the October issue of its publication, LIGHT, the leading articles have been devoted to the importance of "United Nations Week", and to the "Christian Rural Overseas Program of Relief". Bibliographies, films and film strips bearing upon problem areas of interest have been made available to all desiring them. The above list of activities includes the areas of major interest now being developed so well by the Southern Baptist Social Service Commission. Your Georgia Social Service Commission wishes to commend to all pastors and churches of our Convention, for study and consideration, the work of Dr. Hugh A. Brimm and the members of the Southern Commission.

Primary Motives for Social Service

There are two major motives which prompt Christians and churches to undertake work in the fields of social service. The first is set forth in the parable of the Good Samaritan, namely, the desire to carry out the spirit and teachings of Jesus by doing good to those in need--"to love our neighbor as ourselves". We recognize that those in need, and whom we are to serve, are not to be restricted by any of the social barriers of religion, nationality, race, class, or political philosophy.

The second motive which prompts our interest in social service is more utilitarian and less idealistic in character, more self-protective in purpose than prompted by Christian love. We refer to the practical necessity of correcting those evil and unwholesome attitudes, influences and practices of society about us which tend to determine the character of our children and many of our own church members. The attitudes and practices of society, good or evil, are to be counted among the most potent educational forces in every community. They rank in psychological effectiveness, though not necessarily for good, with the public schools, the churches and the homes. The motion pictures, the radio, the newspapers, the local political ideologies, the commercial advertising, the cultural habits, and the total community life are the moulders of character and opinion, as well as our conventional educational agencies. The community life and social institutions, hence, are powerful educational agencies--educating our own people as well as others. As pastors and churches, therefore, we should be greatly concerned about making these social forces as good, as wholesome, and as Christian as our resources will permit. If the forces of society are evil they tend to weaken the character of all; if good they are educational allies of the home, the church and the school. We have an obligation to help make the attitudes and practices of our social order conducive to the development of good Christian character. This social responsibility should be assumed for the sake of all, and especially for the sake of our own people.

Your Social Service Commission can do little more, in a practical way, in this report than to call to your attention certain primary problem areas in which desirable Christian social action is sorely needed. Pastors and laymen alike, denominational leaders and educators and all of our field forces are asked to consider carefully, as many are already doing, the contributions that their particular work can make to the major fields of Christian social service.

Family Relations

We recognize that another committee of this Convention is reporting

on the problems of marriage and divorce and hence, no reference is made herein to this vital problem area. Your committee, however, wishes to call to your attention the many evil forces in society today which play upon the stability of normal Christian family life. The growing secularization of the Lord's Day, the rapidly increasing migration of families from the rural areas to the urban centers of our population, with the consequent breaking of the restraining ties of the old home, of the church, and of the community, the glamour of commercialized recreation and amusements, and the congested and poor housing conditions for many in our cities, are but a few of the unwholesome social forces which affect family life. The excessively increasing crime rates, even in our Southern cities, where they are among the nation's highest, the problems of maternal and child health, the staggering rates of venerial diseases--as the war statistics revealed--are only a few of the areas in which Christian social action is imperatively needed. These evils, which so vitally influence the well-being of family life, can not be attributed to one group of our citizens alone. They reflect the social health of the entire community.

Pastors and churches are urged to include in their church programs of work opportunities for study, for lectures and for conferences on the problems which confront modern family life. They will find physicians, social workers and other professionally trained people ready to help them in these undertakings. Personal conferences with those in need of wise guidance, commonly called personal counseling, is an effective method of pastoral service which is being encouraged by our theological seminaries throughout the nation and is to be commended. Pastoral counseling with families in trouble may be time consuming, but it is Christian in character and will repay manyfold the minister who gives himself to it.

Alcoholic Beverages

The problems involved in the control of the ages-old social evils which grow out of the use of alcoholic beverages are legion in number. Statistically

minded social workers inform us that in America today there are sixty-five million (65,000,000) persons over the age of eighteen who drink alcoholic beverages, and that there are four million (4,000,000) persons described as excessive users of alcohol. The annual cost of alcoholic beverages in America is greater than that for milk and dairy products, or accidents, or education, or advertising. It is exceeded only by the cost of meat, of government, the assets of savings and loan associations and the cost of gambling and crime. Every intelligent form of legal control and action should have the whole-hearted support of all right thinking people.

The scientific approach to the study of the problems of beverage alcohol and its use should be encouraged. Alcoholics Anonymous has gained wide and approved recognition, especially since it has begun to send alcoholics to godly pastors for spiritual help. It is the candid opinion of your commission that the churches should take a more definite stand against the increasing trend and fashionable custom of social drinking, even among the members of our churches. If our Christian testimony is to be effective, the people of our churches must set an example before the youth of our congregations as well as the people of our communities in the matter of social drinking.

Race Relations

The many problems in the field of race relations are yielding slowly to a rising Christian conscience. The intelligent study of these problems by the leadership of both principal races and the improved educational facilities for the Negro are the forces in our social order which, in the end, will resolve the racial tensions and solve the major problems involved.

The Negro has the right to a good home, to make an honest living in harmony with his abilities, and to educate his children. He has the right to achieve his highest cultural, civic and religious aspirations, as these are encouraged by the good leadership of his race and by our common religious heritage. He has a right to voice these aspirations in speech and press and in determining the char-

acter of society in which he lives. He has a right to proper opportunities for personal development,to participate in political self-determination in harmony with our American democratic principles, and to the protection and good will of his fellow-citizens. That these rights may be made secure for all, the members of both races have the obligation, as citizens of our American Democracy, to assume the responsibilities of good citizenship; for privilege and duty are equal factors in maintaining social order. The responsibilities of Christian citizenship have never been greater than they are today.

Your commission, like the others, deplores as anti-Christian and anti-democratic the use of any Christian symbol by the promoters of racial hatred and bigotry. Any organized attempts to encourage racial or religious hatreds have no place in a Christian Democracy.

Labor and Industrial Relations

The organized labor movement is gaining momentum daily, not only in our nation and other countries, but in the South. The industrialization of the South is one of the marked social phenomena of the last few years. The movement has a definite philosophy and is organized to promote its interests. The churches have a much greater responsibility to study and to understand the labor movement than sometimes we realize. The leaders and other members of the labor movement of the South are members of our democratic society and many are members of our churches. Their thinking, their basic philosophy and their practices are matters which in the end must have a bearing upon our church life. We should endeavor to understand the movement and help to bring the message of Christ in its full range of meaning to the men of labor.

The tensions existing in industrial relations, with their increasing demands, strikes and ultimate settlements, call for wise leadership, Christian generosity and high thinking. The clashing of groups, like the clashing of personalities, creates exaggerated and extravagant claims of self-defense which should be tempered by the spirit of Christ and the principles of Christian social

ethics. The family sufferings and other social evils which follow in the wake of unresolved labor-management tensions call for Christian understanding and action. It is believed that some of our regional and state-wide denominational conferences and training schools could arrange, with profit, for suitable discussions on the problems of labor and industrial relations as they affect our church life; especially when led by competent Christian leaders. These discussions would be timely in view of the rapidly growing significance of the labor movement in our Southern communities.

World Order

International relations in the world today are far from encouraging. Great governments are rapidly making alliances for protection against other great governments with opposing political philosophies. The time is ripe for propaganda and fear. Intelligent study, Christian attitudes, and vital faith in God are needed.

We live today in a divided world, divided in part by the accidents of history and geography, the racial customs of peoples, the selfish interests of nations and the entrenched evils of social institutions. These divisions are accentuated by opposing political and economic ideologies. Fear prevails among many of the peoples of the world, not exempting those of our own nation. A well-known Christian leader and theological professor, Joseph Hromadka, of Prague, in a recent public address before an international assembly, asked for a more generous understanding of the needs of the frustrated peoples of his section of Europe. He closed his address with these significant words:

> "Only a Church that understands the meanings of the times and knows where to fight, and what weapon to use, is in a position to carry on. But the message of the Living God, the Incarnate Word, the Crucified and Risen Lord, and the Creator Spirit, abides forever."

We must preach and teach a world-wide Christian charity. We must believe that the Gospel of Christ will meet every need of all men. We must not forget that God still determines the destinies of men and of nations.

Surely the churches and the pastors are vitally interested in the pro-

blems involved in maintaining world order. A knowledge of these problems, a willingness to support the necessary means and institutions for the preservation of world order, such as the United Nations, and the cooperation with other agencies in providing and distributing materials of relief are symbols of international good-will. These must be pleasing to our Heavenly Father and to his Blessed Son, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

Your commission believes that there are other areas of social service which should be seriously considered by our churches, not the least of which is the entire range of rural life. Other commissions and other groups will deal with this and similar problem areas in future reports.

We maintain with firm conviction that the churches should face the task of Christian social service in the spirit of prayer and considered judgment and with the determination to do the will of Christ as He makes it known to us through His Word and our common Christian conscience.

Respectfully submitted,
SOCIAL SERVICE COMMISSION
W. M. Marshall, Jr., Atlanta
Judson G. Jackson, Conyers
Joseph M. Branch, Davisboro
Raymond C. Moore, Thomaston
Leroy G. Cleverdon, Savannah

November 17, 1949

March 7, 1950

Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs
75 King Street
Charleston 4, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Childs:

I greatly enjoyed the clipping about Broadus. Thank you for sending it to me.

A year or so ago, when the Hiss matter first came up, Broadus told me that when he saw about it in the papers he said, "Uh! Oh! They've got hold of the wrong man. Alger Hiss is an Episcopalian, and no Episcopalians are Communists!"

We live, by the hardest. The South Carolina Division came nobly to the rescue, with several hundred dollars, and we are most grateful. A real South Carolina Deed.

Marshall Field gave us $2,500.00 just lately, which encourages us. But the sum we need is really big, and we don't yet know where it will come from.

We got Race in the News out to practically every country weekly in the South. I think it is already doing a lot of good in the city papers, and will slowly seep into the country ones.

Every best wish,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Dear Mrs. Childs,

I greatly enjoyed the clipping about Broadus. Thank you for sending it to me.

A year or so ago, when the Hiss matter first came up, Broadus told me that when he saw about it in the papers he said,"Uh! Oh! They've got hold of the wrong man. Alger Hiss is an Episcopalian, and no Episcopalians are Communists!"

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We got RACE IN THE NEWS out to practically every country weekly in the South. I think it is already doing a lot of good in the city papers, and will slowly seep into the country ones.

Every best wish,

Sincerely,

Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs - 73 King Street - Charleston 4, South Carolina

March 5, 1950

RECEIVED
MAR 7 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

thought this might be of interest.

Pleased, but not surprised, that Brooks speaks out for A. Hiss as I too disagree with the jury.

Am very sorry to have fallen down on the job of fund-raising here for the SRC, but I've been hoping that somebody leaves to

pishes have been appearing. It seems a long time since a bulletin appeared, and I would be glad to hear some good news.

Yours sincerely

Margaretta P. Childs

Misc C

April 5, 1950

Mr. James A. Colston
New York University
School of Education
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Colston:

The materials which you returned arrived yesterday. Many thanks.

We are so glad they were helpful. Call on us any time we can serve you again.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Rogers

ER/br

Mrs. W. R. Dawkins
Secretary

March 27, 1950

Mr. James A. Colston
New York University
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Colston:

In going through the TICKLER FILE I came across a notation regarding the material from our files sent off to you on February 27, which you said you would return in "a period of two or three weeks."

Sincerely,

Mrs. W. R. Dawkins
Secretary

GSM TICKLER March ~~20~~ 27, 1950

Has the material from our files sent off to Mr. James A. Colston, New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, New York been returned. This material was mailed February 27 and he promised to get it back to us in "a period of two or three weeks."

WGD

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

April 1, 1950

Mrs. W. R. Dawkins
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Dawkins:

The materials enclosed have been very helpful to me and I trust the delay in returning them has not inconvenienced you.

Thank you very much for permitting me to use them.

Sincerely yours,
James A. Colston

April 11, 1950

Civic Unity Committee
489 Broadway
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Gentlemen:

Please send us one copy of your report, Toward Democracy in Employment the Cambridge Way, which was listed in the March Report of the American Council on Race Relations.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Dict. by GSM;
signed in his absence

Misc - C

April 18, 1950

Mr. Reginald Mitchell
217A Academic Building
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Two thirty P.M. May 5 is fine, and I will be there.

Let me know where you want me.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Cosmopolitan Club

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

Athens, Georgia

April 12, 1950

APR 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am so sorry that I missed seeing you when I was in Atlanta on Monday. You had, however, just left for Memphis.

What I wished to speak to you about is whether you could present your "Map Speech" to our group on Friday afternoon, May 5th, at 2:30 p.m.

Owing to various difficulties, we have had to change the date of the conclave to May 5th and 6th, and we are now hoping that you will be available.

We know that your comments and observations on the South will be of utmost interest and value to our foreign students, not only in order to better understand the South but also in order to explain it to their fellow countrymen when they return to their own lands.

Owing to the fact that I will be away this week at a debate tournament at William and Mary College, I will phone you early next week when I return to see if you can speak to us. We do hope you can come.

Very sincerely yours,

Reginald Mitchell

Reginald Mitchell
Chairman, Conclave Committee

217 A Academic Bldg.

Misc. C

April 25, 1950

Mr. Thomas M. Cooley II
Counsel, Subcommittee on
Labor-Management Relations
Committee on Labor & Public Welfare
15-B Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Cooley:

You will recall your letter of April 12 and my reply of April 18.

My Board met April 22 and agreed that I might testify before the Subcommittee.

I have no close knowledge of the application of Federal legislation in the labor-management field in the Southern Textile Industry. But I have observed the industry with special interest for twenty-five years. I have always thought that one of the South's great needs is for the removal of the wall of custom which keeps textile mill employees so largely separated from the rest of Southern citizenship. They, and the South as a whole, would benefit from anything which would put them into free frequent contact with their fellow townspeople. A good deal has occurred in this way in the last ten or twelve years, with the partial breakdown of the mill village system. The my mind, trade unionism is one of the best movements for making a link between textile workers and everybody else. They ought to be in the towns and cities across the South, an important and often predominant part of the interrelated labor movement. It would strengthen them not only in a material way, but in leadership, in outside interest, and would help them carry their fair share of the burden of bringing about modernity in the civic life of the South.

If testimony along these lines will be of interest, I will be happy to give it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Executive Director

GSM:er

April 18, 1950

Mr. Thomas M. Cooley II
Counsel, Subcommittee on
Labor-Management Relations
Committee on Labor & Public Welfare
United States Senate 15-B Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Cooley:

I am grateful for your letter of April 12.

I can't claim to be abreast of the situation, but I have of course watched with interest the progress of labor-management relations in the Southern Textile Industry.

The Board of the Southern Regional Council meets April 22. If they consent to my giving testimony, I will be most happy to do so.

I will be writing you immediately after the Board meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH, CHAIRMAN
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
LISTER HILL, ALA.
MATTHEW M. NEELY, W. VA.
PAUL H. DOUGLAS, ILL.
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, MINN.
GARRETT L. WITHERS, KY.

ROBERT A. TAFT, OHIO
GEORGE D. AIKEN VT.
H. ALEXANDER SMITH, N
WAYNE MORSE, OREG.
FORREST C. DONNELL, MO.

EARL B. WIXCEY, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

APR 14
Southern Regional Council

April 12, 1950

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Senate Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations is making a study of labor-management relations in the Southern Textile Industry. We plan to hold hearings in Washington sometime in May or early June.

Because of his book, Millhands and Preachers, I recently wrote to Dr. Liston Pope, Dean of the Yale University Divinity School, and had thought of him as a potential witness. However, he replied that he had not kept abreast of the situation since his book was published in 1941. But he did suggest the names of several other persons who are currently well-informed on the Southern Textile Industry. Your name was among this group.

I would appreciate your advising me of the aspect or aspects of the southern textiles with which you are most familiar. It is quite possible that you may be able to contribute substantially to the Subcommittee's study.

Sincerely,

Thomas M. Cooley II

Thomas M. Cooley, II
Counsel
Subcommittee on Labor-Management
Relations

15-B Senate Office Building

C-Misc

Cosmopolitan Club

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

Athens, Georgia

April 27, 1950

RECEIVED
APR 28 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

As you probably know, Mr. Mitchell will be able to speak to our group at 2:30 next Friday afternoon. However, we would still very much like for you to be with us during the Conclave, and we are hoping that you can come over with Mr. Mitchell. If that is impossible, we would like for you to come on Saturday morning when we are hoping to hold a roundtable discussion group on aspects of Georgia. This is going to be a rather flexible arrangement and we are not going to tie anyone down to anything specific, but we know that you could contribute invaluably to our discussion.

On Friday evening, we are having a banquet at which Dr. Thomas Cotner of the U. S. Department of Education will speak. We would like very much to have you attend this banquet and the dance which follows at Memorial Hall. We shall be pleased to see you and we do hope that you can come to some of our sessions.

Most sincerely,

Reginald Mitchell

Reginald Mitchell, England
Chairman, Conclave Committee

Ans 5/2/50

Misc-C-

April 27, 1950

Mr. Hugh Calkins
35 West 74th Street
New York, New York

Dear Hugh:

Am I wrong in thinking you are that same good egg named Hugh Calkins who used to help the Farm Security Administration?

In any case, we do greatly appreciate your most kind contribution of $7.50 to the Council's work.

You will be glad to know that the Board meeting on April 22 scratched together pledges totalling $15,500. While we are still several thousand dollars short of enough to make up the budget for the year, we feel that with that lump sum coming in, we can get through this most difficult time.

For the long pull, what we are going to need is about 5,000 added members who will join us at 5,000 added $10 memberships. Perhaps if we wrote you again later on this year, we could get you to be one of the 5,000. Meanwhile, we add you as an associate member, using $3.00 of your contribution for that and entering the $4.50 as an extra gift.

Most appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Mt3 C

May 3, 1950

Mr. Reginald Mitchell
Chairman, Conclave Committee
Cosmopolitan Club
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I will be at the Chapel a little before 2:30 Friday. I think I can stay all right to see The River (which my part of the Government did). I greatly appreciate the invitation to be there for the dinner, but I will have to come on back before it.

I am not sure I can bring Mrs. Mitchell, but I will try.

I have a friend from Aiken, South Carolina, who will meet me at the meeting. His name is George McMillan.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Rush

Cosmopolitan Club

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

Athens, Georgia

RECEIVED
APR 28 1950
Southern Regional Council

April 27, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of last week. We are so glad that you can be with us next Friday, May 5, at 2:30 in the Chapel. I hope that you know where the Chapel is, but if you do not, we will be glad to meet you wherever you designate. At 3:30, we are having the documentary film on the TVA called, THE RIVER, and I am having some difficulty in locating someone who might answer some questions after the film is over. There may be no questions at all, but if there are is there any chance that you could answer these? In the evening at 8:00 we are having a banquet at the Georgian Hotel where Dr. Thomas Cotner of the U. S. Office of Education is going to speak. We would be so glad if you could stay on for that and the dance that follows. We hope that Mrs. Mitchell will be able to accompany you on this trip to Athens.

Mrs. Stoney said to me the other day that she would be only too glad to have you stay at her home overnight if you wish to stay. We are all looking forward to meeting you.

Most sincerely,

Reginald Mitchell

Reginald Mitchell, England
Chairman, Conclave Committee

M.S C

May 5, 1950

Mr. Donald Comer
Avondale Mills
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Comer:

Here are the minutes of the extraordinary and quite good Board meeting on April 22.

We are deeply grateful for the kind help you have given us already.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's Absence

C

May 3, 1950

Mr. and Mrs. Chris Crittenden
Caswell Drive
Hayes Barton
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Janet and Chris:

Don't we look nice in print?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

Encl.

Mis-C

May 8, 1950

Mr. Donald Comer
Avondale Mills
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Comer:

I know you will rejoice with us in this fine story from the Herald-Tribune.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Encl.

Mis C-

May 8, 1950

Mrs. Tucker Carrington
Way out behind West Hampton College
RFD
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Florence:

Here is a very nice printed statement of what my Southern Regional Council is about.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

Encl.

Mis. C

May 8, 1950

Mr. and Mrs. St. Julien Childs
73 King Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear The Childses:

Here is a fine story about the Council from the Herald-Tribune.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

Encl.

PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER
STATE DIRECTOR, TENNESSEE

PHONE 2-6780

5-e nice

RECEIVED
MAY 19 1950
Southern Regional Council

CIO

Organizing Committee

216 FLATIRON BUILDING
KNOXVILLE 17, TENN.

GEORGE BALDANZI
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
JOHN V. RIFFE
ASST. NAT'L DIRECTOR

ORAL L. GARRISON
NAT'L SEC'Y-TREAS.

May 18, 1950

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Many thanks for your note and a copy of an exchange of letters between you and the Senate Sub-Committee on Labor-Management Relations concerning your offer to testify during hearings on the question of labor-management relations in the southern textile industry.

I certainly share your hope that you will be called upon to testify.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Paul Christopher

Paul R. Christopher
Tennessee Director

PRC:llr

C - Misc
Clements

COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
FRANKFORT

EARLE C. CLEMENTS
GOVERNOR

May 25, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Inasmuch as Governor Clements is out of the office for several days, permit me to acknowledge receipt of and thank you for passing along a copy of Greenville's Big Idea.

I am sure the Governor will enjoy reviewing this report and have placed it upon his desk for early attention upon his return.

Sincerely yours,

Rosalind Niemeier

Rosalind Niemeier
Office Secretary

RECEIVED
MAY 29 1950
Southern Regional Council

Misc C

May 26, 1950

Mr. Hodding Carter
Delta-Democrat Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Carter:

Here is a copy of our latest pamphlet -- a report on the Greenville, S. C., self-survey of its Negro community. Perhaps you heard something of that effort on your recent visit to Greenville. We think it is a most impressive example of interracial cooperation at the community level and are proud to have been of advisory help.

The Greenville Committee especially wanted you to have a copy of the report. I know that they, as well as we, would be grateful for any public mention of the self-survey you might think warranted.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enc.

Cullen
mic

June 1, 1950

Mr. James R. Cullen
Director of Education
Entebbe
Uganda
British Africa

Dear Mr. Cullen:

I am sadly late in answering your too gratifying letter back in last September. I love praise, but I love praise from a Balliol source best of all.

Here is a little note in the last issue of our magazine about African students in the Southern States.

Whatever we can do at any time to serve your needs, let us know about it.

I saw recently that Bernard de Bunsen is head man at Makerere. He and I were friends, and I am delighted that he has this responsibility.

Three places I would like to be. Virginia, Scotland, and Africa. Africa not yet, but some day.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

C-Misc
Clement

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 3, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

Thank you for calling my attention to your article on African students. I think it is an excellent statement.

Sincerely yours,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:t

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1950
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
JUN 16 1950
The Southern Regional Council

2246 - E. 81st St.
Cleveland, Ohio
June 14, 1950

This is the long promised note. I wanted have written before, but there was nothing definite I could let you know.

To-morrow I go to the Clinic for the first dose of radio-active iodine. There is to be some follow-up on this I do not know when or what as yet. (smiles) I would have had this a week ago, but the shipment did not arrive from Oak Ridge, Tenn.

Mama was right — this Dr. Cole is with the Cleveland Clinic, & it's quite a place. So funny I was so near all those years — however, this is a new treatment, developed since all these atomic

energy discoveries.

I do hope that there have not been too many snarls with the membership records, & that you've been able to fasten any loose ends.

How was the Executive Committee meeting? Any hope for the Council's future?

I read a statement in the "Cleveland Plain-Dealer" by Dr. Mitchell on the Court Decision about train dining facilities. I dashed to everyone & told them to read it & yelled "That's my boss!" (smiles)

I am relieved that I was sent to an Ohio Clinic just being here has eased many tensions.

I am well now & hope

I mean. (laughs)

" We motored up. The trip was uneventful. Two flats. We arrived here on Saturday evening & the Clinic was closed for the week end. I went next door to the Cleveland Hospital & was lucky enough to get an appointment for the following Monday.

A necessary field for cultivation in the South is health. I always dreaded an emergency & was lucky enough to get here for treatment. You know the rest. everything. I'll get here is done right there at Emory — but not for me. He inquired. How deplorable!!!

This is you hear from me again Saturday. Should

3

have something definite:
then.

For been hospital
facilities for Negroes in
the South,

Yours,

Cook.

(smiles)

C-Mitchell

June 15, 1950

Miss Veniette Caswell
1751 N Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Caswell:

I really appreciate the kind dispatch to me of the Agricultural Labor Bulletin of June 1950. It is most informative.

Our congratulations on the new prospect that this problem will be dealt with.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

6-C

July 7, 1950

Greater Atlanta Community Chest
P. O. Box 1038
Atlanta 1, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The personnel of the Southern Regional Council suffers the usual changes.

I have noticed for the last couple of years that your campaign cards as made out for us are now quite out of whack with the present personnel.

For your information, our staff is as follows:

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director of Information
Mrs. Jane Fleming, Research Assistant
Mrs. Norma Huff, Secretary-Treasurer
Mrs. Winona Dawkins, Secretary
Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Field Secretary
Miss Elizabeth Rogers, Secretary
Mrs. Carole Curry, Membership Secretary

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Address for all: 63 Auburn Ave, NE.

Ivan Allen, Jr.
President

Mills B. Lane, Jr. William E. Mitchell Mrs. E. F. Blake
Vice Presidents

Hix H. Green
Treasurer

Greater Atlanta Community Chest Inc.

P. O. BOX 1038 • WALNUT 3671
167 WALTON STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 1, GEORGIA

LEO S. GILBERT
Executive Director

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Hal S. Dumas
Clarence Elsas
Carlyle Fraser
Clark Howell
Otis M. Jackson
Charles Jagels
Harrison Jones
Arnold G. Kennedy
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I. M. Sheffield, Jr.
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J. Curtis Smith
Harry Sommers
Rock G. Taber
Paul Weir
George Winship

Ex-Officio

Herman Heyman
Rev. J. R. Brokhoff
Robert K. Taylor
Richard H. Rich

June 30, 1950

To Board Members
Red Feather Agencies
Greater Atlanta Community Chest

Dear Board Member:

Your active participation in the Chest Campaign is urgently needed if we are to raise our goal for 1951.

Due to your knowledge of and vital interest in an important Red Feather Service your help will be particularly valuable.

Besides contributing financially to the best of your ability, we sincerely hope you will participate in the Campaign in one or more of the ways shown on the enclosed post card.

We will appreciate your completing and returning the enclosed post card to us indicating the way or ways in which you will help us to go "over the top".

Sincerely yours,

Ivan Allen Jr.

IVAN ALLEN, JR.
President

IA/m
Enc. 1

RECEIVED
JUL 3 1950
Southern Regional Council

Clay

1020 Granada Street
Clearwater, Florida
July 9, 1950

RECEIVED
JUL 11 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This is a rainy Sunday for a change, now that our rainy season has begun, so I'll try to catch up on my correspondence. I could send a long list of excuses for not having replied sooner to your letter, requesting information for Mr. E. G. Wilson. Instead, however, I shall just say that I am sorry for the delay and then get on with the reply.

I do remember hearing about the Student-Faculty Conference about which you inquired, and I think that in the old days of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation a copy of the report was in our bookcase. What became of it, though, I do not know. And the conference was held long before I was connected with the Commission, so I have only a hazy recollection about it. I do not recall that that meeting launched the interracial movement in the South, though the Y. M. C. A., through its War Work Council, did sponsor and finance the Interracial Commission in the beginning. It seems to me I remember that we used to have some mimeographed reports about a student Y conference. I think that they were in the wide file at the back of the bottom drawer, along with early reports of the Commission. The files have been moved several times, however, and I am not at all sure that the reports will be found in the same place now. It might be well to look there, though. I do wish that I could be more helpful in locating the conference report.

Since receiving your letter, I have had one, also, from Mr. Wilson. As I am writing him today, you will not need to bother about relaying this information to him unless you should be fortunate enough to find the mimeographed report.

I have been wondering what progress has been made toward raising funds for the SRC. If the Florida group has taken any action, I have heard nothing about it. Of course, I don't have much money, but I do want to make at least a small contribution when funds are collected in Florida.

After much effort, we finally got an interracial group together in Clearwater. So far we have done little more than have a monthly meeting since January, until we adjourned for the summer. At the May meeting, however, the group agreed to assume responsibility for getting civic support for the Negro day nursery during the summer. We have no funds, but we agreed to act as a sort of clearing house for getting necessary repairs to the building, for supplementing the Community Fund appropriation, and for getting

needed equipment and supplies. I hope that we can launch a really good program in the fall. Dr. D. P. McGeachey, Jr., pastor of the Peace Memorial Presbyterian Church, served as acting chairman in the beginning and I was acting secretary. At the last meeting of the season we had an election of officers. A retired doctor from Atlanta was elected chairman, but he was out of town at the time and has not yet returned, so I don't know whether he accepted or not. I'll wait, therefore, to report on that. The principal of the Negro high school was elected vice chairman and a Negro woman teacher, secretary (on my nomination!). When our monthly meetings resume in the fall, I hope that we can send a notice to be included in NEW SOUTH.

Several times I have clipped newspaper stories intending to send them to you, but I cannot recall sending them. One was about the selection of a Negro woman to serve on the jury in Pinellas County. Women have just begun to be called for jury service in the County this year and I thought it was interesting that a Negro was among the first to serve.

We have a very good set-up in the Pinellas County Department of Public Instruction. Dr. James Bond (a cousin of Horace and Max) is in charge of the Negro schools and attends the regular meetings of supervisors and special teachers which my sister attends. He seems to be a very fine man and has earned the respect of school officials, Board of Public Instruction members, and teachers. There are also two excellent special teachers who are Negro women - one who works with handicapped children and one who is a sort of truant officer. They attend the meetings on an equal basis with the white supervisors and special teachers and the proper titles are used in addressing them. Schools for both Negro and white children of the County are inadequate, but plans are being made for great improvements if the school bond issue passes in the fall.

My work in the County Adult Education Handweaving Program continues to keep me very busy, but I enjoy it (all except the too numerous reports that are a part of my job). I still like Clearwater, too. It is a lovely little city. You should come to see it sometime! We had rather warm weather in June, but so far this month has been delightful. Daily rains have cooled the air wonderfully and I have noticed several days that Atlanta's temperature was several degrees higher than ours. Even when the days are hot we manage to have cool nights, especially in our new home, which is just half a block from the Bay.

I hope that you and your family are well and that progress is being made toward future financing of the Council.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

Emily H. Clay

P.S. Please see that my address is corrected on the various lists. I have sent several notices during the past year, but I still get mail addressed to 1837 Sylvan Drive.

PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER
STATE DIRECTOR, TENNESSEE

PHONE 2-6780

C-Misc.

CIO

Organizing Committee

216 FLATIRON BUILDING
KNOXVILLE 17, TENN.

GEORGE BALDANZI
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
JOHN V. RIFFE
ASST. NAT'L DIRECTOR

ORAL L. GARRISON
NAT'L SEC'Y-TREAS.

July 18, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Many thanks for sending me a copy of the booklet -- "Freedom To Serve" -- prepared by the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul R. Christopher

PRC:llr

RECEIVED
JUL 19 1950
Southern Regional Council

C - Misc

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
F. G. CLARK, PRESIDENT
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

July 19, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thanks very much for a copy of " Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services." I think that the Committee has done an excellent job.

Don't forget to drop in upon us whenever you are in this vicinity.

Sincerely yours,

Felton G. Clark.

RECEIVED
JUL 21 1950
Southern Regional Council

C-Miscel

DIOCESE OF OKLAHOMA
OFFICE OF THE BISHOP
P. O. Box 1098
OKLAHOMA CITY 1, OKLAHOMA

THE RIGHT REVEREND THOMAS CASADY, S. T. D.

July 21, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 18, which has been received during the Bishop's absence.

I shall call Bishop Casady's attention to it immediately upon his return to the office.

Faithfully yours,

Christine Gladden

Mrs. John Gladden, Jr.,
Secretary to the Bishop

RECEIVED
JUL 24 1950
Southern Regional Council

FOUNDED IN 1897 BY GOVERNOR B. B. COMER

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LAFAYETTE, ALA.
SYLACAUGA, ALA.

6 C - Personal
Comer

Birmingham, Alabama
July 26, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JUL 27 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dear Friend Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of July 24 and I am glad with you, of course, for any good word that comes to the Southern Regional Council.

Yours truly

Donald Comer

Last week Industry was at Blue Ridge celebrating Human Relations in Industry - when I first met Dr. Jarvis I had the pleasure of knowing your father. He was a fine man,

6 - Ci Miscl

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY

F. G. CLARK, PRESIDENT

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

August 1,1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Please know that I shall be happy to speak to President Trenholm while I am there this week. I have reference to the request of your letter of July 31.

Sincerely yours,

Felton G. Clark.

RECEIVED
AUG 4 1950
Southern Regional Council

C

August 1, 1950

Mr. James Chrietzberg
Deatsville, Alabama

Dear Mr. Chrietzberg:

It was very nice to talk with you the other day.

On an off-chance of its being useful, I send you something about mud bricks. I think the Bitudobe people would cheerfully send you a sample five-gallon bucket for experiment -- a small educational project in themselves.

It was a delight to meet somebody else who sees that the place to put vocational education is in farm country.

Maybe you would be willing to become a member of our Council. We print a little monthly magazine which is often useful. In any case, please keep me in touch with what you do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

6-C-Misc
Coopersmith

ADL ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

SOUTHERN OFFICE - 11 PRYOR ST., S. W. - ATLANTA 3, GA.
5342 ST. CHARLES AVE. NEW ORLEANS, LA.

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Houston, Tex.
JOHN HORWITZ
Oklahoma City, Okla.

NEW ORLEANS REGIONAL OFFICE
BRANT COOPERSMITH, Director
5342 St. Charles Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana

September 22, 1950

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

Dr. Hewitt B. Vinnedge of 111 North 26th Street, Hattiesburg, Mississippi, has indicated an interest in the Southern Regional Council. He is an Episcopalian minister who teaches history at Mississippi Southern College.

I will be in Atlanta during the second week of October and hope to be able to see you then.

Cordially,

Brant

Brant Coopersmith, Director
New Orleans Regional Office

BC:js

Noted for cultivation Clay NH

RECEIVED
SEP 25 1950
Southern Regional Council

nr 7/14 7/3

C - Misc

October 17, 1950

Mr. Bernard M. Cannon
366 Alexander Avenue
Spartanburg, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Cannon:

That was nice of you to write. I enjoyed our chance to talk and am only sorry it wasn't longer.

Do give me a chance to read what you end by writing.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

RECEIVED
OCT 16 1950
Southern Regional Council

October 14, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I want to express to you my very deep gratitude for the visit paid me in Spartanburg Monday night. You were generous to give me so much of your time when you were en route from Atlanta to another point. Your insights relative to the unionization of textile workers were both interesting and valuable and will be useful as I begin to assimilate the material.

The experience in Atlanta Tuesday and Wednesday was a fine one. I managed to see Messrs. Riffe, Ramsay, Clowse, and Miss Lucy Mason in the C. I. O. camp; Mr. Joseph Jacobs in the A. F. L. headquarters. Unfortunately, Mr. Bob Scherbak had departed already for some assignment in Europe. Miss Mason measured up to your description of her and was most considerate in giving her viewpoint - a real person.

Here's hoping that our paths will cross again soon. Be assured of my best wishes to you personally and for the continued success of your organization.

Yours sincerely,

B.M. Cannon

Bernard M. Cannon

C-Misc

October 17, 1950

Mr. Donald Comer
Avondale Mills
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Comer:

That is all straight. I am looking for you at home the afternoon of October 24. Call me at Dearborn 5961 and I will come and get you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

RECEIVED
OCT 10 1950
Southern Regional Council

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DONALD COMER
CHAIRMAN OF BOARD
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Fabrics and Yarns

GENERAL OFFICES:
SYLACAUGA, ALA.
ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO THE COMPANY

Birmingham, Alabama
October 9, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I understand you will be at home from two o'clock on all that afternoon and that I can call you whenever the Emory program is over. Heretofore we have generally wound up in the morning and then had lunch together and if we follow this procedure, I can come over to your house immediately after lunch.

Yours truly

Donald Comer

October 5, 1950

Mr. Donald Comer
Avondale Mills
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Comer:

My home is only a matter of blocks from Emory. I will be at home from two o'clock on that afternoon and will hope for you to arrive.

If you care to call me from Emory at my home number, DEarborn 5961, I will be delighted to come up to Emory and get you. Otherwise, the house is 906 Lullwater Road.

I remember with much pleasure your visit when we lived in Arlington, and look forward to having you at our home here.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

RECEIVED
OCT 4 1950
Southern Regional Council

FOUNDED IN 1897 BY GOVERNOR B. B. COMER

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GENERAL OFFICES:
SYLACAUGA, ALA.
ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO THE COMPANY

Birmingham, Alabama
October 3, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I have your letter of October 2. I am sorry but I am leaving here on October 12 for New York and the East and will be gone all the next week.

I am a Trustee of Emory University and am due to be there on October 24 for a morning meeting. I think this meeting will last through luncheon but if I come over, I will be able to see you there in Atlanta some time that afternoon, if that would serve your purpose.

With best wishes

Yours truly

Donald Comer

October 2, 1950

Mr. Donald Comer
Avondale Mills
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Comer:

At long last I have a definite plan of being in your neighborhood and ask if you will let me come to see you. I am eager for us to put our views to each other and, I hope, together.

I have to be in Talladega Sunday the 16th of October and the next day till two o'clock. I could be in Birmingham late that afternoon or that evening, or the next day.

I don't presume to try to pin you down to an indication that would hold you away from something else that might come up, but if it should happen that the 17th or 18th is a suitable time, I would enjoy some talk.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

C, misc.

October 23, 1950

Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs
73 King Street
Charleston 4, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Childs:

We are about to get out a statement (which we hope the annual meeting November 8 will approve) urging the whole South to arrange bi-racial school boards. The argument is that equality is not a matter of mathematics but of trustworthy running administration, and that the only way to get a trustworthy element in is to represent fairly all concerned.

The only Southern cities we happen to know of with bi-racial school boards now are Raleigh, N. C., and Roanoke, Va. You recall, of course, that Harold Trigg is a member of the State school board in North Carolina.

We will emphasize heavily the importance of genuine and courageous representation.

As to the Atlanta law suit, it seems to me the battle is the old one. It is simply that a new flag has been raised. It made a good deal of flutter in Georgia. The end result will doubtless be equal schools, somewhat sooner than with a milder claim.

Very kind of you to make arrangements for Mr. Mommsen. Theodore is his brother.

We appreciate your $2.00. Many thanks.

Hi! Did you get to Edinborough? Lucky!

When you get put off of airplanes, the girl at the desk refers to you as Passenger desiring Toledo, or Passenger desiring Hattiesburg, or whatever. Count me as Passenger desiring Charleston.

Sincerely,

GSM:er

George S. Mitchell

Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs - 73 King Street - Charleston 4, South Carolina

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

Does the office have information on studies about bi-racial school boards? That is something we need very much here.

I would like to know what you think about the suit now being brought in Atlanta ~~about~~ for admission

& Negro children to the primary system. Just sometime, no hurry. When is that new car going to bring you down for a breath of salt air?

Please give the enclosed 2.00 to Mrs. M. Kozy. Sorry to be so behind.

Faithfully yours

Margaretta Childs

December 28, 1950

Mrs. Helen Cohn
2500 A Morosgo Place, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Cohn:

In preparing our books for the 1950 audit, we have discovered the following New Orleans Committee checks are still outstanding.

No. 3364, July 20, 1950	$ 1.50
No. 4320, September 5, 1950	13.00
No. 4386, October 5, 1950	6.50
	21.00

If the last two checks are cashed before the end of this year, they would probably be cleared by the bank. The check of July 20, should probably be re-issued, or of course it may be contributed to the general budget of the Council. We look forward to clearing these outstanding checks.

We feel very fortunate to have you in Atlanta now. Do come in and see us frequently. We will be calling on you for help from time to time.

Our kindest regards and season greetings.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Norma Huff
Secretary-Treasurer

NH:bj

Cohn

November 29, 1950

Mrs. Irving H. Cohn
1122 Lowerline Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Cohn:

It will be a cheerful thing to have you in Atlanta. Louisiana's loss will be Georgia's gain.

I will be sharply on the lookout for a way to make use of all you know and can do.

Come to see us as soon as you land hereabouts.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

1122 Lowerline
New Orleans, La.
Nov 28, 1950

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

Just a brief note to tell you that I am moving to Atlanta within the next week or two and that I hope you will give me consideration for any job that might be available with the Committee for Ga.

I had Alex call you, as I assume he did, so that you might know of my ~~out~~ planned move as soon as possible.

I will call you as soon as I am in Atlanta.

Sincerely
Helen Cohen

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1950

March 20, 1950

Mrs. Irving Cohn
1122 Lowerline Street
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mrs. Cohn:

When I was last in New Orleans Dr. Dent told me that among others I should go and see Mr. James Lewis, President of the Peoples Industrial Life Insurance Co., 901 North Claiborne Street. I did and was received in a very kind way. Mr. Lewis said he would consider whether he could make some contribution to us or not and wanted us to send him some materials.

When I got back, I wrote him and sent some of our things but have never heard anymore from him. I have understood that he has quite a good deal of money, is a bachelor, and enjoys giving money away in driblets but doesn't like to give away large sums.

After waiting some weeks, I wrote Dr. Dent and asked if he could get in touch with Mr. Lewis for me and renew our request. Mr. Dent has written as enclosed.

Could you go and see Mr. Lewis?

If he cared to contribute, I would be perfectly happy for what he might give to be divided half to the New Orleans Committee and half to us here. I rather think we will get some money if he is asked a second time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

March 3, 1950

Mrs. Helen F. Cohn
1122 Lowerline Street
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Helen:

Thanks for letting us know the outcome of negotiations with the Louisiana Press Association. We will go ahead with the mailing from here.

Thanks too for putting us onto Easton King, whom I hadn't heard of. I've added his name to my list of approachable newspaper publishers and will pass on the suggestion to the officers of the Mississippi Division.

I think the article on the New Orleans election is fine indeed. It holds the lead spot in New South, which came off the press yesterday. I have already sent you and Father O'Connell each a batch of copies for your own use. Brant Coopersmith is in town, so I had a chance to tell him in person what a good job it was.

The county unit suit is proceeding nicely. It was heard in the federal district court last week, and a decision should be forthcoming early next week. Chances are the decision will be unfavorable, but the court record is in good shape for an appeal to the Supreme Court, whence all blessings flow.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

NEW ORLEANS COMMITTEE ON RACE RELATIONS

AFFILIATED WITH THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1122 LOWERLINE STREET

NEW ORLEANS 18, LOUISIANA

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February 28, 1950

Dillard Univ. 19
2007 Palmer Ave.
Newcomb College

Mr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing a letter which I received this morning, which I would like you to return to me after you have read it. There seems to be nothing else to do in Louisiana except mail the pamphlet to the weekly papers. After talking it over with a few of the newspaper people here I think it would be wiser if your office mailed them. People out in the state don't like New Orleans too much, and as we are not a state committee it might be resented a little. Coming from you there would not be the same reactions.

In Pascacoula, Miss. the Chronicle-Star is published by Easton King who is a good person. It seems he has incurred the wrath of the powers that be by some of his liberal journalism, and I believe that part of it had to do with his handling of Negro news. Anyway, he might be a good person to approach if the SRC or the Mississippi Committee would like to use the same idea of having this discussed at their annual meeting. (I realize there are other outstanding journalists in Mississippi, but just thought you might not know about King.)

How was the article on the election here?

Sincerely,

Helen F. Cohn

Helen F. Cohn

More important, how is your suit getting along? The local papers have had nothing about it.

November 1, 1950

Mrs. St. Julien Childs
73 King Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Childs:

That was as kind as could be of you, and I dare say of various of your friends, to provide Mr. Mommsen with friendliness and some insight into the things Charleston understands so well.

I hear you got back on the Monday and provided him a dinner. How very kind.

He was a nice man, and had somewhere got hold of the very smart idea of having himself handed about from town to town by the League of Women Voters. It gave him a brand new circuit, and he was mighty lucky.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

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HOWARD T. OVERBY
VICE-PRESIDENT

GUY RUTLAND, JR.
SECRETARY-TREASURER

MRS. FRED KNIGHT
VICE-PRESIDENT

WILLIAM S. SMITH
VICE-PRESIDENT

6-C-Miscel
Connor

Georgia SAFETY COUNCIL

20 IVY STREET, S. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

TELEPHONE — LAMAR 4361

December 29, 1950

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Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of December 26 and the comments which you offer regarding the unsafe practice of hauling laborers in trucks over the State. We, of course, are very much interested in doing everything within our power to discourage unsafe practices on our highways. Therefore, we will make it a point to see if we cannot secure information of the type to which you refer which may be publicized in our Safety News.

I think I recall the government regulations which were issued about fifteen years ago, to which you refer. At that time, of course, we had a number of public work projects, and the persons employed on them were not able to provide their own transportation to these projects. At the present time, private transportation to and from work projects, both private and public, is pretty much the common practice.

With best wishes to you, I am

Sincerely,

Jerome A. Connor

Jerome A. Connor
Executive Secretary

JAC:S

RECEIVED
JAN 2 1951

LWD
PAL
PWL

a conference on

REVOLUTION, NONVIOLENCE AND THE CHURCH

to be held at

IN-THE-OAKS Episcopal Center,
Black Mountain, N. C.

9-12 December, 1963

by

THE CHURCH PEACE MISSION
Washington, D. C.

The church in America is woven strangely into the fabric of the revolution of the 1960s. On the one hand, the failure of the churches may well have brought us to this hour of crisis. On the other hand, it is the church in the Negro community, and sometimes in the White, that nourished the resources which the revolution lives. In any event, the nonviolent movement for freedom and justice, for the healing of the racial breach in our land, is a new phenomenon in our midst. The consequences will extend far beyond immediate issues.

We are but midway in the crusade, but already we must pause to reflect: What do these things mean? And precisely because we are but midway, we must look to the spiritual underpinnings of this upheaval. On what do we build, and to what goals do we press?

Though these questions arise in every sector of our national life, the present conference focuses primarily on the churches. What questions does this movement address to the churches? What questions must the churches in turn address to the movement? What must we say to one another within the churches in the light of this dialogue? When we test ourselves and this revolution under the possibilities and the demands of the gospel of reconciliation, to what new commitments are we impelled?

The present conference is to bring together by invitation (voluntary applications will also be considered) about fifty churchmen—clergy, theologians, social scientists—who have been involved at one level or another in the movement, including also churchmen with involvements in related problem areas, such as world peace, nationalism and communism. Participants will attend in private capacity. The conference will not be publicized except as the conference itself may determine. Hopefully, however, prepared papers can be made available afterwards in some for.

The conference is being held under the auspices of the Church Peace Mission, and planned by a committee composed of Paul Peachey (Executive Secretary, The Church Peace Mission), Will Campbell, Vincent Harding, James Lawson, Charles Sherrod, Glenn Smiley, Andrew Young, John Yungblut.

PROGRAM

Conference co-chairmen: John Oliver Nelson (Yale Divinity School)
Andrew Young (SCLC)

Preacher for daily morning worship service:
Elbert Jean (N.C.C. Dept. of Racial & Cultural Relations, Nashville)

MONDAY, DECEMBER 9

5:00 p.m. Registration
6:00 p.m. Dinner and Introductions
7:30 Keynote Address
Dr. Charles Lawrence (Brooklyn College)

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10

Theme: What does the movement for freedom and civil rights in America today say to the Church? What does the Church in turn say to the movement, and to herself concerning it? What are the "grass roots" forces at work in it?

Day Sessions introduced by papers by
Martin Luther King, Jr. (SCLC, Atlanta)
Everett Tilson (Methodist Theological School in Ohio)
Joseph S. Himes (N.C. College at Durham)

Evening responses introduced by
A. K. Stanley (A. & T. College)

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11

Theme: What are the spiritual and theological sources which nourish the movement? What is the theological basis for non-violence, and by what theological criteria is this movement to be tested?

Day sessions introduced by papers by

John Yoder (Goshen College)

James Lawson (Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis)

Evening responses introduced by Dianne Nash Bevel (S.N.C.C.)

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12

Theme: What light and what resources does the present movement afford the churches in their encounter with the forces of injustice, upheaval, and violence throughout the world, and in their own life and labors?

Day sessions:

A Theological Look at the Church in Revolution. Paper by Leopold Bernhard (First English Lutheran Church, Columbus, Ohio)

Responses:

–with reference to war
Sam Levering (Five Years Meeting of Friends)

–with reference to the new nationalism
Speaker to be supplied

–with reference to communism
A. J. Muste (Fellowship of Reconciliation)

3:30 p.m. Closing summary/message

Vincent Harding (Mennonite Central Committee, Atlanta)

Further details, including travel instructions, will be supplied to registrants. Black Mountain is located near Asheville, North Carolina, with plane, train, bus, and highway connections. Total cost for board and room at the conference will be $24.00 per person. Participants are to attend as far as possible at their own (or expense account) cost. A fund is being made available to cover costs at the center for those needing such assistance. *The accompanying blank should be returned at the earliest possible date*, so that the space can be assigned to someone else if the invitee cannot attend.

CLIP HERE

The Church Peace Mission
4102 Brandywine St., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20016

Please make one reservation for me to attend the conference on *Revolution, Nonviolence, and the Church*, Black Mountain, N.C., 9-12 December, 1963

Name _____

Address _____

_____

☐ Check if subsidy is needed ☐ Sorry I Cannot Attend

Indicate name and address of other person(s) you feel should attend the conference.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

HOW YOU CAN HELP

THIS is a democracy. This, in the classic words of Abraham Lincoln is a Government "of the people, by the people and for the people."

This means that the Congressman and the Senator from your District and State are *your* representatives. The very nature of the democratic process requires a continuing relationship between you and your elected representatives. They must know your views. They must be informed of the position you take on public questions, in order to be guided in their own actions.

They have the responsibility to bring their best judgment to bear on the public issues on which they must legislate.

But you, as one of their constituency, also have the obligation to keep your representative informed.

As American citizens, we have the moral responsibility to let our representatives know where we stand.

This applies to the important question of proposed *emergency legislation by the United States Congress to make possible the admission of a fair share of displaced persons of Europe.*

Unless your Congressman and Senator know how you feel about this, they may be moved solely by traditional misunderstandings and prej-

udices; or submit to the highly organized anti-immigration forces that have been in existence for many, many years.

It is essential to the effective operation of our democracy that you convey your views on this subject. Published below are some suggestions for content and procedures to be borne in mind in getting your representative to know your views.

SIX REASONS FOR ACTION

There are many reasons why the United States should take steps to admit a fair number of the displaced persons. All of the reasons derive from enlightened national self-interest. All of them stem from a profound concern for the state of our country. All of them are inspired by the highest patriotism.

1. The displaced persons represent a world problem. *It is in America's sound national interest to help in the solution of a world problem.*

2. The displaced persons problem represents *a challenge to democracy.* It is in America's sound national interest to set to the world an example of the effectiveness of the American democratic tradition.

3. The displaced persons problem *represents an irritant in relations between countries.* It is in America's sound national interest to share in the removal of such irritants to international peace.

4. The displaced persons problem is a problem of general *humanitarian concern.* (It involves a hard core of about 850,000 people—of different races and religions and origins.) It is in sound American national interest to help solve a humanitarian problem, since this illustrates the capacity of our democratic society to make significant human contributions.

5. The displaced persons problem is, in part, *an opportunity for our population growth.* It is in the soundest American national interest to take steps to enlarge our productive population. (We are, in population, comparatively the smallest of the great powers of the world. We need as our history has shown, the brain and muscle of immigrants. The rate of our population growth is declining.) Opening the doors of the United States to our fair share of the displaced persons would constitute an addition to the greatest resources that our country or any country can have: that of human beings.

6. The displaced persons' problem constitutes a drain of millions of dollars a year on the American taxpayer. A substantial part of the cost of the American occupation in Central Europe calls for the maintenance of displaced persons in camps. The solution of the displaced persons problem, with the *U. S. accepting a fair share* of the responsibility, *will be a substantial relief to the American tax-payer* and will bring to this country people who would share our tax-burden.

SUPPORT OF AMERICANS

Because of these considerations, outstanding American individuals and organizations support the admission of a fair share of displaced persons to the United States. Among such individuals and organizations are the following:

President Harry S. Truman
Secretary of State George C. Marshall
Governor Thomas E. Dewey
Major General William J. Donovan
Charles P. Taft
James A. Farley
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Philip Murray, Pres., CIO
William Green, Pres., AFL
Herbert H. Lehman
Fiorello H. La Guardia

Edward R. Stettinius
The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
The National Catholic Welfare Conference
Catholic War Veterans
Major National Jewish Organizations
The American Federation of Labor
The Congress of Industrial Organizations
The National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires
The United Council of American Veteran Organizations

These considerations should be borne in mind in conveying your views as a citizen to your Congressman.

HOW YOU CAN HELP

Here are some methods.

Write a personal letter, individually, to your Congressman or Senator explaining in your own language your support of this proposal. Send copies of your letter to members of the Senate and House Committees of the Judiciary.

Stress the points that appeal to you most. Your letter should be written in the friendliest of spirits, in the confidence that your Congressional representative wants to be fair minded and that he is interested in your views. *Be sure to make it clear that your interest is not in any one group or segment of the displaced persons but in their behalf as human beings without regard to race, creed, or origin.*

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HOUSE SUB-COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

Frank Fellows, Maine, Chairman
John M. Robsion, Ky.
Louis E. Graham, Pa.

Emanuel Celler, N. Y.
Frank L. Chelf, Ky.
Ed Gossett, Tex.

Follow up every reply. If asked for documentary material, write to this committee for such information and forward it to your congressional representative.

Secure resolutions and petitions by the organizations with which you are affiliated, embodying support for such legislation. Convey these petitions and resolutions to your congressman and senator. Let him know how organizations in his own district feel on this subject.

Arrange to *see your congressman or senator* either in his home district or in Washington. (Remember that he is a busy man, but he is there to represent your views.) See to it that you convey to him a sense of your strength of feeling on the subject. In addition to seeing him alone, visit him as a member of delegations of various organizations.

Bear in mind that the public is interested. Be sure, therefore, to send copies of the petitions and resolutions and reports of your visits to newspapers in your own community.

YOU CAN DO MORE

You can arrange to *meet with editors, congressmen, political leaders* and other outstanding public-spirited citizens in your community to discuss the subject with them and to prevail upon them to give their support to this proposal.

If you need information, write or wire us. If you need documents, let us know at once. *If you get pledges of support, be sure to send the information to this office.*

SHOW YOUR SUPPORT

Many national and local organizations have already indicated their support. If you want to know who they are in your district, write to us and we will put you in touch with their representatives.

In your unity with them there is strength.

In your direct democratic appeal to your elected representatives, you become a participant in the soundest democratic practice.

Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons
Earl G. Harrison, *Chairman*
147 West 42nd Street
New York 18, N. Y.

CITIZENS COMMITTEE on DISPLACED PERSONS

★

A Brief Statement of Aims

147 WEST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
BRyant 9-6937

THE UNITED STATES has emerged from this war a leader in international affairs. THIS ROLE gives us the obligation to lead in the solution of international problems. A major international problem facing us today is that of the DISPLACED PERSONS!

BACKGROUND FACTS

Two years after the war there are still some 850,000 displaced persons in Europe who live in detention camps.

These men, women and children are victims of all forms of religious and political persecution, of barbarism and Nazi terror.

They represent almost all religions. Some 80% are Christians of various denominations; 20% are Jews.

These people do not wish to and cannot return to their home countries because they fear oppression for religious, racial or political reasons.

The Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France officially declared that *no people would be forced to return to their homelands against their will.* The United Nations has endorsed the same principle.

The United States immigration laws permit 154,000 quota immigrants to enter this country annually. During the past 16 years, from June 30, 1930 to June 30, 1946, visas were available for 2,614,273 people, but fewer than 600,000 came. *Over 2,000,000 visas were not used.*

Since the United States is one of the few countries that has not been ravaged by war; since so few immigrants have come in under our quota law, it has been estimated that a fair share of displaced persons to come to these shores would be about 400,000.

AIM

The purpose of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons is *to secure passage of an emergency act by Congress which would permit 400,000 displaced persons to enter the United States in a period of four years.*

The act would be *temporary legislation,* ceasing to operate after the four year period. *It would not alter the basic Quota Law* regulating normal immigration.

The total of *400,000 would equal less than half the number of quota immigrants who could have legally come here during the war years.*

Not more than half the number of quota immigrants are likely to enter the United States in the next few years. Consequently, with the emergency act for the displaced persons there will be only a small excess, *if any,* over the 154,000 quota immigrants permitted to come under the existing laws.

The protective restrictions of the general immigration law screening immigrants on the basis of health, morals, economic status and specified political beliefs would apply to the displaced persons.

The 400,000 displaced persons entering this country during a four year period would be absorbed without disturbance of our economy. Over half of the displaced persons are women and children. A large number are farm workers and domestics. These services are needed in this country.

AFTER THE NIGHTMARE of Nazism and Fascism, after the holocaust of World War II, we owe it to ourselves and to the world to be the guardians of freedom and peace. We owe it to ourselves and to the world to take action in solving problems which threaten the peace. The leading problem today is that of the displaced persons!

IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY, IN THE LIGHT OF OUR LEADERSHIP ROLE, this country must march in the van by admitting a fair share of displaced persons to enter these shores. If the United States acts, its example will compel other nations to follow suit and the pitiful survivors of Hitler-terror will find permanent haven at an early date.

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Secretary

WILLIAM S. BERNARD

Some National organizations that have already gone on record as favoring the admittance of a fair share of displaced persons to the United States:

- The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
- The National Catholic Welfare Conference
- Catholic War Veterans
- The United Council of American Veteran Organizations
- The National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires
- The American Federation of Labor
- The Congress of Industrial Organizations
- The major national Jewish organizations and many other civic, educational and religious groups.

Join or form a Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons in your community. *Inform your Congressman that you are in favor of emergency legislation which would permit the United States to admit a fair share of displaced persons.*

DO YOU KNOW THAT ?

1. Two years after the war there are still some 850,000 people in Europe who live in detention camps.

2. These men, women and children are the displaced persons—the survivors of Nazi concentration camps. *They are victims of all forms of religious and political persecution, of barbarism and Nazi terror.*

3. They represent almost all religions. *Some 80 per cent are Christians of various denominations; 20 per cent are Jews.*

4. Most of the displaced persons are natives of Poland, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. Others come from Finland, Yugoslavia, Greece, France and various other European countries.

5. More than 50% of the displaced persons are women and children. *There are 150,000 children below the age of 17.* Of these 70,000 are estimated to be under six years of age.

6. The displaced persons' most cherished desire is to start a new life in a country where there is freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of movement.

7. Since V-E Day, 11,000,000 displaced persons have been repatriated. But the remaining 850,000 cannot be returned to their original places of residence.

Do You Know That?

8. These people do not wish to and cannot return to their homes of origin because they fear *oppression for religious, racial or political reasons.*

9. The Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France officially declared that *no people would be forced to return to their homelands against their will.* The United Nations has endorsed the same principle.

10. Unless reasonably quick action is taken for the permanent resettlement of displaced persons, *these people may form the nucleus of an international relief problem of long duration.*

11. By remaining in Central Europe, they may become a source of international discord. All thinking men and women are aware that the plight of displaced persons constitutes one of the gravest cancers gnawing at the peace so dearly won.

12. The United Nations established the International Refugee Organization to deal with the displaced persons' problem. Its charter is signed by the United States. *But the IRO cannot solve the problem unless immigrant-receiving countries make special provisions to receive a fair share of displaced persons.*

13. The United States, *as a leader in international affairs,* must take the first step in this direction. The rest of the world would follow suit.

14. In the 1920's the United States Congress passed immigration laws *which permit 154,000 quota immigrants* to enter this country annually.

15. During the 1940-1946 war period only *15 per cent* of the total world quota was used. In other words, *the United States lost 914,762 people* who could have entered this country legally and whom we were ready and prepared to receive.

Do You Know That?

16. The United States is one of the few countries that has not been ravaged by war. It has been estimated that a fair share of displaced persons to enter the United States would be about 400,000. *This number would equal less than half of the number of quotas that were not used during the war years.*

17. Having lived under the brutal tyranny of dictatorship and totalitarianism, the displaced persons can truly value the ideals of democracy and the principles on which this country was founded.

18. The displaced persons, like any other groups of immigrants, would be screened by Federal authorities before permission to enter this country is granted. No person advocating the overthrow of the government by violence, *no anarchist or criminal could enter the United States.*

19. No displaced person entering the United States could become a public charge. Every individual, corporation or agency sponsoring a displaced person must furnish an affidavit to that effect.

20. The bulk of the displaced persons are workers. *There are some 77,000 farm-hands among them; some 20,000 are housemaids.* Many are skilled workers; some are professionals; others still are business people.

21. There is a great shortage of farm labor and domestic service in the United States. New immigrants who are not workers tend to open non-competitive business shops. *A recent study in a metropolitan city showed that each refugee entrepreneur in business created a job for seven Americans.*

22. The displaced persons will not take homes away from veterans and other Americans. *They would be housed by relatives or friends who would not sublet rooms to strangers.*

Do You Know That?

23. Some of the organizations which have gone on record as favoring the admittance of a fair share of displaced persons to this country are:

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
The National Catholic Welfare Conference
Catholic War Veterans
The United Council of American Veteran Organizations
The National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires
The American Federation of Labor
The Congress of Industrial Organizations
The major national Jewish organizations and many other civic, educational and religious groups.

24. In his State of the Union message, delivered before Congress on January 6, 1947, President Harry S. Truman said:

". . . I do not think that the United States has done its part. Only about 5,000 of them have entered this country since May, 1946 . . . *definite assistance in the form of new legislation is needed.* I urge the Congress to turn its attention to this world problem in an effort to find ways whereby we can fulfill our responsibilities to these thousands of homeless and suffering refugees of all faiths."

25. You can join or form a Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons in your community. You can *inform your Congressman that you are in favor of emergency legislation which would permit the United States to admit a fair share of displaced persons.*

CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON DISPLACED PERSONS

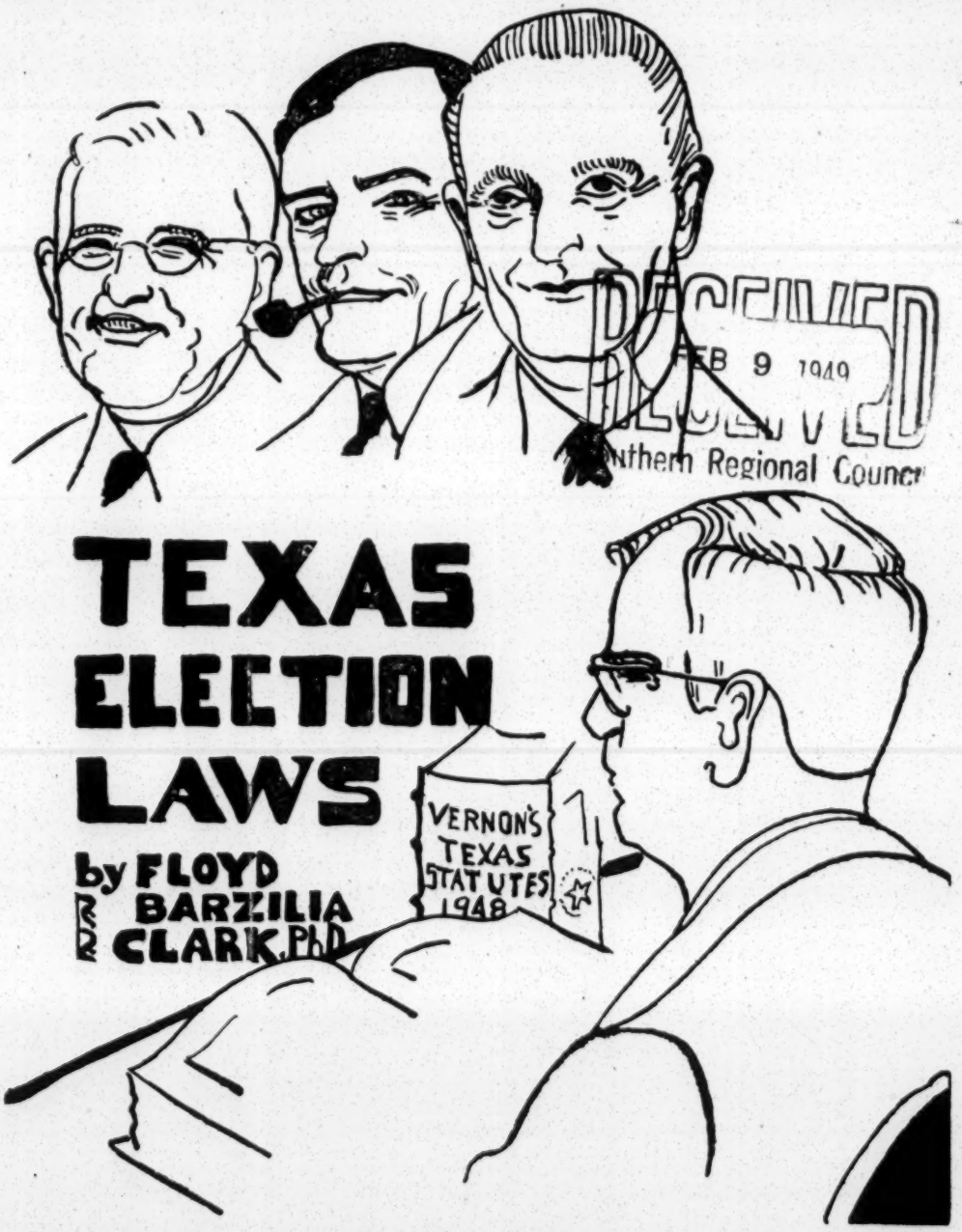
147 WEST 42nd STREET **NEW YORK CITY**

181 **BRyant 9-6937**

THE OTHER SIDE OF HOT POLITICAL ISSUES

Published Under The Auspices of The Kaskaskia Properties
of College Station, Texas

VOL. I STUDY I



RECEIVED
FEB 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

TEXAS ELECTION LAWS

by FLOYD BARZILIA CLARK, PhD

PRICE 25 CENTS

APPRAISAL

The Southern Regional Council is a little more than six years old. It was founded, as we all know, on the work of the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, whose experience in the South reached back twenty-five years before the Council began. Thus we have thirty years of knowledge of interracial work in the South to draw upon.

The Council itself has never filled out more than a part of the area of activity its organizers set out for it. I had no share in the beginning of the Council, and know the discussions and hopes only from hearsay. I take it that the Council was intended to provide in the South a voice which could speak with authority in a number of fields, and an association of friends, drawn from both races, who could act together in implementing the recommendations of the Council.

The fields in which the Council was expected to provide a scholarly and considered guide were at least the following:

Economic development -- which includes industry, agriculture, and commerce; housing; health education; civil government -- including violence; and relationships between the races.

I believe it was thought that to enable the Council to speak in these fields in an informed and responsible manner, it would be necessary to engage a staff which, in addition to a competent Executive Director and Associate Director, would have specialists trained in three or four of the subject-fields; a man who knew Southern Agriculture; a student of public health; someone who knew the educational problem, and so on. Had the Council had the funds to engage such people, pay for travel and for conferences to further the work, and publish the

the conclusions from time to time, I believe this program of detailed policy guidance could have been carried out, to the very great benefit of all the people of the South. Unfortunately, even the comparatively good budgets of the early years were not sufficient for this plan to be followed more than piecemeal. It would have taken close to a hundred thousand dollars a year, and the Council had fifty or fifty-five. Lacking staff, and building the organization in a time of war, Guy Johnson and Ira Reid nevertheless made a gallant beginning. They got into readable print the main facts about the South's poverty and needs. Rupert Vance's "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation," Arthur Raper's "Machines in the Cotton Fields," Dorothy Dickins' "Wanted: A Healthy South," and the booklet "Wanted: An Educated South," brought together the main facts about economic development and about the Council's areas of interest. To these have been added Helen Bridgman's "Housing in the South," Luther Jackson's "Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940," and "Race in the News." Other useful pamphlets have been issued, and the monthly magazine -- at the beginning called "Southern Frontier" and since 1945 "New South" -- has carried up-to-date facts in all these fields, and has been a vehicle for temperate discussion of the issues and events of race relations. "New South" reaches at least 5,000 people directly. This work has been of good quality, and has been very widely used for teaching, and in making public opinion. But it has nearly all been done by hurried people, giving only a few weeks or a few months to the preparation of each item, and the authors would be the first to recognize how far short the pamphlets fall of the goal set by the Council's organizers for its work. And in each field, events have moved rapidly on, and the conclusions of three or four years ago are an impossibly weak substitute for the kind of expert current criticism and advice the Council should make available. So I conclude that in giving an informed voice to Southern leadership we have done much with small means,

but woefully less than what was hoped for.

The Council undertakes to get equal opportunity not only by research, but by action. Toward this end we have built a membership organization. It has grown steadily from some 800 at the beginning to 3,500 today. We suppose it is about 50-50 Negro and white. In eight of the thirteen Southern states the members have State Divisions, which have officers and boards and meetings, and programs of their own. In two more states, independent State Interracial Committees are affiliated with the Council, in another the principal city has a Chapter of the Council, and in still another we work in kindly spirit with a Protestant Church Race Relations group. Thus we reach to organized bodies in our field in all the Southern states except Oklahoma. In theory, our eight State Divisions should be eagerly pressing, in the home towns and throughout their states, for local implementation of the Council's general policies. In sad fact, the State Divisions are in most cases paper organizations. They have able officers, mostly men and women who in one capacity or another give a great part of their lives to our sort of work. They can be counted on to wield a large and often speedy and effective influence on some particular matter. But they have minute treasuries, infrequent meetings which are seldom well attended, no publications of their own, and, with hardly an exception, no paid staff. Indeed, so far as I know, the whole of the South contains only one full-time paid staff person (Virginia) and two half-time persons (Georgia and New Orleans). The State Divisions afford a useful letterhead for reaching public and private officials; they are a network for obtaining and sending on information; they add something to the sum of local interracial friendship. But as fashioners of Southern state advance they are ridiculously weak. Two of the independent State Interracial Committees have, over the years, had an active program which could more justly claim results than

most of the Divisions.

So, in appraisal, I think it fair to conclude that the Council's field organization, on which it relies for most implementing action, has had gratifying growth, much loyalty and sacrifice and effort, but in an area of heavy need has carried a light load.

Central research, publication, and State organization have been our main visible programs. We have others, with a good deal of accomplishment and promise. The method of the home town self-survey, which Mrs. Havens with aid from the Council worked out so effectively in Jacksonville, Florida, has been given special support for 1949 and 1950, and has shown quite useful results. The first big survey has been completed at Greenville, South Carolina, and its findings should be printed in two weeks or so. Greenville is pleased with the improvements already made, traceable to the survey, and looks for much more to follow. We hope that the Greenville and Jacksonville examples, and the steady activity of our staff, will turn up half a dozen more places, at least, where surveys of this kind can be made. We have a manual for use by local communities, and it is being perfected by added experience. If this device will spread, it is probably a good part of the answer to the whole matter of local activity. The survey translates good will into measurable improvements, and builds a body of citizenship, across lines of race, whose individuals are old hands at getting things done together.

Lately we have added the Fellowship of the Concerned. This is an outgrowth of the 1949 Southwide Meeting of Churchwomen. It circulates among women of all religious groups an undertaking to sit in the courts and observe the processes of justice, to familiarize themselves with police methods, to watch for instances of violence and injustice, and to take action individually in some organized way against what is wrong. Though the clerical staff consists almost

entirely of Mrs. M. E. Tilly's midnight hours, it has already enlisted over 6,000 women in this movement, scattered over many states. Given staff, and funds for some travel and postage, it could contribute very importantly to general Southern advance.

I have spoken of the publicly visible part of our work. We have another, less tangible but no less important side of the job. Mainly through the staff here in Atlanta, and in large part through the work of the Director of Information, we help to shape the course of public enlightenment and of organized effort throughout the South on behalf of the Council's interests. We are consulted by a great many people, movements, and journals. We have helped notably to point up and aim accurately new enquiries and old and new movements within the South. We help the Urban League, we help Negro and white colleges and universities, we work with research staffs, we trade tasks with the NAACP, we serve groups of Negro teachers, and trade unions. We have written in the framework, and not seldom the substance, of important magazine and news stories about the South. Endless time, inside and outside the office, goes into this most interesting job of being in on the plans that the South makes for its own advance. Our help in this regard brings little reward in funds, but it is a rich contribution, we are led to believe, to the thinking and action of a great variety of helpful Southern movements.

So much in appraisal of what has been; let us turn for a look at what sort of organization, if any, the South now needs in the Council's general field.

First, we should recognize that the broad lines of economic and material advance have been deeply grooved in the last fifteen years, and are likely to hold for a good while to come. Industrialization continues apace; already in some Southern states more than half of the gainfully employed are in non-agricultural pursuits. Private effort is like to carry this trend much further. In housing, the New Deal, the wartime housing, and now the Truman program have

set a pattern of interrelated public and private effort which in a couple of decades, at most, should clean up urban and rural slums. In hospitals, the Hill-Burton Act foreshadows a network of local and area hospitals which should do much to spread even to presently inaccessible groups and places the benefits of adequate modern medical practice. In education, whatever the outcome of the movement to end segregation, we may reasonably expect substantial Federal aid, either to teaching budgets, to scholarship funds, or to school buildings and equipment. And even in the absence of Federal aid, states and cities are using their own taxing powers to provide for better and far more equal schooling than we have had in the recent past. In civil rights, it is safe to assume that so much educating controversy will produce substantially strengthened laws and enforcement. Of all the fields of the Council's special relations, that of agricultural policy alone remains without a sign-post to the future course. As plantation agriculture comes under mechanization, controversy mounts as to how we shall shape Southern farming. In this one special field there is still much need for a public voice and one that the Southern Regional Council should help to determine. Otherwise, on these matters our energies can go now not into persuasion as to policy, but into detailed comment on program as it is put into effect. That is to say, in most of our areas of work, public decision has been made as to the broad methods; which should shift the Council's work from advocacy to a critical analysis of public and private administration. This, be it said, calls for a more localized kind of program than the Council's has been in the past.

In the area of race relations, public controversy certainly mounts, but decision is as yet by no means clear. Much of the South clings stubbornly to discriminations that are scarcely supportable in an era of universal education, universal suffrage, industrialization, and an interrelated world society.

Certainly the next few years will perforce take the South through many precedent-shattering experiences. The tensions that will arise will call for the highest degree of statesmanship the South can muster, and that statesmanship will need information and advice of a kind that the Council's membership is peculiarly equipped to supply. Here is a function, in itself, that would call into being an organization like the Council. Already the proposal for a formal State Advisory Commission on Race Relations has come near to action in Virginia, North Carolina, and Mississippi. If the movement proceeds, as is likely, I would expect just the people who in each state have been the core of the Council's membership to be chosen for such steady and official advice.

Here I think we might face up to a dichotomy which has troubled the Council from its beginning. In the documents, we have the whole broad field of advance in the South. In theory, it is our business to know in detail about industry and agriculture and education and administration and so on. Yet in practice we remain an organization which does little more than learn (and influence) the interaction of all these public matters with Negro-white relationships. Dig into any institutional development or problem in the South, and the first, and toughest, layer is race. That's usually as far as we get. True, we retain, sincerely, the Council's goal of equal benefit for white people and Negro people, but we do look at our every job from the point of view of its bearing upon matters of race, and the bearing of race on it. It seems to me we should be less sweeping in our pretended area of inquiry and action, and admit that the thing we can do well is to aid in the unravelling of the knots and cords of racial jealousy that hamper the growth in the South of the modern society. We would not cease, ever, to work in this area against the broadest background of knowledge we could get, but we would address ourselves, admittedly, to each phase of Southern life through our knowledge of this divisiveness in the region.

The truth is, I dare suppose, that the lines of advance set out for the South call for all our citizens to come around to the mind of the Southern Regional Council. The South grows in a common citizenship. The intricate administrative effort of the future can never succeed in racial discrimination. We cannot obtain the loyal cooperation of the Negro third of our fellow Alabamians or South Carolinians if each state's government, and its city and county officialdoms, continue to be closed to men and women who can fully represent Negro interests. Negro citizens must be elected and appointed to offices of every character. Nor can the citizen today perform his task of discussion and decision in the rigid segregation which is established in the South. Democracy, next to religion, is the strongest popular force in our Western society. If we are to realize it fully in the South we must achieve an equal and united citizenship, which pays progressively less attention to distinctions of race.

And here we have a new problem to deal with. The white South, for its bitter years of resistance to the demand for equal recognition, begins now to pay a price. To many Negro Southerners, the evidence is convincing that the broader opportunities of today — in the vote, in civil rights, in economic opportunity, have been achieved by legal battles fought by Negro lawyers and paid for with Negro money, with help, it is true, from white people in the North, but never with help from the white people of the South. The white South, fighting a losing battle, has not shown even the dignity of reason, but has relied upon false argument and filibuster and violence. Quite naturally, many Negroes have concluded that the Southern white man is all that much of modern Negro writing pictures: the enemy, the source of the trouble, and a figure to be ridiculed.. On their part, most Southern white people walk about in a crude misconception of the Negro in the South. The stereotypes of long ago were slanderous then — they in no wise reflect the Negro of today. This double misunderstanding is a wretched base upon which to build our common citizenship. To correct it is a mountainous

task, but it is a task the South has before it. We can learn by dragging our public bodies through every indignity and danger of "learning the hard way" (one would think experience already pretty revealing!), or we can learn by the rapid and organized multiplying of examples of private and public working-together on terms of equality. It is for just this sort of effort that the Council's membership is available. We are a body of Southerners who belie the stereotypes; we are simply people who are friends, and who more than anything else -- if our deepest interest could be found -- desire that these Southern states and towns should live and thrive in mutual human dignity. In just such citizenship will the South find its way to health. We know that Negroes and whites can work together on day to day public problems, in full faith in one another, with results that are helpful to all.

As an organization working in a difficult field, we are perhaps due some recognition, among ourselves, of the cumulative history of success in representing, and that publicly, a common mind within the South. All of us who work practically at these matters lead lives in greater or less degree at variance with our ideals. We all know, too, how near at all times to some damaging error is any course of action. It is to the credit of our members, and of this Board, that we have found agreement, and acted upon it, notwithstanding the divisions that surround us. I am constantly encouraged for the South when I reflect upon the quality of reasoning together, and working together, that has from the beginning been the stoutest prop the Council has had.

One great task which presses is that of furnishing, within the South, examples of our kind of cooperation which will give strength to our still feeble sense of common citizenship. That is a cause to which our members are devoted. What organization can we contrive, and what methods can we recommend for doing it?

First of all, it seems to me to need stimulus to local activity. Lately,

when a group of Negro leaders in a South Georgia town needed the cooperation of some white citizens on a matter of pressing public interest, they had to phone to us here in Atlanta to get the names of white people in their own home town who would be willing to go to work at the matter! We should use every good means of building effort on public problems. My recommendation as to a course of action which is within our possible means is partial subsidy of a full-time person for each of our State Divisions. The cost would not be above twelve or fifteen thousand dollars a year. What the Council could offer would be matched or exceeded by what people in the states would put up. If we want action, we will have to pay for it; and a little in money will get more action in this way than in any other I know.

It is to be noted, in this regard, that our reducation in staff last October left us with no one whose time is given regularly to the work of our former Field Secretaries. We are a head and a body, with a most insubstantial neck.

Second, we should push along with the home town survey. The 1950 Census will offer a great opportunity to translate figures into facts, and our people in every town would find it amazingly rewarding to work out the facts together.

Third, we should continue to prepare and print some such journal as New South. It could well be bigger, and it needs many more than its 4,500-odd subscribers. But even in its present form it is invaluable for letting us all know of experiences, good or bad, elsewhere.

Fourth, the general lines of Southern advance are fairly clear to us, but they are far from clear to the South as a whole. If two or three people on the staff had time to read, and fit things together, without further original research, a significant master plan could be turned out. We have had the basis of it knocking about the Council for years, but, without time to pin it down in detail, we can't get it out.

Fifth, we must find the funds to speed improvement in police administration.

Sixth, we ought to put help, and some funds, into the Fellowship of the Concerned. It can add greatly to the pace of our progress.

Seventh, we should take up again, to meet today's new interest, the work with the schools so well begun by the old Conference on Education and Race Relations.

Eighth, we should complete work we have in hand toward a pamphlet called "Work and Color" which would explain to the South the advantages and practicability of a policy of fairness in employment.

Ninth, we should engage again an Associate Executive Director. It is false economy for such an organization as this to do its day to day work without the aid of a principal Negro staff member.

You could have a Council that did nearly all of these things for a cost of about $75,000 a year.

Short of that, you, and we on the staff, are doing a job which in its inadequacy and hit-or-miss manner demeans the seriousness of the cause which is central to the well being of the South.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
DIVISION OF ADULT EDUCATION AND PUBLIC SERVICES
1804 EAST TENTH STREET
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

PUBLIC SERVICES
BUREAU OF PUBLIC DISCUSSION
AUDIO-VISUAL CENTER
COMMUNITY SERVICES IN ADULT EDUCATION

TEACHING SERVICES
EXTENSION SERVICES
UNIVERSITY CENTERS
CORRESPONDENCE STUDY
BUREAU OF LECTURES

August 13, 1954

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Region Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I'm sure you and your staff will be interested in the enclosed report. The author who has been a colleague of mine for the past three years will be returning to Bethune-Cookman to head their Audio-Visual program this fall.

Best wishes for continued success of your extremely important work.

Sincerely yours,

Ledford Carter

Ledford C. Carter
Production Supervisor

LCC:skg

enclosure

RECEIVED
AUG 17 1954
Southern Regional Council

April 7, 1955

Mr. Boyd Campbell
Chamber of Commerce
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Campbell:

Most kind of you to write and send me a copy of your wire to the Asheville Times

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

BOYD CAMPBELL
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

April 5, 1955

APR 7 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 29 which was prompted by a letter from Miss Rebecca Reid.

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Miss Reid together with a copy of a telegram to which I referred therein.

With appreciation for your good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Boyd Campbell

Boyd Campbell

ABC/scm

Enclosure

April 5, 1955

Miss Rebecca Reid
29 E. Calhoun Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Miss Reid:

Yes, you talked to the right person, and I am deeply grateful for your thoughtfulness in writing.

I must, however, disclaim responsibility for the quotation which you read in the Ashville Times. The enclosed copy of a telegram to the editor of the paper contains the correct statement.

It was wonderful to hear from you, Miss Reid, and it will be definitely nice to have the opportunity of talking about people whom we knew in my high school days in Kosciusko. Maybe that can be accomplished in the near future. I would love to hear from you sometime.

Sincerely yours,

Boyd Campbell

ABC/scm

March 29, 1955

Mr. Boyd Campbell
Chamber of Commerce
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Campbell:

I trust it is true that we are mutually beneficiaries of the wisdom and kindness of Rebecca Reid!

Coming along separately is a pamphlet called Answers for Action: The Schools in the South. It compresses the Ashmore report, gives the decision of the Court, and tells ways for local communities to get ahead with understanding and planning. I commend the map at the back. Obviously the job is harder in some places than in others, and my own view is that if Negro responsibility and ingenuity is freely brought into the planning of what to do, they will be quite helpful in arriving at plans that are workable, and agreed upon.

Our gratitude for your own wise words.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Miss Rebecca Reid

Not see that could be derived. Lots for for C.C. - Don't your friends and Mississippi!

29 E.Calhoun St.
Sumter,S.C.
March 28,1955

Mr. Boyd Campbell
Chamber of Commerce
Jackson, Miss.

MAR 29 1955

Dear Boyd Campbell:

Recently over the radio I heard you ask a question at a forum in Jackson. Last week my attention was called to an extract from a speech made by you in ~~Charlotte~~ Asheville relative to the Supreme Court decision of May 17,1954.

Because I question whether there is likely to be two "Boyd Campbells" in Missippi; and because the tenor and quality of your statements are quite consistent with the character and the possibilities which I recognized in a boy whom I taught in Kosciusko in 1906; I am writing you to express my gratification at the high level of your thinking and the breadth of your vision.

The positions you hold locally and nationally offer wonderful opportunity and grave responsibility in this period of crisis in the South,which only a Southerner can shoulder, and the Chamber of Commerce is a strategic organization through which your sound faith of"educational integration" can have far-reaching effect. People like you, too few in these states, give me courage. I am calling you to the attention of Dr.George Mitchell in Atlanta, of the Southern Regional Council.

With happy memories and great expectations, I am,

Faithfully yours,

Rebecca Reid.

Telefax **WESTERN UNION** Telefax

SENDING BLANK

CALL LETTERS FCQ CHARGE TO MISSISSIPPI SCHOOL SUPPLY COMPANY

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI
MARCH 24, 1955-1:12 PM

EDITOR
THE ASHEVILLE TIMES
ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

THE ASHEVILLE TIMES OF MARCH 21, CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF MY ADDRESS TO THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE EXECUTIVES ON THE MORNING OF THAT DATE, HAS JUST BEEN PLACED BEFORE ME. I AM AMAZED TO READ THAT I WAS QUOTED AS SAYING: "OUR MAJOR GOAL NOW SHOULD BE AN IMPROVED PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM (IN PREPARATION FOR EDUCATIONAL INTEGRATION) BECAUSE EDUCATIONAL INTEGRATION MUST BE FOLLOWED CLOSELY BY SOCIAL AND CULTURAL INTEGRATION."

CONTINUED

Send the above message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

PLEASE TYPE OR WRITE PLAINLY WITHIN BORDER—DO NOT FOLD

1269—(R-4-54)

Telefax **WESTERN UNION** Telefax

SENDING BLANK

CALL LETTERS CHARGE TO PAGE #2

MY ADDRESS WAS MADE FROM A CAREFULLY PREPARED MANUSCRIPT, TO WHICH I ADHERED CLOSELY AND IN WHICH I STATED: "THE MAJOR GOAL IS AN IMPROVED SCHOOL SYSTEM FOR ALL THE CHILDREN."

AS FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE QUOTATION WITH WHICH I WAS CREDITED, I MADE NO SUCH STATEMENT OR INFERENCE. I AM HONESTLY TRYING TO DO A CONSTRUCTIVE JOB FOR THE SOUTH, AS I AM SURE YOU ARE, AND ON SUCH A DELICATE AND CONTROVERSIAL SUBJECT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT OUR MOTIVES ARE NOT MISUNDERSTOOD AND OUR EFFORTS THEREBY WEAKENED. THEREFORE, I HOPE YOU WILL SEE FIT TO PUBLISH A CORRECTION IN AN EARLY ISSUE, AND WILL PROVIDE FULL MANUSCRIPT IF YOU DESIRE IT.

BOYD CAMPBELL

Send the above message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

PLEASE TYPE OR WRITE PLAINLY WITHIN BORDER—DO NOT FOLD

1269—(R-4-54)

pendle hill

WALLINGFORD
PENNSYLVANIA

A QUAKER CENTER FOR RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL STUDY

DOUGLAS V. STEERE, Chairman
MARY HOXIE JONES, Vice-Chairman
THOMAS T. TAYLOR, Treasurer
MARY R. CALHOUN, Secretary

DAN WILSON, DIRECTOR
GILBERT H. KILPACK, DIRECTOR OF STUDIES

June 16, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

JUN 20 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This summer Pendle Hill is in the unusual position of having two full scholarships for the summer term with nobody to take advantage of them. My boss, Dan Wilson, has commissioned me to write to anybody I can think of in Atlanta to ask for suggestions about suitable candidates, so I am writing to you first. The scholarships are given by the Richard Humphreys Foundation in Philadelphia to Negro teachers or teachers-in-training. We've had plenty of applications for scholarships, but none of the applicants fall into that category. Do you know of anybody who would be interested in coming here for the month of July? The scholarship includes room, board and tuition. I am enclosing information about Pendle Hill (summer school courses described on page 10) and two application blanks in case you find somebody.

I am also writing Phern Stanley about this. Maybe you all will have a brain storm if you get together on it. Since summer school begins in two weeks, we will need to have any applications in just as soon as possible. We would accept anybody you recommended, without needing other letters of recommendation as requested on the application blank.

Maybe if you're gone on a trip some other kind friend at SRC would like to offer suggestions.

. . . . . .

Now for some personal news. I just got my driver's license the other day. A man from northern Virginia (Loudoun County) taught me how to drive. It was a struggle, beginning late in March, but we finally made it. I'm hoping to drive up to Maine and Massachusetts in August and maybe home about the middle of August if the car hasn't come to pieces by then.

Looks like I'm going to be up in Yankeeland a while longer. Am looking for a job in Philadelphia for this fall, as I think it's time to get out into the world again.

Many thanks for any help you can give us on the scholarships.

Emily

Emily Calhoun

P E N D L E H I L L

Wallingford Pennsylvania

APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION TO SUMMER SCHOOL

Date _____

Name in full _____

Present address _____

Permanent address _____

Name and address of
Parent or nearest relative _____

Date of birth _____ Place of birth _____

If married, name of wife (or husband) _____

Names and ages of children _____

Term or year for which application is made _____

Previous study and experience:

Present occupation _____

Religious affiliation or preference _____
(If a member of the Society of Friends, what Yearly Meeting?)

Please have two letters concerning character and qualifications sent direct to Pendle Hill.

Major interest in applying for admission to Pendle Hill: (continue over leaf if necessary)

1955-1956

PENDLE HILL

WALLINGFORD — PENNSYLVANIA

PENDLE HILL CALENDAR (The School Year)

1955—*Spring Term*	March 31 to June 16
Summer Term	July 1 to July 29
Autumn Term	September 30 to December 16
1956—*Winter Term*	January 9 to March 24
Spring Term	April 2 to June 16

INSTITUTES AND SEMINARS

1955—April 22-24	*Seminar with Henry J. Cadbury on "The Historical Development of the Quaker Social Testimonies."* Total cost $10.
August 26-28	*Annual Pendle Hill Reunion.*
September 2-5	*Annual Labor Day Week-End Retreat.* Total cost $15.
October 21-23	*Seminar with Martin Foss on "The Spiritual Beliefs of Quakers."* Total cost $10.
November 18-20	*Seminar with Henry J. Cadbury on "The Gospel of John."* Total cost $10.
December 28, 1955 to January 1, 1956	*Midwinter Institute on "The Ministry and the Life of Friends' Meetings."* Total cost $20.
1956—February 3-5	*Seminar with A. J. Muste on "Moral Man and Immoral Society."* Total cost $10.
April 6-8	*Seminar with Gilbert Kilpack on "The Meaning of Freedom."* Total cost $10.
May 4-6	*Seminar with Fritz Eichenberg and Gilbert Kilpack on "Christian Faith and the Arts."* Total cost $10.

ALL TERMS AND INSTITUTES BEGIN AT 4 P.M.

PENDLE HILL is a center for religious and social study maintained by members of the Society of Friends. It is a community of concerned people, seeking for ways to bring all personal and social life under the guidance of the Spirit. With its heritage of

freedom and its conviction that all people are called to a life of ministry and inward growth, it was natural that the Society of Friends should establish an adult school in which its principles can be as specifically applied in education as they are in the Quaker meeting for worship and the meeting for business.

Study at Pendle Hill is aimed at the graduate level but admission to the community for any year is based upon the individual's ability to use the freedom of a school program relieved of the usual academic conformities of grades, credits and examinations. Also the person who comes to Pendle Hill must be prepared to accept the discipline of a religious community centered in the daily meeting for worship and the sharing of a common life of work, study, recreation and mutual care and concern for one another.

Pendle Hill welcomes students from all religions, racial and cultural inheritances and in its study program welcomes the truth wherever it is to be found. The specific mission of Pendle Hill is, however, to bring the resources of Christian tradition in general and Quaker tradition in particular to bear upon contemporary needs through study, worship and active effort. The founders of Pendle Hill envisioned a place where students could come to make "a more profound study, a more persistent experiment in these fields where a man transcends the temporal and material and finds himself wondrously alive to the great realities and the ultimate sources of strength and wisdom and love."

Twenty-five years of student life now testify to Pendle Hill's usefulness in meeting a great variety of human needs. Teachers have come to spend their sabbatical year and missionaries their furlough; graduate students have found it a good place to complete a thesis; to theological students it has offered a needed complement to their academic work; for hundreds of persons it has meant concentrated training for overseas service; students just out of college have come for a year in search of their real vocation; many people have found it necessary to leave important jobs and busy lives for a term or a year to find their bearings and perhaps start out in a new direction. Each year foreign students from all over the world have found it a con-

genial place in which to learn new ways and test their own; it has provided freedom and encouragement that some writers have needed to complete books, articles, pamphlets; students interested in pacifism, labor unions, racial equality and other social issues have discovered here the incentive and direction needed to carry out their concerns.

In more than any other way Pendle Hill has served a need on the American scene for a lay school of religion. Numberless seekers have come with no professional aim, only with the feeling that all of life hangs upon the answers of the heart and mind to the relentless questions which have plagued them, questions which plague us all—life and death, freedom and suffering, evil, joy, prayer, and creativity. These are not issues which are settled finally in any moment of life; all of us struggle with them in our lone selves to the end. But we cannot always seek alone. We need the friendship of others who have faith in the reversibility of all human life.

Pendle Hill is such a place, making no claims beyond the leading of the Spirit. It was named for Pendle Hill in Lancashire, England where George Fox in 1652 had a vision of "a great people to be gathered."

Situation and Facilities

Pendle Hill is situated in the country within easy reach of Philadelphia. The colleges of Swarthmore, Haverford, and Bryn Mawr, the University of Pennsylvania, and several theological seminaries are within reach. Their libraries and the numerous general and specialized libraries of the city of Philadelphia are easily accessible. Pendle Hill students frequently benefit by consultation with faculty members of nearby institutions, some of whom are members of the Pendle Hill Board of Managers. There is also the stimulus of contact with social projects in the metropolitan area and with the American Friends Service Committee. Occasional visitors from various parts of the world give lectures and engage in informal discussions with individuals and groups.

The campus consists of nearly seventeen acres on which are

a great variety of trees, lawns, vegetable and flower gardens, an orchard, tennis court, and six residential buildings. The Main House contains library, social rooms, dining room, kitchen, apartments and dormitory. Upmeads House, the Barn, Firbank House and two other small houses afford accommodations for staff, students and sojourners, as well as libraries, offices, meeting rooms, and small rooms for seminars or conferences.

Pendle Hill is reached by Pennsylvania Railroad, taking the Media train out of Philadelphia and getting off at Wallingford. However, if you come unannounced, it is best to get off at Swarthmore, which is the nearest freight station. By car, Pendle Hill is reached via Route 1, turning at Wallingford Road.

The Meeting for Worship and the Meeting for Business

Each morning at eight-thirty the members of the community meet together to worship in silent waiting. Worship, according to the ancient practice of the Religious Society of Friends, is without human direction or supervision. A group of seeking persons come together and sit quietly with no prearrangements, each open to an immediate sense of divine leading. It is not wholly accurate to say that such a Meeting is held on the basis of silence; it is more accurate to say that it is held on the basis of holy expectancy. Those who enter such a Meeting can harm it in two specific ways: first, by an advance determination to speak; and second, by an advance determination to keep silence. The only way in which a worshipper can help such a Meeting is by an advance determination to try to be responsive in listening to the still small voice and doing whatever may be commanded. Such a Meeting is always a high venture of faith.

At Pendle Hill many details and problems of the community life are worked out on the basis of common consent in the regular meeting for business, in which adult members of the community participate. A community without established customs, however, would be like a person without habits. Every act would involve a decision and the mind would never be freed from attention to what might more properly be relegated to routine. Discipline is a method of regulating the customary in order to

set free the creative faculties. This liberation is especially important in a small intimate group where the members may easily encroach upon one another's private life.

Common Work and Play

Throughout the history of Pendle Hill the housekeeping, gardening, office work, and much of the maintenance of buildings and grounds have been carried on through a cooperative work program in which all adult residents participate. There are no hired servants. Each member, whether permanent or temporary, takes part in the common chores of daily living to the extent of approximately two hours a day. This results generally in lower fees as well as a deepened quality of personal and community life.

Recreation takes the form of tennis, volley ball, hiking, folk dancing, singing, listening to records, plays, parties and other imaginative activities. Cooperative work and recreation do much to integrate community life and round out the individual's day.

Creative Arts, Languages, Field Work

According to their interests and skills, individual members of the community often help one another to find their own forms of creative expression through writing, painting, music, and crafts of various kinds.

Instruction in languages is arranged according to the needs of the residents. Language tables in the dining room promote facility in conversation.

Field work, involving one day or more each week, in cooperation with some community organization or social service in a nearby community, can be arranged for those who desire it.

The Individual at Pendle Hill

An environment of personal freedom is sought, tempered and enriched by the necessity for cooperation and adjustment to the needs and wishes of others. This self-discipline permits a natural and unforced development of spiritual as well as intellectual gifts. Since grades, credits, and degrees are not given,

growth may sometimes appear quantitatively slow but it may be nonetheless qualitatively significant. There may be times when silent and expectant waiting will produce more real development than definite academic assignments regulated by clock or calendar.

It is assumed that a mature person will take seriously the planning of his day in order to allow unhurried time for that which is of primary importance to him. Otherwise, at Pendle Hill as elsewhere, the pressure of events will leave little opportunity for intensive study or a deepened understanding of experience.

It is expected that the students who come together at Pendle Hill for the year will have gathered because of a primary interest in at least one of the fields proposed for group study. But each person may have, as well, a particular inquiry of his own in mind, or he may, after coming, discover a problem to which he will want to devote special effort and attention. Experience has shown that most persons benefit from organizing their reading and meditation through preparation of written studies. Each term, either in connection with a group exploration or following some special concern, papers are written and shared with the group, bringing to focus the principal undertaking of the student for the term.

Publications

There were two points of focus in the founding of Pendle Hill. The first was to call students to a place where they would be incited to a diligent search for the truth; the second was to publish the truth as the way opened, sharing it in the spoken and written word. The Pendle Hill pamphlets aim to be tracts for the times, speaking to the condition of the people of our generation; they are an endeavor to communicate with the disillusioned as well as the seeker. The pamphlets help bring to a focus various phases of the life and thought of members of the community. Some have been the result of special lectures, but many have grown out of work done by persons in residence. Six pamphlets are published each year and subscription to the series

is two dollars. At this date 81 pamphlets have been issued and distribution has increased to the rate of thirty thousand per year.

Under the imprint of Harper and Brothers "in association with Pendle Hill" six books have been issued: *A Guide to True Peace, A Cloud of Unknowing, A Method of Prayer, The Quaker Story, The World in Tune,* and *The Pendle Hill Reader,* a collection of religious essays that appeared first as pamphlets.

In addition to the pamphlets, the *Pendle Hill Bulletin* is published five times a year and sent without charge to those who are interested. One of these, The Annual Report, issued in October contains a summary of all Pendle Hill activities for the preceding year. Copies will be sent upon request.

RECOMMENDED PERSONAL PROGRAM FOR SCHOOL YEAR

(VARIATION MAY BE ADMITTED TO MEET SPECIAL NEEDS.)

- Attendance at the daily half-hour meeting for worship. Periods of private devotion and meditation according to individual desire.
- Attendance at four or more courses or group studies, reading in connection with at least two of them.
- Courses and lectures are generally scheduled either at 4:30 p.m. or 8:00 p.m. The time from the conclusion of morning worship to four o'clock tea is free for study, writing and field work. It is expected that recreational activities be deferred during the time that a course is being given.
- Project reports. Through the presentation of a written study, students once a term share with the group as a whole their findings on a particular subject of their choice. This paper brings to focus the principal undertaking of the student for the term.
- Performance of household, garden, or office tasks for two hours each day.
- Conferences once a week with the Director of Studies or a staff adviser.
- Attendance at a fortnightly business meeting to consider matters having to do with Pendle Hill's life as a community.
- Observance of quiet after 10:30 p.m. on week days, after 12:00 midnight on Saturdays.

SPRING TERM 1955

The Early Christian Church

HENRY J. CADBURY. Mondays at 8:00 p.m., April 4 through June 6

The life and thought of the early Christian community as reflected in the book of Acts. On this subject Henry Cadbury is the author of *The Book of Acts in History* to be published by Harper and Brothers in the spring of 1955.

A Basis for International Understanding

HORACE ALEXANDER. Tuesday at 8:00 p.m., April 5 through June 7

An attempt will be made to understand the causes of unrest and conflict in the modern world and to examine how various proposed remedies such as the spread of democracy, social equality, human rights, better race relations, pacifism, world government, etc., may tend to promote understanding and good will.

Seminar on Christian Thinkers of the Modern World

GILBERT KILPACK. Wednesdays at 4:30 p.m., April 6 through June 8

Students will have the opportunity to choose from such writers as Berdyaev, Bloy, Unamuno, Von Hugel, Solovyov, Peguy, Niebuhr, Buber and Mounier for the writing of analytical papers and intensive discussion.

Religion of the Quaker Journalists

HOWARD BRINTON. Thursdays at 8:00 p.m., March 31 through June 2

The numerous Quaker journals or autobiographies, exhibiting as they do the changing tendencies of three centuries, furnish a large and reliable source of information on the character and results of religious experience. They are also the most explicit expositions of Quakerism. The religion of the Society of Friends is set forth, not in abstract generalizations, but in terms of concrete actions and events. Individual journals will be reviewed as expressing the main stages and turning points in a gradually maturing religious life.

Creative Writing

MILDRED TONGE. Thursday at 4:30 p.m., April 7 through June 9

This group meets to pool suggestions on finished and unfinished manuscripts, to experiment with new and old ways of tapping the source of the power to create.

PENDLE HILL SUMMER SCHOOL

July 1 (4:00 P.M.) to July 29, 1955

COURSES

Representative Thinkers

MARTIN FOSS, Associate Professor of Philosophy at Haverford College and author of *The Idea of Perfection*. Lectures on Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Augustine, Pascal, Spinoza, Kant, Bergson, and Gabriel Marcel—considered in relation to their unique contributions to the history of the human endeavor to understand and to have faith.

A Prophetic Analysis of the American Scene

MILTON MAYER, best known as a writer for *The Progressive* for fourteen years, is also widely heard as a lecturer and radio broadcaster. An overall picture of American life in the middle of the twentieth century in terms of the prophetic as distinguished from the pedagogical and priestly positions. Subjects to be considered: materialism, nationalism, racism, imperialism, militarism, and education.

The Testimony of the Society of Friends and World Religions

HOWARD BRINTON is Director Emeritus of Pendle Hill and author of *Friends for 300 Years*. Having just returned from a two-year stay in Japan, he is well able to interpret the great Oriental faiths. The first half of the course will survey the basic beliefs of the Society of Friends. These will then be related to the doctrines of other great faiths.

Great Ideas of the Bible

J. CALVIN KEENE, Professor of The History and Philosophy of Religion in the School of Religion of Howard University. With the Bible as the text, a study of central concepts in both the Old and New Testaments, such as God, the nature of man, the Messiah, righteousness, and the future life. Calvin Keene will also be Dean of the Summer School.

Politics and Religion

HORACE ALEXANDER served for a number of years as the Director of Woodbrooke School in England. Long a trusted fellow worker with Mahatma Gandhi in India, he speaks with concern and experience of those attempts that have been made in our time to bring the religious conscience into the arena of economics, social and political affairs.

TOTAL COST $140.00

Write Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania, for Application

AUTUMN TERM 1955

The Thought and Teaching of Jesus

HENRY J. CADBURY. Mondays at 8 p.m., October 3 through December 5

A consideration of the teaching in the synoptic Gospels and of the kind of thinking it reflects.

Having retired from his position as Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard, this is Henry Cadbury's second year on the Pendle Hill staff. He is also chairman of the American Friends Service Committee.

Patterns and Progression of International Organization

BERTRAM PICKARD. Tuesdays at 8 p.m., October 4 through December 6

This series of lectures will seek to clarify and explain the characteristics and underlying causes of the phenomenal development and to evaluate the importance of international organization in terms of human aspirations towards peace, freedom, and the abundant life. Bertram Pickard will be drawing upon more than thirty years of personal experience in the international field, including twenty years' service with Friends in London, Geneva and the United States and ten years as an international civil servant with the United Nations.

Seminar on the Historical Development of Prayer and Worship

GILBERT KILPACK. Wednesdays at 4:30 p.m., October 5 thru December 7

Quaker, Catholic, Protestant and Eastern Orthodox forms of prayer and worship will be described and discussed. Representative writers such as Woolman, Friedrich von Hugel, Evelyn Underhill and Rudolph Otto will be drawn upon for their knowledge as a test of and complement to our own experience, in an endeavor to understand the meaning of the life of prayer and worship.

The Religious and Ethical Thought of Paul and Its Background

HENRY J. CADBURY. Wednesdays at 8 p.m., October 5 through December 7

An attempt to understand the personal and the contemporary factors determining the contents of Paul's letters—or part of them.

Creative Writing

MILDRED TONGE. Thursdays at 4:30 p.m., October 6 through December 8

Read Pendle Hill Pamphlet #79, *A Sense of Living* by Mildred Tonge, for a full description of the procedure of this class.

The History and Principle of the Society of Friends

HOWARD BRINTON. Thursdays at 8 p.m., October 6 through December 8

Howard Brinton's *Friends For Three Hundred Years,* published by Harper and Brothers, is an authoritative account of the historical founda-

tions of Quaker beliefs. The course provides a firsthand encounter with the original documents of the 17th Century and a discussion of their relevance to life today.

WINTER TERM 1956

The Prophetic Way of Life and Thought in the Judaeo-Christian Tradition

CECIL HINSHAW. Mondays at 8 p.m., January 9 through March 12

Beginning with Jeremiah, a detailed study of some of the great prophets; their motives, their successes and their failures. Discussions will focus on the validity of their words and examples for today.

Cecil Hinshaw has served as president of William Penn College and is now a lecturer for the A.F.S.C. He has just returned from a trip around the world.

Christ Among the Novelists

GILBERT KILPACK. Tuesdays at 8 p.m., January 10 through March 13

A keen critic of the day, Amos Wilder, has said: "The custody and future of the Christian tradition has to a considerable degree passed over into the keeping of non-ecclesiastical and even secular groups. The fateful issues of the Christian faith are often wrestled with more profoundly outside the church than within. . . . " The novelists of the last century attest to this. Such writers as Dostoyevsky, Gogol, Tolstoy, Mauriac, Bernanos, Graham Greene, Silone and Lawrence will be considered.

The History and Principles of the Society of Friends—II

HOWARD BRINTON. Wednesdays at 4:30 p.m., January 11 through March 14

The Quaker journals provide an amazing record of the search and discovery of numberless persons bent on authentic knowledge of the Inward Light.

Creative Writing

MILDRED TONGE. Thursdays at 4:30 p.m., January 12 through March 15

SPRING TERM 1956

The Thought and Teaching of Jesus—II

HENRY J. CADBURY. Mondays at 8 p.m., April 2 through June 4

A continuation of the autumn course on the same subject.

The Varieties of Religious Experience

GILBERT KILPACK. Tuesdays at 8 p.m., April 3 through June 5

Using William James' great book, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* as point of focus for this class, the time will be given largely to a study of the source material on such representative persons as St. Teresa, George Fox, John Wesley, Bunyan, Augustine, Tolstoy, Kierkegaard, Albert Schweitzer, Eric Gill and Amiel.

Creative Writing

MILDRED TONGE. Thursdays at 4:30 p.m., April 5 through June 7

The Nature and Function of Religion

HOWARD BRINTON. Thursdays at 8 p.m., April 5 through June 7

In this course religion will be considered in its individual and social manifestations; the central doctrines of great living religions in regard to their regeneration of man and society; religion as the unification of the person and the group with reference to the modern developments in physics, biology, psychology and the philosophy of history.

Seminars—Retreats—Extension

By conferences and seminars at Pendle Hill and by programs elsewhere, Pendle Hill offers to individuals and groups, other than its regular resident students, some share in its life and work.

A four day mid-winter institute is scheduled each year on the subject of the ministry. It brings together outstanding speakers and concerned people from far and near. Time is given for a full discussion of the meaning of the Quaker way of worship and the content and problems of the life of ministry.

Retreats on the basis of silence are held as there is opportunity. Labor Day week-end is reserved for this purpose. Two periods of corporate worship are held each day and two periods of instruction and consideration for those who desire it.

Several week-end seminars are scheduled for those who want a short time of concentrated instruction. On these occasions there are four sessions with one lecturer, and ample opportunity is given for discussion.

Pendle Hill staff, students and board members are sometimes available for institutes and seminars arranged to serve those outside the Philadelphia area. These are organized by local Monthly and Quarterly Meetings in cooperation with Pendle Hill.

The Pendle Hill facilities are sometimes available for organizations, committees, Meetings and groups which value the particular atmosphere they find here.

FEES

Throughout the history of Pendle Hill the housekeeping and gardening routine have been carried on through a cooperative program in which all adult residents participate for approximately two hours each day. This is in addition to the regular resident fees, including room and meals, as listed below.

Summer term	$140
A single term, autumn, winter or spring	$300
Full year, including autumn, winter and spring	$850

A registration fee of $5, deducted from the charges above, is in each case payable prior to admission.

There is no admission charge for the regular courses—all are open to non-residents as well as residents without fee. All who wish may make a contribution to the work of Pendle Hill, but this is not required.

Students are asked to bring their own towels and to assume responsibility for their personal laundry. Bed linen and blankets are supplied. Clothing suitable for work is needed. Informal dress is adequate at all times. Formal dress is not needed.

In view of the fact that Pendle Hill has inadequate facilities for caring for illness beyond slight indispositions, students are encouraged to provide themselves with some form of medical insurance. Holders of scholarships are asked to enroll in a hospitalization plan. Particulars will be supplied upon request.

SCHOLARSHIPS

Scholarships are offered to encourage concentration on Quaker studies. Other scholarship aid is available to help qualified persons to enroll who could otherwise not afford to do so. Further information is furnished upon request.

GUESTS

Pendle Hill offers "pilgrim accommodation" for a limited number of guests. The fee for board and residence is $28 a week. For less than a week the fee for a single day is $4. For less than a day, breakfast is 55 cents, lunch 70 cents, dinner $1.00, single night $1.75. Charges are subject to change if necessary. Tea is served daily at 4:00 p.m. without charge. Reservations for meals and lodging should be made in advance. Address the head resident, Pendle Hill, or telephone MEdia 6-4507.

CONFERENCES

Conferences can be accommodated from time to time. Attenders are charged, in addition to the fees stated above, a conference fee of 25 cents a day on week days and 50 cents a day on week-ends.

BOARD OF MANAGERS

Douglas V. Steere, Chairman
Mary Hoxie Jones, Vice Chairman
Mary R. Calhoun, Secretary
D. Robert Yarnall, Honorary Chairman
Thomas T. Taylor, Treasurer

Term Expiring

1955	1956	1957
Joanna M. Ayers	Mary Evans Bethel	Paul J. Braisted
Helen C. Bacon	Margaret Bruton	Henry J. Cadbury
James E. Bristol	Stephen G. Cary	A. Burns Chalmers
Anna P. Broomell	Samuel C. DeCou	Robert A. Clement
Horace M. Burton	Marion Starr Fischer	Lorraine K. Cleveland
Rachel R. Cadbury	Emily B. Harvey	Margret Cloos
Mary R. Calhoun	Lewis M. Hoskins	Madeline R. Erskine
Eleanor Stabler Clarke	Margaret E. Jones	Anna Cope Evans
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John H. Hobart	Clarence E. Pickett	Caroline N. Jacob
John Judkyn	Alexander C. Purdy	Robert L. James, Jr.
Mary J. Middleton	Thomas T. Taylor	J. Calvin Keene
Lawrence Miller, Jr.	Frederick B. Tolles	Cornelius Kruse
George B. Mohlenhoff	Andrew R. Towl	H. Mather Lippincott, Jr.
Irvin C. Poley	Ruth R. Vail	Dorothy McCandless
Joseph B. Shane	D. Herbert Way	H. Haines Turner
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D. Elton Trueblood	H. Justice William	Elizabeth B. Yarnall
Elizabeth Gray Vining	Franklin C. Wood	D. Robert Yarnall
J. Barnard Walton		

Quarterly Meetings of the Board of Managers

1955—April 16, July 16, October 15 (*Annual Meeting*)
1956—January 21, April 21, July 21

RESIDENT STAFF

Dan Wilson, Executive Director
Gilbert Kilpack, Acting Director of Studies
Horace Alexander, Bancroft Lecturer 1955
Henry J. Cadbury, Instructor
Emily Calhoun, Secretary
Alexandra Docili, Secretary
Ernest Peter Docili, Publications Secretary
Marcia Geiger, Dietician
Jean Harris, Secretary
Grace Lowry, Head Resident
Howard H. Brinton, Director Emeritus
Anna Brinton, Director Emeritus
Cecil Hinshaw (winter term) Lecturer
Bertram Pickard (fall term) Lecturer
Winifred Rawlins, Associate Head Resident
Blanche Shaffer, Librarian
Lee D. Stern, Manager of Buildings and Grounds
Elias Tamari, Bookkeeper
Mildred Tonge, Instructor

NON-RESIDENT LECTURERS 1954-55

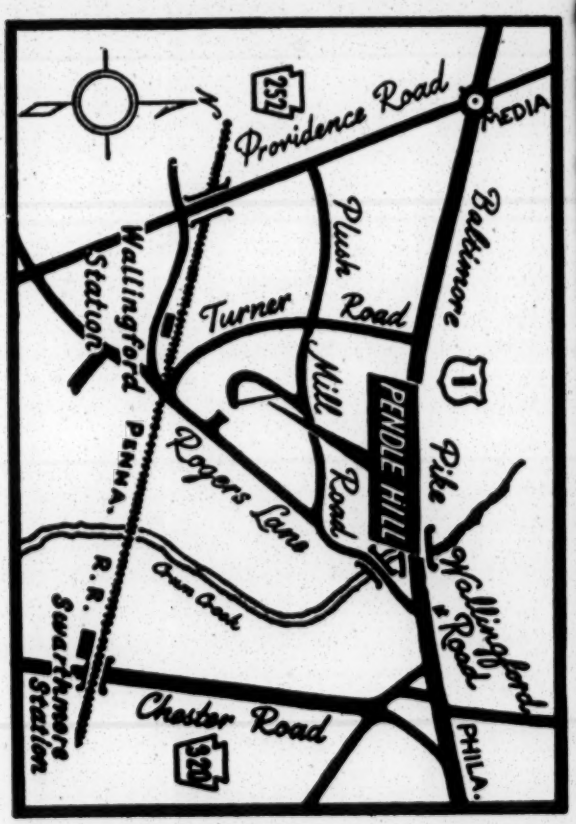
Frederick Tolles, Professor of Quaker History, Swarthmore College
Martin Foss, Lecturer in Philosophy, Haverford College

PENDLE HILL

Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Bulletin 124 February 1955

Entered as second class matter January 10, 1939 at the post office at Wallingford, Pennsylvania under the act of August 24, 1912. Published five times a year in February, April, August, October and November by Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania.



February 15, 1956

Mrs. Pauline Watkins Campbell
Department of Education
Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Campbell:

This morning I duly called Curtis Dixon's office. Curtis is gone until one day next week. But I told his secretary to please, ma'am, to make a note that you remembered Curtis. She said she would and I am sure Curtis will cordially recall you.

Nice to sit near you. Do help our Texas people.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

October 8, 1956

Dr. Herman G. Canady
Professor of Psychology
West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

Dear Dr. Canady:

I don't want to fail to thank you for the copy of your article "The Psychology of the American Negro", which I have read with great interest.

In view of the recent piece by Dr. McCurk in the U. S. News and World Report, your writings on this subject are particularly timely. Perhaps you know that, on the initiative of Dr. Deutsch, Dr. Otto Klineberg, and others active in SPSSI, a major public pronouncement on this subject is being readied for public release. Our discussion in Chicago was well timed indeed!

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

December 26, 1956

Rev. Colbert S. Cartwright
Pulaski Heights Christian Church
Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Bert:

Thank you for your letter of December 19, 1956 and the list of publications for New South subscriptior You did a very good job and we do appreciate it. We ar checking the list, and all those publications you liste which do not get New South already will begin getting i with the next issue. You are quite right about sending it to some of the publications in the North which have influence over southern subscribers.

Again, thanks. We trust you had a nice holida and extend our best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Managing Editor, New South

JC:fc

Pulaski Heights Christian Church

Colbert S. Cartwright, Pastor

Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

December 19, 1956

Mr. John Constable
Southern Reglional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

I was able to secure what is a fairly good list of editors of church periodicals. I have chosen to list some periodicals which are edited outside the South because I believe they have substantial influence over subscribers in the South. You may do as you please about these, but I personally think you are missing a good bet if you omit them.

A number of the denominational state papers are little more than promotional papers for their denominational program. I have not included some of these.

If I get wind of other southern papers which I believe to be crucial I will send the information to you.

I have the feeling that some of the these editors may already be receiving New South. I suppose you have methods of eliminating duplications.

Best wishes for the holiday season.

Sincerely,

Colbert S. Cartwright (Bert)

Colbert S. Cartwright
Minister

January 7, 1957

Mr. L. Clyde Carter, Jr.
Assistant Professor of Sociology
Mary Washington College
Fredericksburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. Carter:

Thank you for your letter of the 4th. Fredericksburg has been mentioned in an SRC news release of this date. However, I trust the matter is handled in such a way as to cause no adverse reaction.

Please convey our best wishes for a quick recovery to Miss Foster, and know our appreciation for your attention to this matter during the busy season.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Information Services

PA:mm

March 29, 1957

Mr. John C. Camper
Savannah State College
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mr. Camper:

Under separate cover, I am sending you a pamphlet which includes, the segregation decision of May 17, 1954 and the 1955 implementation decision, as well as other material in your general field of interest.

May I also recommend a subscription to New South, our monthly publication, several copies of which I am enclosing.

It was good to meet you in Savannah and if we can be of further help, please call upon us.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony,
Administrative Assistant

PA:cj

June 27, 1957

Mr. Lyle E. Campbell
1155 Ridgewood Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Campbell:

We were distressed to hear the sad news of Mrs. Campbell's death.

On behalf of all the members of the Council staff, I extend our heartfelt sympathy to you at this time of great loss.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Return to SC

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH

DIXIE HIGHWAY AT S. W. 29th ROAD
MIAMI 36, FLORIDA

GLENN O. CANFIELD
MINISTER

HELEN F. WILLIAMS
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

FRANKLIN 4-7472

Sept. 20, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Constable-

Thank you very much for all the booklets you have sent (two packages) on the Washington D.C. integration story.

I shall turn this material over to our Social Issues Group which is interested in making a study of the methods used there. We plan to do something along this line, probably in close cooperation with the Dade County Council on Community Relations.

Cordially yours,

Glenn O. Canfield
Minister

November 8, 1957

Reverend Colbert S. Cartwright
Pulaski Heights Christian Church
Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Cartwright:

This is just to thank you for the material you recently sent concerning the Little Rock situation, to express my enjoyment of your recent magazine articles, and to ask you an additional favor.

We here at the Council are interested in a NEW SOUTH article setting forth specific things ministers and other religious leaders can do in this transition situation. I know you have done some of these things in the past, but in this article we would be interested in spelling out the role of ministers and other religious leaders with the practical details and illustrations that come from first hand experience. I am sure you are in a good position to do this, and wonder if you will take it on for us.

If you feel you cannot do this article for us at this time, do you have any suggestions as to someone who might do us a good job. One other person has been suggested to us. He is George Chauncey, Presbyterian minister of Monticello, Arkansas. If you decide you cannot do this, could you give us your opinion of Mr. Chauncey.

However, I do hope you will do us a favor. I know you would do the kind of article of which we are in need.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

November 20, 1957

Reverend Colbert S. Cartwright
Pulaski Heights Christian Church
Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Cartwright:

Thank you for your response to my letter concerning an article for NEW SOUTH. I shall attempt to answer your questions in the order in which they were asked in your letter.

Yes I think that the article should concentrate on what can be done from day to day whatever the local situation may be, but particular reference might be made to the crisis situations as they have developed in the South. I would like an article to lean toward the possibility of getting ministers to do something to keep crisis situations from developing.

I do think this article should be concerned with the white ministers in the South, but their relationship with Negro ministers should also be included. The instances of actions taken by individual ministers and/or groups which you mentioned in your letter are the kind of concrete examples which we are looking for, and which should be very valuable to the proposed article.

The article can be anywhere from 1500 to 2500 words in length according to your personal desire. I hesitate setting a deadline since I know you must be as pressed as anyone else; but if I could have a first draft by or about the last of the first week in December I would appreciate it. Of course if you need a longer period, you may have it.

It was interesting to read about the situation in your own church. I think your experiences have qualified you to write concerning this situation, and I hope "you will weather the storm all right."

I am already looking forward to receiving your article.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Pulaski Heights Christian Church

Colbert S. Cartwright, Pastor

Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

November 13, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Thanks for the invitation to write an article for NEW SOUTH. I will be glad to do what I can to write what you want. However I am the kind of writer who never is very sure he will come out with anything until after he has actually tried writing it. I'll do what I can and see what turns out.

I have several questions which immediately come to mind as I think about a possible article.

The concrete illustrations of what ministers have done around here grow out of the crisis situation. There is a question as to the applicability of these instances to other situations in which there has not been as direct a crisis. I assume that the article would not be so much directed to what ministers can do in a crisis situation, but to day to day--whatever their situation locally might be.

I think it may be likely that the things which have been done by ministers in our crisis situation are applicable to other non-crisis situations. Probably the more real question is whether or not ministers will really do much except in a crisis situation. Most indications are that they will not. I suppose, though, that this article would hope to change this deplorable fact.

Just thinking about the article for a moment and what it might include, there are a number of things I might mention. A local Lutheran (Missouri Synod) minister sent out a three page mimeographed, single-spaced article to all members of his congregation titled "What Saith the Scripture" in which he debunked scriptural claims endorsing segregation, and listing scripture passages which endorse integration. He ended up by giving his conclusions in relation to the school situation which were very positive and helpful.

I suppose that this sort of thing would be good in many situations. (Incidentally, you should have a copy of this, and I will try to get you one soon.)

Helping to keep the facts straight is important. A Presbyterian minister here has been interesting to observe as he at first tended to believe the usual evil rumors about the NAACP, and then began to investigate and get his eyes open. He said last week in a meeting that action should be taken to circulate the true facts about the NAACP--its history and accomplishments, etc. Ministers taking time to be informed is important.

Communications between Negro and white ministers need to be increased in each community. During our crisis (for a short time) a few ministers of both races got together daily for conversation and some real worship and prayer. We ran across some peculiar problems in getting this going. Some white ministers felt the meeting should be held in neither a white nor a colored church! Possibly a deeply religiously oriented type of meeting for prayer between ministers of various races in a community might take hold in some places.

Last spring a Hot Springs minister was successful in having a series of three Sunday ~~evening~~ afternoon discussions--interracial and interfaith--of the problem of race. I doubt if he would be willing to do something like that again under present conditions, which raises the problem of applicability to other situations.

The integrating of ministerial associations is important, and along with it, the integrating of devotional programs on radio and TV. We have been successful to some degree at both of these points.

A team of a Negro and a white minister going into a church meeting of some type to discuss problems of integration, has been done on a small scale in our state. Where it has been done the results were good. Most ministers and church leaders shied away from it.

Possibly public statements by groups of ministers such as that made recently in Atlanta and ones made earlier in Little Rock should be encouraged elsewhere.

This is the sort of thing that occurs to me immediately that might be done in the way of an article. I assume the slant

of the article would not be that of "what Little Rock ministers found they could do," but ~~xxx~~ that of a general article on the subject of what ministers can do, using illustrations from here in Little Rock or elsewhere as they come to mind.

Several questions come to mind. Practical ones as to how long the article should be, and what is the deadline.

Another question in regard to the general slant of the article comes as to whether this article is geared primarily to what white ministers can do, or all ministers of whatever race can do. This is a very complex problem from the point of view of writing an article. My article in the Christian Century of last December on this general area dealt exclusively with what can southern white ministers do. I purposely limited it to that subject. I am not at all sure that I have many suggestions to give to Negro ministers. Is it your thought that this article should be primarily in line with what southern white ministers can do? Of course some of the things they can do is to work with Negro ministers. The problems facing the ministers of the resepctive races are at some points quite different. I think it would be helpful for you to get an article on what the Negro ministers can do. It might be good to have the two articles in the same issue. Undoubtedly Negro ministers need guidance also.

I am in the midst of a situation in my own church which may qualify or disqualify me (according to one's point of view) to write the suggested article. A number of my members are in the process of leaving the church because of what I have done and said. Therefore my suggestions in an article might be regarded as "dangerous" and leading to the dissolution of congregations, because of my own situation. Actually percentage-wise it is a small group leaving, although it is large enough to be significant. We shall weather the storm all right.

Any thoughts or comments you can give me in response to this letter will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Bert

Colbert S. Cartwright

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL

July 10, 1958

Mr. Ernest Q. Campbell
16 Story Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Campbell:

As you have requested, we are sending you post haste the July-August/1957 issue of New South which carried the sermon of Rev. Marion Boggs.

If, at any other time, we may be of service to you, please feel free to call on us.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Executive Director

MF
Enclosure - 2 (New South and receipt)

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
LABORATORY OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

EMERSON HALL
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

July 8, 1958

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

In one of your recent issues of New South, I believe the one for October 1957, you re-printed a sermon preached last July by the Rev. Marion Boggs of the Second Presbyterian Church, Little Rock, Arkansas.

We are in urgent need of a copy of this issue, for a research publication we are getting out. I enclose one dollar, which I trust will be enough to cover the issue and ~~also the~~ cost of sending it by air mail special delivery to us.

Ck RSA 9/10/58

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest Q. Campbell

Ernest Q. Campbell
Visiting Fellow

P. S. On the chance that your reply might arrive here by Saturday, would you please address me at my home address: 16 Story Street, Cambridge 38, Mass.

September 4, 1958

Mr. John Cauthen, Executive Vice-president
South Carolina Textile Manufacturers' Association
1420 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Cauthen:

I am frankly at a loss regarding your letter to me of September 3rd. I do not believe that I have seen the publication to which you refer and certainly I have not distributed it. Is it possible that there has been some crossing of correspondence in your office or that someone is making use of my name and affiliation? I would be interested in finding out.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

SOUTH CAROLINA

Textile Manufacturers' Association

JOHN K. CAUTHEN
EXEC. V.-PRES. — TREAS.
JULIA KENNERLY,
Secretary

EXECUTIVE OFFICES
1420 LADY STREET
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA
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PRESIDENT
P. S. BAILEY
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GREENWOOD

H. B. CARLISLE, JR.
LYMAN

ALAN B. SIBLEY
GREENVILLE

September 3, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

It was most thoughtful of you to send me a copy of the First National Bank of New York monthly letter of August. This was of tremendous interest to me and we have obtained enough copies from the bank to send to our entire membership, plus members of the South Carolina General Assembly in the hope that it will help to bring the organized labor crisis into better focus for the sake of all concerned.

Please let me know if I can be of any service to you in South Carolina.

Sincerely yours,

John K. Cauthen

John K. Cauthen
Executive Vice-President

JKC/k

Leon — make a transcript of this for me —

SOUTH CAROLINA
Textile Manufacturers' Association

JOHN K. CAUTHEN
EXEC. V.-PRES. — TREAS.
JULIA KENNERLY,
Secretary

EXECUTIVE OFFICES
1420 LADY STREET
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA
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EASLEY

F. E. GRIER
GREENWOOD

H. B. CARLISLE, JR.
LYMAN

ALAN B. SIBLEY
GREENVILLE

September 5, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

I regret that there was apparently some mix up on my desk as to a memorandum which indicated that the New York Bank letter had come to us from you. I still am not sure what came along with the little printed memorandum from your office.

I had assumed that the Southern Regional Council was some organization interested in industrial matters. I apologize for having caused this confusion and thank you for setting us right.

Sincerely yours,

John K. Cauthen

John K. Cauthen
Executive Vice-President

February 4, 1959

Dr. Mark M. Caldwell
Pacific Bible College
2219 S. E. 68th Avenue
Portland 15, Oregon

Dear Dr. Caldwell:

Thank you for your letter concerning the books of Mr. King and Mr. Dabbs.

As to your question concerning the Fellowship Center, we know of the Center but are not sufficiently up to date on its progress to give you a complete report. We suggest you write to Dr. McLeod Bryan, Department of Religion, Wake Forest College, Reynolda Station, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. I think he would be able to give you any information concerning the Center.

Enclosed are several pieces of literature concerning the Council, which might be of interest to you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosures
Publication Listings
Congressional Record Reprint - Originals and Aims
December New South

Pacific Bible College
2219 S. E. 68th Avenue
Portland 15, Oregon

Milo L. Chapman, Th. D., President

January 31, 1959

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Gentlemen,

I have been stimulated to write to you by reading King's "Stride Toward Freedom" and Babbs, "The Southern Heritage". These are both wonderful books and should do much to aid integration for which I have been working many years.

You can probably tell me about the Fellowship Center near Asheville, North Carolina. I read about this center before the decision of the Supreme Court was made. I have wondered about progess of the center to erect buildings and carry on a program of education.

The reason for my interest: I was born in Georgia, I now teach religion and social science, and direct the Good Earth Camp 25 miles from Portland. We work for world brotherhood and peace.

Any information that you may be able to give me will be appreciated.

Yours very truly,

Mack M. Caldwell.

Mack M. Caldwell

January 28, 1960

Mr. Garth Cate
Tryon,
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Cate:

Thanks for your welcome letter and enclosure. The reprint of your own speech inspires me to wish that every thoughtful citizen would be compelled to set forth some idea of what he would do if he "were governor." We might then get some really valuable public discussion going.

By now you will have received the copies of New South which you ordered. Marion Wright is a superb handler of ideas and phrases, and many of his speeches have been reprinted and widely distributed. We have no plans, and know of none by others, to reprint this particular speech. We do, however, send New South to a wide selection of newspaper editors and other "opinion leaders" over the South. I must confess, though, that reaching the people en masse who should be exposed to such ideas stumps us all.

I am not the Harold Felming you have heard of, though I may know him through correspondence. If so, he is a writer on business and financial subjects. One of his hobbies, interestingly enough, is collecting the rest of us Harold Flemings throughout the country. At last count, he was in active correspondence with six or seven of us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

In the Isothermal Belt
of Western North Carolina

Telephone ULrick 6-8301

GARTH and LUCILLE CATE
TRAVEL PROMOTION CONSULTANTS
TRYON, NORTH CAROLINA

20 January 1960

Dear Friends at Southern Regional Council

For the enclosed Iron Man please send five copies "New South" for December, account Marion Wright's splendid article.

After 50 years of newspapering I recall few presentations so clearly thought through, so clearly, forcefully expressed.

I'd chip in on having it reprinted. I wonder how it could be distributed effectively so that it would come to the attention of the people for whom its message is intended?

The word 'pendulous,' page 9, col.2., bothered me, but the 4th def. in my big dictionary says 'wavering, vacillating,' which justifies the usage. But is it close enough to the vernacular?

Sincerely,

Garth Cate

Harold Fleming: I wonder if you are the Fleming he heard Charlotte Observed of Standard Oil stock of?
GC

Sent — $1.00 currency posted 1/21/60 GCC

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TRAVEL ORGANIZATIONS INC. MEMBER NATO
Founded 1941

Garth Cate, Chairman, 1944-1954, Committee on Year Around Vacations of the National Association of Travel Organizations.

"Better vacations for more people, and reasonable, sustained profits for all who serve them."

"....IF I WERE GOVERNOR"

Ideas from a talk by GARTH CATE for the ROTARY CLUB Asheville, North Carolina

Published in behalf of the tourist and handicraft interests of the entire Southern Highlands by The Stephens Press of Asheville

THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDER
VOLUME I October 1955 NUMBER 1

Garth Cate of Tryon, North Carolina, and St. Petersburg Beach, Florida, has long been active in travel promotion. In 1941 he took part in the organization of the National Association of Travel Officials, known as NATO, and for 10 years was chairman of its Committee on Year-Around Vacations.

Mr. Cate was formerly director of Scripps-Howard Newspapers' Travel and Trade Department, also served W. R. Grace & Co. (Grace Line) as public relations director and editor of the GRACE LOG. Consultant, 1951-1955, to the Tennessee Valley Authority, he numbers among his present clients The Greenbrier at White Sulphur Springs, the American Travel Association, and, (on a voluntary basis,) the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild.

He contributes to travel trade magazines, and his page, "All Over the Map" is a monthly feature in the NATO magazine, TRAVEL USA. He is a director of the Western North Carolina Highlanders, a member of the Travel Writers Association of New York, a member of The Wilderness Society, The Friends of the Land, and other conservation groups.

A frequent visitor here for many years, he decided in 1953 that he wished to live here. In January 1954 he and Mrs. Cate purchased their present home in Tryon. They feel that the Southern Highlands are destined to become one of the world's most favorably regarded mountain resort areas.

Photograph by Lotte Jacobi, N. Y., 1944

Excerpts from

"... if I Were Governor"

A FEW YEARS AGO at a Florida Motor Court Association convention, Governor Dan McCarty and I were on the same program. I got to wondering what I would tell those motor court operators "if I were governor", and out of that idea came these talks I have since been making in Florida and many other states, but I wish to assure you what I shall offer today is based on my many visits to North Carolina and my observations since coming here to live.

My interest in the Southern Highlands and their handicraft dates back to 1898. One of my teachers at a Wisconsin college had been a member of the faculty at Berea, Kentucky. He told me of the remarkable work being done by that pioneer college and of the fine hand-weaving that had been developed there. My father and I ordered yard goods and for years were walking advertisements for Berea. My interest in the Highlands and their handicrafts has continued. Today I regard the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild as my most interesting client, one whom it is a privilege to serve.

Everyone knows with what care and affection the mountain people regard the living springs from which come the cool, fresh water so indispensable to their lives. Mrs. Cate and I were very much taken by an article: "Water From the Family Spring", by Dr. Charles R. Hursh, which appeared in *The Living Wilderness.** Some of you know Dr. Charles Hursh, no doubt, for he was in charge of watershed studies in the U. S. Forest Service here in Asheville for many years. There may be guidance and a warning for all of us in his words:

"I once owned a wonderful spring. Rather I should say that through some grace I was blessed in having this beautiful living thing of nature on an old farm that was in my erstwhile trust."

Isn't it a pleasant and an inspiring flight of

**The Living Wilderness,* an illustrated quarterly, is published by The Wilderness Society, 2144 "P" St., N.W., Washington, D. C. Members $2, Contributing Member $5, Sustaining Member $10. All receive *The Living Wilderness.*

fancy, to imagine one is flying high, on a clear day, far above the Blue Ridge and the Smokies, and seeing the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and the surrounding country of which the Asheville area is so important a part, as a great "spring" that is indeed our "erstwhile trust"? If I were a minister, instead of a travel promotion man, I'm sure I could preach quite a sermon, pointing out that from this lovely mountain country there flow many streams of refreshment, relaxation and recreation for the millions who come here during their precious vacation time, that these Highlands are indeed a "spring" for the entire Southeast.

Yes, to your Highlands millions come for physical refreshment, for mental relaxation. But from this mountain country there also flow streams of social, cultural and spiritual value.

IF I WERE GOVERNOR, I'd ask the Commissioner of Education to have displayed in every high school and college, the Guild's new map: "A Handicraft Pilgrimage Through the Southern Highlands".* This novel map, which in effect erects many a friendly barrier to slow down the tourist, has just been lithographed here in Asheville, by The Stephens Press. It is having a brisk sale at 10c a copy, so can be regarded as a valuable cost-free source of publicity for the Guild's shops, its members, and the Southern Highlands.

As a travel promotion man, forced to think of the dollar aspects of every project, I'd like to tell you that Canada now values its annual handicraft output at nearly $100,000,000, with sales to visitors from the United States, in 1952, estimated at $9,000,000.

Handicrafts Create Travel

In 1947, I was invited by the Canadian Government to speak at a national tourist promotion conference at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, and I believe you will be quick to apply to your area the truth of an idea discussed there which is usually disregarded. After touching on the usual considerations of employment and income, I said:

> "And finally, and very important, you should realize the lasting value to Canada from an advertising or publicity value, of attractive handicraft. 'Where did that lovely basket come from?' 'Where did you find such an unusual sweater?' 'What lovely curtains, and where did you get that hooked rug?' And when the answer is British Columbia or Banff, or Nova Scotia, or Murray Bay, you have received that third benefit: The questioner may sigh a little and turn to her husband and say, 'John, really, next year, we must spend our vacation in Canada."

I wish I had time to tell you how cleverly Sweden builds tourism on her handicraft. The two really go together like bread and butter or sharp cheese with apple pie. How smart the Santa Fe Railway has been, for instance, to feature the Navajo silversmiths and weavers at work at Grand Canyon.

* * * *

IF I WERE GOVERNOR, I'd try to see that North Carolinians traveled more . . . that thousands had not only seen America first, but had been to Mexico, Canada and abroad. I'd especially focus attention in our schools, on the Bahamas, Jamaica, Bermuda and Hawaii. Why those four lovely spots, the dearly beloved of the travel agent? Because they're all setting new records in tourist travel, and what else have they in common? Just this, no one ever drove a car to a single one of them. Every tourist has to plank down his dollars for a plane or a steamer ticket, before he can get to those islands to spend his vacation money.

No wonder the hotel men of Nassau and Bermuda smile when they hear mainland resorts complain. They don't hunt elephants with popguns, they give their Development Boards real money to spend. Little Nassau spent $890,000 last year on getting tourists, and more this year. That's more than $280 per room per year.

Just think, the Southern Highlands are directly

*This illustrated map, 18 by 23 inches, lithographed in sepia, green and black, with much useful and interesting material concerning the Guild and its 28 "center" members in 5 states, will be sent postpaid for 10c a copy. Ask for quantity prices. Please address Southern Highland Handicraft Guild, 930 Tunnel Road, Asheville, North Carolina. (See the one-color reproduction on pages 6 and 7.)

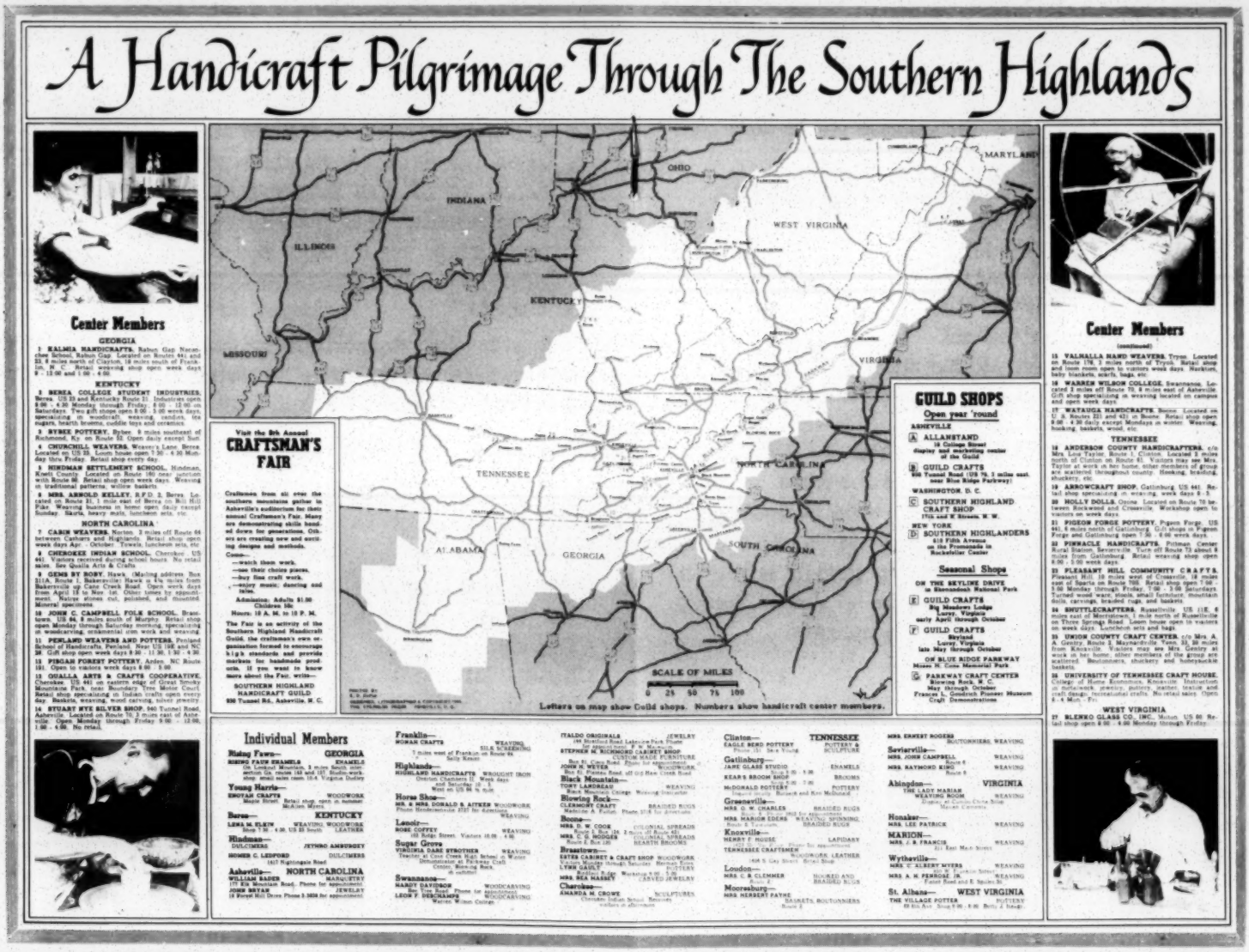
accessible, by road, to 40,000,000 American families who could drive here if they cared to. And our area is accessible by bus, by rail, and by air.

Now, why should the home folks travel more? For one thing, so they can more intelligently evaluate our own tourist attractions, correct our deficiencies, improve our services, learn from the competition. And when this state is a better travel market, as well as a better travel objective, we shall receive much more attention from the professional world of travel.

Rotary, itself, needs little advice in this field of encouraging foreign travel. Rotary, since 1947, has spent the substantial sum of $1,500,000 for 606 Rotary Fellowships awarded students in fifty-seven countries! This Rotary District, I believe, now is underwriting the long journey of a young man, Shem Blackley of Shelby, who is studying in London.

* * * *

Have you seen this fine group of color photographs of tourist attractions, such as Biltmore House, Blowing Rock, Horn in the West, Along the Blue Ridge Parkway? This group picture, nicely framed, is now being placed in every unit, by many motor courts. Just another "friendly barrier" to slow down the tourist. On the next edition, I hope there'll be a shot or two of a tourist taking pictures . . . "the best publicity that money can't buy". This is an-



other Stephens Press product, and one of the smartest tricks of the year, I'd say. It is being distributed by Grover and Spencer Robbins through the Associated Travel Service of Blowing Rock, (N. C.)

IF I WERE GOVERNOR, I'd have the best looking reproduction of a beef sandwich I could get, displayed on a stand, under a glass, or plastic dome, right in my office. Folks would ask, "Why do you have that there?" I'd say, "The way to sell beef and wheat is by the sandwich, not by the carload." Never forgetting that the tourist comes and gets it and he pays cash on the spot.

Sell your cotton in shirts and sheets – not by the bale! What's cotton worth by the bale? Oh, about 33c a pound. But manufactured, well, it depends on the style and the know-how that goes into the product. Here's a pair of blue jeans, and they weigh just a pound and a quarter. Here's a "Deep Country" wraparound skirt, styled and made by the clever Mrs. Phelps out on the Hendersonville Road. This skirt, like the jeans, is made of blue denim, and it too, weighs exactly 1¼ lbs. But Mrs. Cate paid $12.95 for it, while I paid $3 for the jeans. In both cases there was a profit for all who shared in the processing and selling.

Look at the region's great success in selling its hardwood timber as fine furniture — not by the log. This points the way for many an industry.

Make and Sell the Finished Article

Let's process more of the products of our fields, woods and mines, and sell the finished articles at retail to our visitors and to our own people. When you sell a carload of beef, the stockraiser and the cattle buyer profit, but when you sell a sandwich, the butcher, the miller, the baker, the trucker, the chef, the waitress, and the restaurant man all get theirs, too. A lot of eggs were sold to tourists for $3.00 to $4.00 a dozen in Asheville, this morning. Here's a breakfast menu from the George Vanderbilt Hotel to prove it.

That's why that fascinating display of minerals, in its own attractive new building, over on the Blue Ridge Parkway near Spruce Pine, was brought about. Not just to entertain the tourist but to promote industry here. To get industrialists to see that this state's vast mineral resources, its water and its people, its farms and forest resources offer one of America's most advantageous combinations of manufacturing requirements. And as tourism grows, more of the products of our dairy and stock farms, our forests and our factories, as well as handicraft, will be sold at retail right here at home, with our own people sharing all along the line in the satisfaction and profits.

Let's Join Hands

You've seen very old maps of a state or country, with no names on adjoining areas, designated only by the phrase: "terra incognita"– unknown country. Now IF I WERE GOVERNOR, and picked up this state-issued map of Western North Carolina,* and found my state to be a sort of isolated island, then I'd ask that the surrounding blank spaces be marked: "terra incognita". Then, just as Thomas Jefferson sent out Lewis and Clark, I'd send an expedition west. I'd say, "Brave men, find out if the land west of Clingman's Dome is inhabited, and by whom, and report on the prospects for trade with the natives."

And looking into the crystal ball, imagine my surprise, when a few weeks later, I'd learn from my explorers that west of us is another great state: Tennessee, with a governor of its own named Frank Clement, and that *they* claimed the Great Smoky Mountains National Park to be as much theirs as ours. Investigation at Washington revealed that it was, so I called him up and I said, "Governor Clement, now that that big bugaboo of Dixon-Yates has faded away, what do you say that our two states join hands and let's promote the Smokies, together, selling the area and getting the millions of east-west and north-south travelers to spend more time

---

*The point is probably well made, but Mr. Cate is "whipping a dead horse" for that old Fun Map of WNC has long been out of print. We are preparing a new "PLEASURE MAP OF THE CAROLINA-TENNESSEE HIGHLANDS", designed to meet all practical demands. THE STEPHENS PRESS.

in our enchanted region?" "Why, I'm all for it, Governor," he replied, "but why stop there, why can't we get the other states in the Highlands to come in with us? That might even lead to all the Southern states working together to lift our sights in the way we serve the tourist and to make our promotion still more effective."

Regional Cooperation Pays

If Ontario, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan can work together in the Northern Great Lakes Area Council — here's their map, and Rand McNally say its the most comprehensive they've ever published, and if the Evergreen Empire — that's British Columbia, Washington and Oregon — can see and act on its common interest, and if the Lake Erie International Conference of cities in Ontario, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York can plan and promote together, surely North Carolina can play ball with Tennessee and other neighbor states.

IF I WERE GOVERNOR, I would work with Tennessee to slow down the north-south movement of tourists through our states and try to get them to spend more time traveling east and west in this interesting region. If they spend some four days in the area: two here, say, and two in Tennessee, rather than spending just one day driving through one of our states, it would mean millions of dollars extra tourist income for us.

* * * *

How many of you have seen all or any of the studies of the tourist industry in their regions, issued by the Federal Reserve Banks of Richmond, Atlanta, and St. Louis?

WELL, IF I WERE GOVERNOR, I'd ask our state banking and development commissions to collaborate in briefing these three significant and meaty reports, and in seeing that copies reached all our city and county newspapers, every radio and TV station, every teacher and professional worker in the state, every farmer and union labor member. For these studies bring home the fact that our *Tourist Business is Everybody's Business.*

Dollar Collectors and Distributors

In good times and bad, our hotels and motor courts act as dollar collectors and distributors for the community. A larger proportion of their income is from the outside, and a larger proportion of their expenditures is local than is the case with most retail businesses. Yes, most of the tourist dollar is quickly and widely distributed, right here at home.

To help you excuse these rather personal remarks, some of them a little presumptuous, and some embroidered with dollar signs, let me close with a sort of benediction from the Bishop of Olympia, Stephen F. Bayne. Rotary and the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild are among the responsible voices of their communities, and it is of the community that Bishop Bayne says:

> *"A community is more than a place and more than people. It is a commonwealth of duty and responsibility, of purpose and love. It takes the continued vigilance of every member of the community to keep the community alive. There is always a terrible danger in being too comfortable and too secure in our little personal worlds."*

This is the first of a series planned to deal with ideas and information of concern to the Southern Highlands.

To receive future issues, just ask us.

The STEPHENS PRESS

TELEPHONES 2-2726 & 2-2727 46-48 Walnut Street

PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHY

ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

THE GRAY TONES ADDING A TWO-COLOR EFFECT HAVE BEEN SECURED ON ONE PLATE AT A SINGLE PRINTING BY PHOTO-OFFSET LITHOGRAPHY

In the Isothermal Belt
of Western North Carolina

Telephone ULrick 6-8301

GARTH and LUCILLE CATE
TRAVEL PROMOTION CONSULTANTS
TRYON, NORTH CAROLINA

9 February 1960

The Honorable Paul H Douglas
Washington DC

My dear Senator

It seems to me that Negroes and other colored persons are subjected to enough indignities without being given such an unwarranted slap in the face as the enclosed card brings.

The address of the sender, Olan Mills, is not given, but I note the postal permit was given in Chattanooga.

What a very unfriendly, cruel gesture to send an indiscriminate mailing to P.O. Box Holders and then have the colored mother...thinking of having her very pretty baby's picture taken..find that the offer is for WHITE ONLY.

Noticing this, I enquired at the Tryon Post Office and learn that there are probably over 50 colored box holders here who received this card. (The boxes aren't designated, of course, and the figure was a clerk's estimate.)

I wish you would ask Summerfield if there isn't some regulation designed to prevent such an insulting procedure.

Mrs Cate joins in every good wish and our hope that you will not take on too much work for you face great problems and emergencies in the months and years ahead.

Sincerely,

Garth Cate

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TRAVEL ORGANIZATIONS, INC. MEMBER NATO
Founded 1941

Garth Cate, Chairman, 1944-1954, Committee on Year Around Vacations of the National Association of Travel Organizations.

"Better vacations for more people, and reasonable, sustained profits for all who serve them."

[illegible] the Isothermal Belt
of Western North Carolina

Telephone ULrick 6-~~8301~~ 6521

GARTH and LUCILLE CATE
TRAVEL PROMOTION CONSULTANTS
TRYON, NORTH CAROLINA

10 February 1960

Dear Mr Fleming

This Olan Mills promotion may be old stuff to you, But I'm sending a copy of the card and my letter to Douglas anyway.

Don't know what can be done about such offensive 'business' procedures but every one adds to the problem.

* * * *

Thanks for your good letter in answer to my query regarding the Flemings. My first wife, who died in Arizona 50 years ago was a Fleming. I've never known one who wasn't a good citizen and and interesting person.

Here's another dollar, please send 5 more of the issue of NEW SOUTH with the lead article on Personal Responsibility.

done by MF

Sincerely,

Garth Cate

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TRAVEL ORGANIZATIONS INC. MEMBER NATO
Founded 1941

Garth Cate, Chairman, 1944-1954, Committee on Year Around Vacations of the National Association of Travel Organizations.

"Better vacations for more people, and reasonable, sustained profits for all who serve them."

February 22, 1960

Mr. Garth Cate
Travel Promotion Consultant
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Cate:

Thanks for your further letter and for the information on the Olan Mills promotion. This is, indeed, a needlessly offensive piece of advertising; I am pessimistic, however, about the availability of any remedy. If Senator Douglas finds anything encouraging, I'll be greatly obliged if you will let me know.

Since our mailing department is prompter than I am, you should have received the additional copies of New South before now.

New South isn't sent routinely to Congressmen and Senators. We do send it and other materials to those who indicate interest, or who we feel would find the material helpful.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

2/17/60

JC
BC

Please send 5 copies of the New South issue which carries the lead article on "PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY" by M. A. Wright to:

Mr. Garth Cate
Travel Promotion Consultant
Tryon, North Carolina

(label attached)

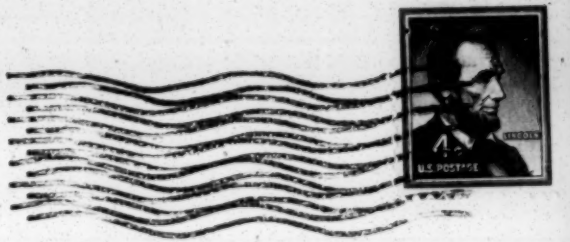
Thanx - M.F.

received
JC

GARTH AND LUCILLE CATE 2/17/1960
TRAVEL PROMOTION CONSULTANTS
BRAEWICK ROAD TRYON, NORTH CAROLINA

Do the US Senators & Congressmen in the "New South" area receive the magazine regularly or occasionally?

GC



Over

Harold C Fleming Esq.

Southern Regional Council

63 Auburn Avenue N E

Atlanta 3

Georgia

olan mills
INCORPORATED
the nation's studio

"A REGULAR $5.00 PORTRAIT FOR ONLY 50¢"

Present this card with **50¢** at the location and date shown on front of the card and receive one of our beautiful 5 x 7 Coronet Portraits in the New Tweed Lustre Finish. This Portrait may be of any one person you choose (adult or child). Our Cameraman will make a number of proofs for your selection. Groups up to three, $1.00 per person extra. (Cannot be used in conjunction with other Olan Mills Advertising Offer). WHITE ONLY.

Please come in as early as possible during Studio Hours.

Advertising offers limited two to a family, one to a subject.

PROFESSIONAL PHOTOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, INC.

M55

FIRST CLASS MAIL

FIRST CLASS MAIL
U. S. POSTAGE
3c PAID
PERMIT No. 159
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Mon. Feb. 8

over

Patron
City Box Holder
Tryon, N. C.

Tryon, N. C.
Tryon Motel
Tues. Feb. 16
12 Noon to 7 PM

February 29, 1960

Miss Arline Cary
Downs,
Illinois

Dear Miss Cary:

The basic facts about the Southern Regional Council are contained in the enclosed reprint from the Congressional Record. I am also enclosing a new promotion piece which illustrates some of the Council's work as interpreted through the press.

If you need additional information, feel free to request it.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2.

Feb. 24, 1960
Downs, Ill.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming,

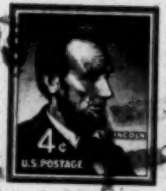
I am a student at Illinois Wesleyan University and am doing a research project on groups which are working for lessening tensions between the majority group and minority groups.

I should like for you to send to me information about the work of your group. I should, also, appreciate your informing me of resource material available on the Southern Regional Council. Thank you.

Yours truly,
Arline Cary
Downs, Ill.

Arline Cary
Downs, Ill.

DOWNS
FEB
26
A.M.
1960
ILL.



Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

April 21, 1960

Mr. Allan Carter
112 California Avenue
Providence 5, Rhode Island

Dear Mr. Carter:

I was very happy to have your letter of April 8 and am sorry that I was delayed in replying.

The comments on the Southern Negro's status that you have quoted are familiar ways of evading moral responsibility for, and practical involvement in, the civil rights effort. You are quite right to be skeptical of such comfortable evasions.

These problems, wherever they exist, are indeed American problems. What happens in the South affects not only our international relations but also domestic affairs throughout the United States. For example, the Congressman and Senators elected in the South play a disproportionately large part in the passage of national legislation. The Southerners, white and Negro, who move in such large numbers to Northern and Western cities take with them the educational and cultural handicaps they acquire in the South. The economy and manpower of the United States -- so important to our competition with Soviet Russia for world leadership -- are heavily conditioned by the South's performance.

The best answer to the myth of the contented Negro is the sit-in protest itself; people happy

with the status quo simply don't act that way. And no one who honestly examines this development can attribute it to "Northern agitators."

These are very brief and incomplete answers to your questions. Since I can't really do justice to them in a letter, I am sending you separately a few publications which deal with such questions in more detail.

Your concern and commitment in this field are qualities to be proud of, and I'm sure you won't let any of your critics persuade you otherwise. It is heartening to know that you, and others like you, are determined to play your part in promoting equal opportunity for all Americans.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

112 California ave.
Providence 5, R.I.
April 8, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlantic, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

I read with interst your article in the"Sunday Times" and I have some questions I'd like a "liberal"to answer.

I have heard many contrasting comments about the southern Negro's statis and I am curious as to which to beleive. For example:I have heard "that the Negro is satisfied with the way conditions exist and that all this noise for integration is from northern agitators". This seems to me to be very unlikely. Your opinion, please! "That the Negro in the south can afford a shiny Cady but his home is a sack". "That the way of life is so different from mine. The southerner needs the Negro kept in his low statis." There are other questions but I don't want to overwhelm you at this time.

A word about myself. I am 19, an extension student at Brown U., (evening courses 2 nights a week). I have joined 50 other students and have been picketing the chain stores in Providence that segregate in their southern branchs. This action has been the source of many of my questions. I have never been in the south. Thus many passerbys exclaim I am not qualified to comment on "their" problem. I beleive in human dignity and the rights of people irregardless of the problems. The methods of handling such problems are not easy nor am I qualified to say how the problems should be solved. I do know that segregation is not a southern problem but an American one. It cann't be solved by the northerner refering to it as divorced from his activities.

The actions I perform in Rhode Island reflect upon you in Georgia. The foreign visitor does not see America as north/south, he views the United States as just that.

The press reports I have read do not I'm sure give a true picture of the segregation problems. Thus in part I am asking for your opinion.

I hope our correspondance will prove to be as enlightening as your article.

Sincerely Yours,
Allan Carter
Allan Carter

Camp Roosevelt

The Birthplace of the Civilian Conservation Corps

MASSANUTTEN MOUNTAIN
EDINBURG, VIRGINIA

26 May 60

HF
MET
JC

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Greetings from the George Washington National Forest.

I write to pass on to you data regarding 1) the National Institute of Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., deceased 2) An extension of the spirit of monasticism. They are enclosed.

The N I P A lived in the backwash of World War One. Like the Civilian Conservation Corps it lost its life in World War Two. Both programs were the finest fruit our democratic way of life has ever produced.

The student protest movement (sit-ins in the South) will probably prove to be of comparable value to our democratic way of life. I rejoice in them.

Youth...in -school or out-of-school...who may be interested in our work here are invited to communicate with us. We need resources with which to proceed. We have acute immediate financial needs in order to survive.

It is nice to write to you. Best wishes. Happy Days.

Sincerely

Clarence C Case

PS My mail now comes to me at Waterlick, Va.

Massanutten Mountain

is in the State of Virginia, in the George Washington National Forest, about three hours driving time from the National Capital, west and just a little south. An island mountain, it is surrounded by the North and South branches of the Shenandoah River. To the west, across the valley, lie the Alleghany mountains. To the east, across the valley, lie the Blue Ridge Mountains, the Shenandoah National Park and the Skyline Drive. Inquire at Front Royal, Luray, New Market, or in other adjacent communities for the site of the First CCC camp (Camp Roosevelt) the home of the Sky Pilot of Massanutten Mountain.

Today Camp Roosevelt is merely an abandoned CCC camp site but, with your help and the help of a multitude of others, it will become a national shrine, a shrine for all the world to visit, where "there is nothing to fear except fear itself."

Citizens for Conservation, Inc., a nonprofit organization, is dedicated to the

Conservation of human resources

Conservation of natural resources

Community beautification

We Aim to

Develop and maintain local, state, national and international programs and projects for the advancement of the ideals and principles of conservation of human and natural resources.

Promote projects of community betterment and to develop public understanding of and need for wise use of resources.

Engage in research to further the above objectives.

Stimulate similar programs and projects by local communities and other organizations.

Receive and accept by gift money, property and other things of value, to hold and disburse this money and property in a manner consistent with the purposes of this organization.

Engage in other activities related to and not inconsistent with the objectives set forth above.

We Welcome into our Membership all who will dedicate themselves to the objectives of the organization.

Annual dues for members	$ 3.00
Supporting members	5.00
Sustaining members	10.00
Contributing members	25.00
Life membership	100.00
Corporate membership	250.00 or more
Patron	500.00 or more

Address checks or money orders to Citizens for Conservation, Inc., and mail to Secretary, Citizens for Conservation, Inc., P. O. Box 218, Edinburg, Virginia.

Contributions are invited for the proposed National Shrine on Massanutten Mountain. Address checks or money orders to Clarence C. Case and mail to P. O. Box 218, Edinburg, Virginia.

The Chapel
at The Last Stand
Waterlick, Virginia

7 April 60

An Extension of the Spirit of Monasticism at The Chapel at The Last Stand

This program stems from the Civilian Conservation Corps (1933-1942). Every CCC camp...potentially...was a wilderness monastery. The undersigned seems to be the only one to express this view. WHY?

From city streets...rural areas...from the mines...the mountains...from share-cropper cabins, etc.....from unemployment...homelessness...helplessness...hopelessness...from starvation...degeneration...despair...suicide....we who were called bums...hobos...hoodlums ...were lifted into the bosom of Mother Earth. There our lives were washed! Our hurts and bruises healed! Friendless...we became friendly! Unskilled...we were trained and skilled in many ways! Hopeless...we acquired hope...sparks of ambition! There...we achieved purpose for life...purpose for good citizenship! When Pearl Harbor came...and World War II... we had wonderful purpose for fighting! WE WERE THE BEST PREPARED FIGHTING MEN THAT THIS COUNTRY HAS EVER PRODUCED! All around the world...in World War II and since...we have wonderful fighting record! Today...many of approximately 3,000,000 alumni of the Civilian Conservation Corps lie with the honored dead in military and civilian cemeteries at home and overseas. Many others are war veterans in their thirties...forties...fifties. We are married with children. We live in every community. We are in all walks of life...UNKNOWN! WE ARE AMONG AMERICA'S FINEST CITIZENS!

The human resources conserved...the natural resources conserved by the Civilian Conservation Corps SIMPLY STAGGER THE IMAGINATION! Each year...they are more beautiful... more valuable...more useful! They are enjoyed by hundreds of millions of people who do not associate these wonderful national treasures with the youth who made them possible!

In post World War II years...the American People have been content to ignore...be indifferent to...neglect...the contributions of CCC youth to humanity and posterity that are more wonderful than any of the Ancient Wonders of the World!

...the American People have been content to honor those who came into our pioneer wilderness and...out of it...built a great civilization. It is a great civilization! THE TRAGEDY IS...IN THE PROCESS OF BUILDING THIS CIVILIZATION

They cut all the trees down!
They took the fur from animals backs!
They took the copper, iron, coal from the mines!
They took the fish from lakes and rivers!
They took the fertility from the soil!
Then...they went off and left the stinking, stupid mess!
"Posterity! WHAT DID POSTERITY EVER DO FOR ME?"

For CCC youth who transformed our nation's face...who demonstrated for all the world to note how youth in teens and twenties...even tho humanity uprooted, hopeless...can enormously and wonderfully enrich a whole way of life...NO RECOGNITION...NO HONOR...

NO THANKS! FORGET THEM!

In every community and in every country...restless, dissatisfied, frustrated, increasingly hostile, anti-social youth fast multiply! Juvenile delinquents...beatniks... teddy boys...half-strong...hooligans, etc., merely reflect the dissatisfaction of youth with STUPID ADULT VALUES!

Communities...small and large...starve and die for lack of youth participation!

The most controversial problems on the planet have to do with swollen populations and denuded natural resources...the imperative necessity for bringing them into balance! Yet... walk into college and university campuses...talk with students! They continue to make their vocational choices on the basis of a society that has disappeared or is fast disappearing! Rare is the student that makes vocational selection on the basis of meeting our acute social needs in the public interest.

We live in a world that races to the North Pole...to the South Pole...to the Moon! We climb the highest mountains...probe ocean depths...search with geiger counters. We split the atom! We transform salty oceans into fresh water! We fight over oil! WE ARE INUNDATED BY LUXURY GOODS...BY COLOSSAL PROGRAMS THAT WASTE AND DESTROY GOD'S HUMAN AND NATURAL RESOURCES! Two-thirds of the Earth's people starve! WHERE LIES HOPE?

You can sit in any parish church for an entire ecclesiastical year and not hear one sermon on the conservation of God's natural resources. There are exceptions. You can talk with graduates of parochial and diocesan schools, with graduates of church-related colleges and universities, without sensing unusual intelligence or concern to conserve God's natural resources! OUR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS STRAIN TO TRAIN YOUTH MINDS AND HANDS TO EXPLOIT GOD'S NATURAL RESOURCES! It is a most unusual parish minister who expresses concern or demonstrates leadership to conserve a community's resources! Existing religious communities seem not interested to conserve God's natural resources outside of their enclosures!

The undersigned believes that Hope DOES NOT LIE THRU EXISTING CHURCHES NOR EXISTING RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES. IT DOES NOT LIE WITH A PARTICULAR RELIGION! HOPE LIES WITH A PROGRAM THRU WHICH ALL WHO BELIEVE IN A GOD-CENTERED SOCIETY CAN COOPERATE TO CONSERVE GOD'S HUMAN AND NATURAL RESOURCES!

The undersigned believes that WE WHO WERE CALLED BUMS, HOBOS, HOODLUMS...WHO...IN THE PROCESS OF TRANSFORMING OUR ENVIRONMENTS...TRANSFORMED OURSELVES...AND...TODAY...ARE AMONG AMERICA'S FINEST CITIZENS! THE ALUMNI OF THE CCC CAMPS!

We are the hope of humanity and posterity!

God came to us who were in the CCC...told us that HE LOVED US! THRU A GREAT PRESIDENT ...THRU THE GREAT AMERICAN PEOPLE...HE LIFTED US FROM UNEMPLOYMENT...STARVATION...HOMELESSNESS...HELPLESSNESS...HOPELESSNESS...FROM DEGENERATION...DESPAIR...SUICIDE...INTO THE BOSOM OF MOTHER EARTH...FOR NEW AND BETTER LIFE...BECAUSE HE HAD PURPOSE FOR US!

God told us that we were to be trustees of His human and natural resources...that we are ever to be strong and healthy...that we are to help others as we were helped...that...with youth in teens and twenties...and other conservation-minded people...everywhere...always... we should organize and ensure that God's eternal concern to help distressed people...to help bleeding, mutilated Mother Earth...lives for ever! that...in every generation...we are to put new life into the timeless CCC objectives 1) conservation of human resources 2) conservation of natural resources 3) community beautification! These we have sought to achieve thru Citizens for Conservation, Inc. THESE WE SEEK TO ACCOMPLISH THRU

THE CHAPEL
AT THE LAST STAND
WATERLICK, VIRGINIA

In the 1950s...as in the 1930s...existing voluntary organizations are inadequate. States and local communities do nothing to help youth in teens and twenties...to help starving and dying communities...to conserve God's natural resources! On Capitol Hill...and among presidential aspirants in this presidential election year...one listens in vain for talk about helping youth, etc. The HOPE lies at this birthplace of the greatest youth program...the greatest conservation program...in the history of mankind...the Civilian Conservation Corps!

Our wilderness monastery...centered in our Chapel...appears as an extension of the Spirit of Monasticism. Here...and everywhere on Earth...down thru the Ages...we will give thanks to God for Help when we needed help...stretch every nerve...invigorate mind and muscle...to be faithful to God's commission. Young men interested in membership in our community are invited to write to me. The Chapel at The Last Stand is a few feet south of Virginia State Highway 55...midway between Front Royal and Strasburg...on the Fort Valley Road. All will be welcome. We have very great need for immediate and sustaining help!

Clarence C. Case
Pastor

The Chapel
at The Last Stand
Waterlick, Virginia

21 March 60

Memorandum re:
The National Institute of Public Affairs, Washington, D.C.

1960 is the twenty-fifth anniversary of the National Institute of Public Affairs, deceased. Many people will wonder why this Silver Anniversary will be celebrated. They will say, "The N I P A is dead! Forget about it! Why be concerned?" I'm suggesting here that the general public conduct an autopsy on this corpse. Why did the N I P A die? Why was it born? What was the significance of that program during its life and since? Why does the Spirit of a program...so wonderfully conceived...killed and quickly buried...many years after...appear to live again?

In pioneer America institutions of higher learning were slow to emerge. They were few in number...usually isolated...geographically and culturally...had difficult time to survive and grow. Many youth found it desirable and/or necessary to study in the Older Countries. Youth who did attend American institutions...because of the traditions in the home...the church...social and political life...were IMPRESSED by the fact that YOUTH WERE TO BE SEEN AND NOT HEARD! However...New World youth were increasingly restless, dissatisfied, complaining. They believed that the freedom for which their fathers crossed the dark, treacherous ocean...for which their fathers fought in the War for Independence...about which youth heard when their native land needed their allegiance in war, etc., should be reflected in their experience in educational institutions. They wished...because they felt able...to participate in the erection of a great country in the New World.

World War I (1917-1918) sent overseas hundreds of thousands of American youth. They came into association with different cultures, political and social systems. They were stimulated to think about national ideals of war and peace. Victorious...they came back to homeland...a homeland not concerned to invigorate the ideals, the leadership of their Commander-in-Chief, President Woodrow Wilson...not concerned to lead in post-war reconstruction when the World cried out for Wilsonian leadership...a homeland concerned to "return to normalcy" (seeking the Almighty Dollar) to "Keep Cool with Coolidge" to achieve "Two chickens in every pot...two cars in every garage". Forgetting the world situation...obsessed with getting rich quick by playing the New York Stock Market...the American People accelerated on their way to something...no one knew what. The socially-intelligent who were concerned...in a democracy...to participate in the determination of public policies were quickly silenced or brushed off. This was true especially where dissatisfied youth were concerned...in-school or out-of-school. TWO THINGS...IN THE BACKWASH OF WORLD WAR I...are noteworthy 1) The undying determination of the World War I victorious Allies to kill the Bolshevik Resolution 2) The thorogoing, unending effort of adult society in the New World to BRING AND KEEP YOUTH UNDER CONTROL!

But college and university youth continued to think about...aspire to...more freedom...not less! Increasingly...they voiced concern to participate in campus life...to participate in community, state, national, international life...to help determine the nature of the social patterns in which they lived. Generally speaking...this youth initiative encountered indifference...here and there...determined opposition. IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT SOMETIMES YOUTH LEADERS RECEIVED SUPPORT FROM WELL-PLACED ADULTS WHO BELIEVED THAT OUR DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND WAY OF LIFE WOULD BE STRENGTHENED AND ENRICHED...NOT THREATENED...BY YOUTH PARTICIPATION.

In 1926...on the Princeton University campus...after several efforts to organize themselves nationally had resulted in failure...representatives from many college and university student councils met and organized as the National Student Federation...THIS WAS A MOST IMPORTANT EVENT! IT WAS THE FIRST TIME IN THE LONG HISTORY OF MANKIND THAT STUDENTS SUCCEEDED IN ORGANIZING THEMSELVES NATIONALLY! NOW...students had a channel thru which to express themselves...thru which to accomplish collectively! We who helped to create the National Student Federation...and many others...were thrilled! Those who feared and/or opposed youth participation in a democratic society went into a huddle!

One of the major concerns of college and university students of that generation... before and since...was: How to relate the abundance of high caliber, educated, trained youth on college and university campuses who wished careers in public life to the colossal need of governments...local, state, federal, international...for high caliber public servants! In those Harding-Coolidge-Hoover days...in the backwash of World War I... it seemed as tho our democratic form of government and way of life would perish simply from the lack of competent personnel to legislate, administer, adjudicate!

In general...the American people were indifferent to our student concerns and efforts. Many ridiculed. However...in October, 1929...the New York Stock Market crashed...the American economy skidded and tobogganed at accelerating pace. No one knew when or where it would hit bottom! Already disintegrated spiritually..already disintegrated politically...it was obvious that western civilization was now disintegrated economically and psychologically! Distress and misery were everywhere...fear flooded the land! Countless people had lost or were losing faith in the American form of government, way of life! Foreign ideologies...dictatorships became attractive. Under these circumstances...MORE PEOPLE BECAME CONCERNED ABOUT OUR STUDENT CONCERNS...HOW TO RELATE HIGH CALIBER YOUTH ON COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES TO CAREERS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE!

In December, 1933...the National Student Federation held its annual meetings in the National Capital. An assistant Secretary of Commerce met with the group...addressed them: The President (Franklin D. Roosevelt had been inaugurated for the first time in March, 1933) has authorized me to tell you that he has watched with interest thru the years your concerns to relate high caliber youth on college and university campuses to careers in public life. He suggests that you crystallize your ideas...make them practical...where possible...he will cooperate and help!

THIS IS WHAT WAS NEEDED...official recognition! financial help! (from the Rust Foundation of Pittsburg, Pa.) On February 1, 1935...in the Rust Building...15th and K Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C., the National Institute of Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., opened its doors. The Hon. Frederick Davenport, a professor of political science at Hamilton College, New York, and a Republican member of the U.S. House of Representatives from that State, was the chairman of a three-member Board of Trustees. (The others; Mr. Eugene Meyer and a former Governor of Colorado, William E. Sweet). The Executive secretary, Mr. Otis T. Wingo, Jr., was a member of the class of '26 of Princeton University and the son of a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Arkansas.

Forty youth from American colleges and universities...mostly young men...were brought...on scholarships...to the National Capital and...under the auspices of the National Institute of Public Affairs...with the cooperation of the U.S. Government... were interned in government as graduate medics are interned in hospitals. The undersigned was interned in the U.S. Office of Education with the Committee on Youth Problems. It was a very interesting, noteworthy experience! It was natural that I seek and receive appointment as Civilian Conservation Corps Camp Educational Director in the North Woods of my native Michigan.

During the New Deal years...and during the pre-World War II period...the National Institute lived and grew. There was considerable interest and curiosity about the nature and purpose of such a program in the American scene. Suddenly the nation was plunged... after Pearl Harbor...into World War II and the nation tightened its belt...stretched every muscle...lost its perspective about relating high caliber youth to careers in public life. Under these circumstances...the N I P A was killed and quickly and silently BURIED. The program was "in part" absorbed by the U.S. Civil Service Commission. In post World War II America...there has been nothing so dead as the National Institute of Public Affairs! THIS IS INTERESTING! TRAGIC! WHY?

Obviously...the N I P A did not die because there was no longer need in government... local...state...national...international.....civil service and elective.....for high caliber youth from colleges and universities. Obviously...the N I P A did not die because students were no longer interested in public service in the public interest! Obviously...communities, small and large...in every country...were starving and dying for lack of youth participation! Obviously...in every community and in every country... restless...dissatisfied...frustrated...increasingly hostile...anti-social youth were fast multiplying! Juvenile delinquents...beatniks...teddy boys...half-strong... hooligans...etc., clearly indicate that countless youth have no sense of belonging... no sense of participation in community, state, nation...no sense of helping to determine the nature of the social patterns in which they live!

WHY DID THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS DIE?

* * *

In 1960...long after the National Institute of Public Affairs was killed and buried... twenty-five years after its birth!..at the birthplace of the greatest youth program in the history of mankind...the Civilian Conservation Corps...the Spirit of the N I P A re-appears! With the Spirit of the CCC...(over whose death...also...a blanket of silence was carefully placed)...the Spirit of the N I P A will rise again and find expression in our New World!

* * *

Welcome to the Chapel at The Last Stand, Waterlick, Virginia (near Virginia State Hiway 55 between Front Royal and Strasburg on the Fort Valley Road). All will be welcome here. Especially...we hope that the spiritual fathers and descendents of the National Student Federation and the National Institute of Public Affairs will come. We hope that N I P A alumni will come. We hope that contemporary youth...and others...in every era who are interested in public service will come. Let us together put new life into the timeless N I P A objectives and lead the way to a New World!

* * *

Never forget...we who were in the CCC camps...who were called bums, hoboes, hoodlums...who were unemployed, homeless, helpless, hopeless...who were lifted from gutters, alleys, boxcars, flop-houses, hobo jungles...from starvation, degeneration, despair, suicide...into the bosom of Mother Earth...today are among America's finest citizens! AND...WE ARE GRATEFUL TO A GREAT GOD...A GREAT PRESIDENT...THE GREAT AMERICAN PEOPLE...FOR HELPING US WHEN WE NEEDED HELP! WE SHALL NEVER FORGET OUR YOUTH WHEN WE DID NOT HAVE EVEN A DIME IN OUR POCKETS...WHEN WE COULD NOT HELP OURSELVES... WHEN GOD...THRU GOVERNMENT...HELPED US!

Today's youth are well-born...have physical and mental health...have educated intelligence...technical competence...They have well-formulated ideas and the ability to successfully communicate them! They have more money in their own pockets over which they have entire control than any other generation of youth ever thought of having! They have everything with which to help themselves except THE WILL TO HELP THEMSELVES! Wake up! O youth! Forget the unimportant! Concern yourselves with the IMPORTANT! Come here...to this birthplace of the greatest youth program in the history of mankind! Let us achieve together!

As I write...it is the first official day of Spring...wonderful, inspiring Spring! Already the crocus are here...the friendly voices of returning birds. When the blanket of heavy snow vanishes...as the creeks, rivulets, rivers swell with rushing water... 'twill be cherry blossom time with beautous dogwood, bursting buds in our George Washington National Forest.

When the dark and cloudy night surrenders to faint rays of dawn...and the sun...in all its splendor...floods the horizon with light, warmth, energy, food and plenty...we at The Chapel of the Last Stand pause to remember 1) when they called us bums, hoboes, hoodlums 2) how sunrise came to American youth...to youth all over the world...and we give thanks! Come...let us tell you The Story of the CCC! Let us tell you the Story of the National Institute of Public Affairs!

Before God...let us pledge to youth everywhere...always...that youth in teens and twenties shall henceforth and forever...have opportunity to be as significant to community, nation, world...in their youth...as were CCC youth...as were the youth of the National Institute of Public Affairs.

Clarence C. Case
Pastor

P.S. Needed...financial help NOW!
Will those who receive this data...and others...please contribute five dollars...OR MORE... send checks or money orders to
Citizens for Conservation, Inc.,
St. Davids Church, Virginia

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD

Regional Office: Sewanee, Tennessee, Lyric 8-5668

BEN F. CAMERON, JR.
Regional Director

RECEIVED
MAR 2 1961

March 1, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for going over with me the draft of my report to the College Board's Trustees. Since I talked with you another draft has been prepared which differs in some details, but not in any essential content, from the one I discussed with you. Two copies of the latest draft are enclosed.

I have omitted from the report itself mention of your agreement and concurrence. It would be very helpful, however, if I could report to the Trustees when they meet on March 15 and 16, something like the following, which is in line with the wording we discussed:

"This matter has been discussed with, and this report read by, Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, who agrees with the analysis of the situation, and concurs with the recommendations which are made."

As I told you, I am making the same request of President Wright of Fisk University and President Clement of Atlanta University, and am submitting the report to Mr. Reed Sarratt to see if it will be feasible for me to use his name at all.

It will be necessary for us to reproduce a final version of this report for distribution to the Trustees by Monday, March 6. I shall try to reach you by telephone on Friday, March 3, to see if additional changes might be necessary for you to agree to the statement which I suggest. If I am unsuccessful in reaching you, I shall appreciate your letting me know

next week if you will agree to the use of your name in connection with the report as it is written.

Thank you again for your valuable assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Ben F. Cameron, Jr.

BFCJr:ag
Enc.

RACIAL SEGREGATION IN COLLEGE BOARD TESTING CENTERS

Report from the Southern Regional Office
College Entrance Examination Board
March 1, 1961

INTRODUCTION

As was requested by the Trustees in their December meeting, studies of the conditions under which Negroes have been tested for the College Board have been undertaken by Educational Testing Service and by the Board's Southern Regional Office. Neither of these studies may be regarded as being complete, but there are sufficient data and conclusions to warrant the submission of reports at this time.

Since the ETS study has to do with all testing programs administered by them, since it seems desirable to present reactions and recommendations which go beyond the factual data compiled by ETS, and since the Board's Southern Regional Office will and should be involved in the implementation of any active policy adopted, this report is submitted separately from, and in addition to, the ETS report.

There is also some difference in coverage; the ETS study encompasses seventeen states and the District of Columbia. Four of these states (Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia) and the District of Columbia are not in the Southern Region, and are not covered in this report; it is assumed that almost all College Board testing centers in these states are desegregated. Two of the thirteen states within the region, Kentucky and Oklahoma, have virtually discontinued the practice of designating Negro high schools, so that it is not possible to obtain meaningful data regarding these states. Again it is assumed that Board tests are given primarily in desegregated centers. This report, therefore, addresses itself to the other eleven states.

Conclusions, generalizations, and recommendations here presented are my own. These are based on information obtained from ETS, on interviews and conversations, and on my knowledge and impressions of the situations existing in various parts of the South.

PRESENT TESTING POLICIES

At the outset, it should be clearly stated that the policy under which ETS has been administering Board tests has been consistently equitable, and is primarily responsible for the fact that College Board testing centers in all parts of the South are well ahead of either community attitudes or judicial decrees in fostering the progress of desegregation. The Trustees might choose to have the process of establishment of testing centers continue on the present basis with sure knowledge that there would be less and less segregation in

these centers. The policy recommended in this report is, however, somewhat more active in its approach to the problem.

In the operation of the College Board's testing programs, ETS's primary purpose in the establishment of its centers is to serve the needs of the candidates as efficiently and conveniently as possible. The application which the candidate files with ETS does not indicate his race, and the choice of a center is the candidate's unless his application is received after the center which he chooses has been filled to capacity, in which case it is necessary for ETS to reassign the candidate to the closest center at which there is room.

Since ETS has neither knowledge of a candidate's race nor control over his choice of a center, every supervisor is instructed to be prepared to make the necessary arrangements for testing under competent supervision and standard testing conditions every properly registered candidate who reports to the center. If a supervisor cannot act under these conditions, his school administeration is asked for a ruling. If this ruling is adverse, the center is removed to the nearest location where the conditions can be met. This change is usually from a public secondary school to a college or an independent school.

Under the instructions issued by ETS, supervisors in southern centers test Negro candidates under one of four sets of conditions. They may be seated ~~be seated~~ and tested with all other candidates (the only arrangement which fully satisfies the definition of "desegregated" used in this report), or they may be tested in the same room with other candidates, but in a separate block of seats. In some centers Negroes are tested in the same building, but in a separate room. The fourth arrangement has been to transport Negro candidates to another building, typically a Negro high school, an armory, or a state or federal office building. Whenever Negro candidates are tested in a separate room or a separate building, the center's supervisor is responsible for arranging for a stand-by proctor to test the candidates in the separate location.

In some areas separate centers have been set up in Negro and white schools in the same town or city; these are listed separately in the Bulletin of Information, but any candidate is still free to select any center. This matter is discussed later in this report in connection with experience in Georgia.

In some instances Negro candidates have complained about their treatment at testing centers. In every such case ETS has investigated; when it has found that Negro facilities have been inferior, the Negro candidates have been offered special administrations. When facilities for Negroes have been found to be satisfactory, it has been explained to Negroes who have complained that the tests could be administered only under segregated conditions. In all instances thus far the Negro candidates have accepted this

explanation, or at least have not reacted to it.

In at least one case the investigation-negotiation process has lead to the complete desegregation of a center at which Negro candidates had been tested in a separate building.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

Most of the factual data which we have relative to school desegregation, white and Negro candidates tested, and the location of College Board testing centers are summarized in Table I. Although candidates cannot be identified by race, their secondary schools can be identified in most cases.

It is obvious from the table that there has been very little actual school desegregation in the eleven states listed (for purposes of comparison, Kentucky has this year 16,329 Negroes in school with whites, representing 38.9% of the Negro school population, while Oklahoma has 9,822, 24.0% of the population), and that there are relatively few Negro candidates for College Board examinations in these states.

The eleven states may be divided roughly into three groups, though there are sometimes marked differences between different parts of a single state. North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas and Texas may be considered to be moving in a slow but relatively orderly fashion in the direction of integration of the public schools. Virginia, Florida, and Louisiana are moving somewhat more reluctantly. South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi are the die-hard states. In the worst of these, Mississippi, there has been no litigation directed toward the desegregation of public institutions at any level; a Roman Catholic seminary is the only desegregated institution of any type in the state.

As far as is known, all College Board testing centers in Arkansas and Tennessee are desegregated, and have been for some time. Substantially all centers in North Carolina and Texas are known to be desegregated, and there were no testing centers in Negro institutions in either of these states until the five state colleges for Negroes in North Carolina this year requested and were granted centers to allow their candidates a choice between a center in a white institution and one in a Negro institution. Presumably these centers will be desegregated also, though most of their candidates will probably be Negroes.

There is a great deal of variation within the states of Virginia, Florida, and Louisiana. Although the majority of candidates in these states are probably tested in desegregated centers, there are areas within each state where this cannot be done. For instance, at least 15 of the 47 Negro candidates tested in Louisiana last year were tested in New Orleans, where all five regular centers are completely desegregated. Some centers in other

TABLE I

STATE	TESTING CENTERS* 1959-60 White Inst.	1959-60 Negro Inst.	1959-60 Total	1960-61 White Inst.	1960-61 Negro Inst.	1960-61 Total	CANDIDATES 1959-60 Total	CANDIDATES 1959-60 From Negro HS's	NEGROES IN SCHOOL WITH WHITES, Nov. '60+ No.	%
Alabama	11	1	12	12	3	15	2438	46	0	0
Arkansas	13	0	13	15	0	15	1202	47	113	.107
Florida	32	0	32	31	0	31	10272	30	27	.013
Georgia	61	13	74	72	48#	120	18901	389#	0	0
Louisiana	11	0	11	12	0	12	3295	47	4	.001
Mississippi	10	2	12	10	3	13	1065	40	0	0
N. Carolina	49	0	49	55	5##	60	12158	165	82	.027
S. Carolina	13	0	13	29	0	29	3617	22	0	0
Tennessee	14	0	14	16	0	16	5208	34	342	.217
Texas	50	0	50	68	0	68	10690	76	3500	1.21
Virginia	37	1	37	49	3	52	18383	173	208	.099
TOTAL	301	17	317	369	62	431	87229	1069		

Notes: (*) Many of the centers identified as being in White Institutions or Negro Institutions are desegregated. Since the actual situation is not known for all centers, no attempt has been made to distinguish between segregated and desegregated centers.

(#) See text regarding increase in Negro testing centers in Georgia and number of Negro candidates.

(##) These five centers are at the state colleges for Negroes, which requested the centers to give their candidates a choice between being tested at a white or Negro institution.

(+) Data for Public Schools, from Southern Education Reporting Service.

parts of the state are desegregated, though some have stand-by supervisors to administer tests to Negro candidates in a different room.

It is difficult to learn just how much desegregation of testing centers there is in Alabama and Mississippi. Again, there is probably a great deal of variation; in some instances, Negroes are known to have been tested with other candidates. There has been no report of difficulties from Mississippi, and no specific report from Alabama since 1956, though one of the two new Negro centers in Alabama established this year was placed in a parochial school for Negroes at the school's request because it reported difficulties in getting its students tested. There is probably very little desegregated testing in South Carolina, though one public high school has tested whites and Negroes together for years; one center has been moved from a high school to a Naval Reserve armory to allow desegregation; and one center in a private college states that "Necessary arrangements are made for the testing of all candidates." It is not specifically stated what these arrangements are.

Georgia is the only one of the eleven states which has had a substantial number of Negro candidates, since all units of the State University System, including Negro colleges, have been requiring the SAT since 1957. In view of this requirement, the number of students from Negro high schools tested in Georgia last year (389) is surprisingly small. This number does not, however, include some tested in special August centers. More importantly, it does not include those candidates tested on the campuses of the Negro colleges through the summer SAT administrations. The majority of candidates for these institutions are still tested through the summer programs, and most of those in September. This is probably due primarily to inadequate counseling in the schools, coupled with uncertainty about college plans. It is impossible to evaluate any reaction to, or fear of, conditions in the testing centers. Two incidents involving the failure of Negroes to be tested with other students in white high schools have been reported to ETS; two others were learned about from one of the Negro colleges. There have undoubtedly been other incidents which have not been reported.

In an effort to make sure that all Negro candidates in Georgia would have an opportunity to be tested without difficulty, and in the hope that more of them would be tested in the regular administrations, the number of centers in Negro institutions in Georgia was this year increased from 13 to 48. This larger number includes some centers which will test both races; probably a larger proportion of the 72 centers in white ~~institutions~~ institutions will test under desegregated conditions. Outside of Atlanta, however, most testing is done under segregated conditions. In Atlanta all centers will test both races; one of these (Georgia Tech) has had Negro candidates only once, and they were tested in a separate room. Other centers test all candidates together. Two of the new Negro centers added this year are in Atlanta; both will test white students under desegregated conditions. In Augusta both the white center (in a public high school) and the Negro center (in a private college)

have tested students of the other race. In both instances, numbers have been small.

OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The summary of present conditions in the preceding section suffers from incomplete data. Although we need more detailed information about present testing conditions, the entire situation is likely to be changing so rapidly that conclusions drawn from last year's data are likely to be no more valid than projected general experience in making plans for the future.

The changes which are taking place are complex. Since the 1954 Supreme Court decision, there has been a marked decrease in tolerance in some areas, and an equally marked increase in others. For instance, the high school in Montgomery, Alabama, reported in 1953 that "All candidates are seated in the same room." The same school requested in 1957 that a separate center for Negroes be established, since some Negro candidates had complained to ETS about being moved about. In 1950 Auburn reported to ETS about its non-CEEB center: "No objection to administering test to both white and colored students in same room." This probably is not true today.

Kentucky accomplished its substantial desegregation at all levels with surprisingly little difficulty. The incidents attending the admission of four Negro children to previously white schools in New Orleans were particularly unexpected in view of the city's traditionally relaxed racial attitudes, mixed housing in some areas, and the easy integration of LSU's New Orleans branch. Most of the differences which are observed can be attributed to differences in the leadership chosen by the people. It is a fact, however, that there is more racial tension now in the more difficult areas than there was before 1954. These difficult areas are the only ones in which the College Board is faced generally with segregated testing now; it will probably be harder to change these conditions immediately than it would have been eight years ago.

As a public educational corporation, the Board has two clear obligations which impinge on the question at hand. One is to test, under satisfactory conditions, all candidates. The other is to conduct itself in a socially, morally, and educationally responsible manner in all of its activities.

In discharge of both of these obligations the Board is now serving a significant segment of the educational community in the South. It is being called upon to extend these services fairly rapidly; much of the extension is to institutions which differ in many respects from the Board's traditional clientele. These colleges differ in their educational philosophies, student bodies, and in the use to which they are putting and will put Board examinations. It is the use of Board services by these diverse institutions which lends added significance to the question which we are examining.

State institutions, and state systems which include colleges for white and Negro, have adopted requirements of College Board examinations (usually the SAT only, but there is a definite trend to achievement testing) in recent years. In some instances a reliable inference is that examinations have been adopted to limit desegregation of the white institutions. Regardless of motives, however, most such institutions and systems are making valid and valuable use of the examination data. A case in point is the University System of Georgia. A central research office works constantly with test data and school and college records, and publishes studies for use by secondary school counselors in predicting a student's success in various units of the System. With these data as a basis, the entire college guidance procedure in Georgia schools has been greatly strengthened. Even if Georgia's system-wide adoption of an SAT requirement in 1957 may be assumed to have been motivated by a desire to limit desegregation, the scores from this same test greatly strengthened the case for the admission under court order of two Negro students to the University of Georgia this year. The point here is that the College Board itself, and its tests, are contributing significantly to the improvement of a state's educational system for students of both races.

Another recent development in the South is the use of entrance examinations by Negro colleges. The state institutions in Georgia have been the first to start requiring such tests, though state colleges in North Carolina have adopted test requirements for students entering in September, 1961. This movement will probably spread fairly rapidly to private colleges. Fisk University last year, and Dillard University this year have required that all entering students take either the Cooperative Intercollegiate Examination Program (developed under Board sponsorship as a testing instrument for scholarship applicants to the colleges participating in the United Negro College Fund, and given in limited areas only once a year) or the SAT. There have been a number of additional inquiries from public and private Negro colleges. If there is the expected use of Board tests and services by these colleges, there will be a rapid increase in the number of Negro candidates in all of the eleven states being discussed.

The developments outlined give the Board a real opportunity to expand its services to the entire educational community in the South, and to continue to lead in such things as the sponsorship of desegregated conferences and desegregated testing. Implicit in these developments are several factors which should be explicitly stated, and which are recognized in the recommendations which follow. These are:

1. Although the expected increase in the number of Negro candidates over the next few years may magnify the problem of desegregated testing, the expectation will also simplify the procedure in some areas where responsible school officials would prefer to take steps now, while numbers are small.

2. In some instances it may be desirable to accede to requests for the establishment of centers in Negro institutions. It is impossible to evaluate the effects on test standardization of enforced testing in normally white environments under certain conditions, or of enforced segregated testing under other conditions, or for different individuals. It may be important, particularly in a transition period, to give candidates a choice, as is being done through the establishment of centers in the five Negro colleges in North Carolina.

3. A policy of working specifically toward desegregation of all testing centers is recommended. Implementation of such a policy would be definitely hampered by any action which would bring public attention to the policy. Supervisors who have been testing Negro candidates with all others without comment or difficulty would usually be forced to take a questionnaire about their policy to their superiors, with the frequent result that the centers would become segregated, particularly when school boards become involved. Any public announcement of such a policy is particularly to be avoided. In Georgia, for instance, where there is a good opportunity now to work for desegregated testing of most candidates, it is a good bet that the Regents of the University System, faced with such a public announcement, would drop their requirement of the SAT, and change to another testing program which would agree to test only in segregated centers. The College Board could probably continue to test its reduced volume of candidates in a few desegregated centers, but it would lose its opportunity for leadership in education as well as in desegregation.

4. If the Trustees adopt a policy of working toward desegregated centers, they should do so with the understanding that temporary local regressions in some of the more difficult areas may be expected, and some may have to be accepted in the long-term pursuit of the stated goal.

5. Adoption of the recommendations here presented, or of similar precepts, will inevitably involve the Board's Southern Regional Office in some of the mechanism of center establishment, complaint investigation, and the like. This would not imply shift of responsibility from ETS, but rather consultation and cooperation in difficult areas until adjustments have been made and accepted.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Policy

It is recommended that the Trustees adopt as their internal policy to guide Educational Testing Service and the Board staff in the establishment and continuation of College Board Testing Centers the following precept:

The first responsibility of the College Entrance Examination Board is to provide for the testing of all candidates under standard, equitable conditions.

The Board will, however, make a definite and specific effort in all areas to assure that all testing centers will be equally accessible to all candidates without regard to race when this can be accomplished without definitely jeopardizing the Board's ability to test all candidates.

B. Implementation

If the Trustees adopt such a statement of policy, it is recommended that the staff be directed to take whatever steps are necessary, including the following, in implementation of this policy:

1. Determine as fully as practical the conditions under which all Negro candidates were tested in 1959-60, and, if data warrant it, the conditions under which they are being tested in the current year.

2. Refuse to establish any new testing centers which will not be open to candidates of all races unless careful investigation indicates that a center is needed, and that local conditions will definitely prevent the establishment of a desegregated center sufficiently close to provide for the testing of all candidates.

3. Close any testing center at which investigation confirms that a candidate has been inequitably treated because of his race, and where negotiations fail to produce a satisfactory solution.

4. Notify all supervisors of centers at which it is not possible to test all candidates together that the practice of transporting candidates to another building for testing is not an acceptable alternative; all candidates must be tested in the center for which they register.

5. Proceed immediately to provide for only desegregated centers in all metropolitan areas where this can be accomplished; the definition of such areas should be determined through consultation with local educational leaders of both races.

6. Seek to establish now additional centers which will be desegregated in areas where separate centers now exist for whites and Negroes, so that the separate centers for both races may be gradually closed.

7. Keep progress made under close scrutiny, and report such progress regularly to the Trustees.

Respectfully submitted,

Ben F. Cameron, Jr.
Southern Regional Director

June 26, 1961

Mr. Glenn O. Carey
Assistant Professor of English
State University College of Education
Cortland, New York

Dear Professor Carey:

Let me say first that I have read a fair bit of Faulkner but, in relation to the whole corpus of his work, not enough for my judgment to merit any special weight. I have read but little of the critical comment on his work. Further, though I regard him highly, he has never seemed to me as "great" as critical opinion holds: this is not a point I presume to argue; I mention it only so that you can evaluate my comment. Now to attempt an answer to your query.

Faulkner, I think, regards bi-racial society of the South to be both its defining characteristic and the source of its guilt. When I say "its guilt" I would mean the white South's guilt, but I believe Faulkner would mean "the South's," for he tends -- unless he tries hard to do otherwise -- to be racially possessive about the South. If the Negro problem is the South's guilt -- and a huge one it is in his comprehension -- that does not mean that the South is distinctively sinful; all societies and all individuals are loaded with guilt: what is especially interesting and stirring and anxious about the South is that it has no way of reducing its guilt -- its accumulation of historical wrongdoings -- to an abstraction. Here the guilt has to be faced in the intricacies of men's relationships to their neighbors, lived with constantly and directly and personally. Faulkner, I infer, dislikes -- or disapproves of or regrets or rejects -- two sorts of people. Those who by brutality or policy add to the South's burden of wrongdoing; and those (such as myself, perhaps) who seek to hasten change before the complete expiation of guilt. But he recognizes, clearly I think, that world history is carrying the South's racial problem toward a solution, and although he may regret, not the pace but the superficiality of, that solution he awaits it, as an observer.

I am enclosing an old reprint we did of a Faulkner lecture, which you probably have already read; also, a few paragraphs from an article I wrote for the April issue of the Italian magazine

Il Ponte: these contain some quick remarks about Southern novelists and racial issues.

Finally, let me recommend to you Paul Gaston, a young historian at the University of Virginia, who knows the South well and who has thought deeply about Faulkner.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
Enclosures

STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
CORTLAND, NEW YORK

April 25, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am at present completing my Ph.D. in English for the University of Illinois by writing my dissertation on William Faulkner as a critic of society. I am aware that Mr. Faulkner first of all is a creative artist in his fiction, but I believe too that his writings show relevant comments on man and his society. In my dissertation I have covered areas in Mr. Faulkner's fiction, essays, speeches, and interviews in which he has implicitly or explicitly written or spoken in reference to the black-white problems such as the condition of the Negro and the belief of white supremacy, the decay of the ante-bellum traditions and the rise of those like the Snopeses, as well as the decline of spiritual values in today's world and the growth of materialistic goals with the resultant diminution of man's freedom and integrity as an individual. I wish also to show that Faulkner is concerned with man and his society not only in the South but throughout the world. I have thus included a consideration of war and the condition of man as seen in his hypocricy, greed, vanity, and misused religious beliefs.

Near the end of the dissertation I am preparing a chapter in which I will compare and contrast Mt. Faulkner's criticism of society with the comments of others such as you who have written or spoken about the condition of the South today and related areas.

I plan to use your views in this chapter by comparing them to Mr. Faulkner's, and I therefore would be greatly pleased if you would be willing to comment on what position Mr. Faulkner takes as a critic of society, either on the South specifically or in general throughout the world, or both. Any comparison of your own position with that of Mr. Faulkner would be invaluable to me.

I realize I am imposing to ask this of you, but I believe the opinions of responsible contemporaries of a writer should be used in evaluating that writer's attitudes and contributions to specific areas, such as Mr. Faulkner's as a critic of his own society.

I assure you that whatever reply you give will be highly valued and used wisely and fairly.

Sincerely yours,

Glenn O. Carey

Glenn O. Carey
Assistant Professor of English

file

Cont'd

STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
CORTLAND, NEW YORK

English Department
August 3, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for your kind and informative letter of June 26. I apologize for my tardy reply. I have read your letter several times, and your comments about William Faulkner have interested me a great deal because I believe I am in agreement with them. I am pleased that you took the time to answer my question so fully and helpfully.

I plan to write to Paul Gaston soon. I thank you kindly for this suggestion.

Corresponding with you has been both pleasant and instructive. Please accept my sincere thanks for your help.

Sincerely yours,
Glenn O. Carey

September 11, 1962

Mr. Larry R. Caughron
311 East Hester
Carbondale, Illinois

Dear Mr. Caughron:

Under separate cover we have mailed you materials which I hope will be helpful for your meeting. Included are several copies of our publications list. If any of the other materials, or additional copies of those sent, would be of value we will be happy to send them.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mg

311 E. Hester

Carbondale, Illinois

September 6, 1962

Research Department

Southern Regional Council

5 Forsythe Street

Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

In recent conversations with John Lewis, Field Secretary and Executive Council member of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Mr. Lewis referred to Southern Regional Council as a reliable source of information on Nonviolence and the Freedom movement in the South. Mr. Lewis gave me a copy of your reprint from The Virginia Quarterly Review of "The Annealing of the South," by Leslie W. Dunbar. I found this to be informative and stimulating reading. Mr. Lewis advised me that I could obtain, in bulk, copies of this and other information, simply by writing you.

One week from tomorrow, the Student Nonviolent Freedom Committee of Southern Illinois University plans to begin a basic weekend leadership training session for members of this organization and other interested parties (September 14-16). As Chairman of the Information sub-committee of this organization, I am particularly interested in obtaining for those who will take part sufficient background material on what has happened to date in the South, and any information on Nonviolent philosophy and tactics that is obtainable in multiple-copy. I realize that this is a big order, especially on such short notice, but any such pamphlets, etetera, we may obtain for this conference will be greatly appreciated. If they are not available in time for the conference, we will be able to distribute and use responsibly almost any quantity of information in a few weeks

when school begins again and we have new members to inform of the past summer's "activity" in the South, in Cairo, Illinois, and in surrounding communities nearer the University.

We expect to put out a total report of activity in Cairo within a month, which we shall be happy to send you. Also, a quarterly review on nonviolence is tentatively planned for later in the fall. We shall look forward to further correspondence with you and possible arrangements between our organizations for publications.

Very sincerely yours,

Larry R. Caughron

Larry R. Caughron

Chairman, Information sub-committee

Southern Illinois University Student Nonviolent Freedom Committee

Address further bulk Information or correspondence to:

Larry R. Caughron

311 E. Hester

Carbondale, Illinois

After September 20, please address to:

Larry R. Caughron

703 S. State

Carbondale, Illinois

Ck ~~[illegible]~~ for
file
"Ca" gen. corresp.

January 23, 1964

Reverend Colbert S. Cartwright
Central Christian Church
3000 Market Street
Youngstown 7, Ohio

Dear Mr. Cartwright:

Your recent check to us (refund for your travel advance to Annual Meeting) was written for $77.78; we only sent you $77.28. We are, therefore, enclosing .50 in stamps to cover your overpayment.

We hope you and Mrs. Cartwright will find your new assignment rewarding, and we shall miss having you associated with us.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures

Central Christian Church

3000 MARKET STREET - YOUNGSTOWN 7, OHIO
STERLING 2-8017

MINISTERS
[illegible]

SECRETARIES
MISS JEAN F. THAYER MRS. WILLIAM EDWARDS

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I appreciate very much your presence at the annual meeting of the Arkansas Council and your being at the reception held in our honor.

Upon my arrival here at Youngstown I have found that our own annual meeting has been scheduled at the same time as the annual meeting at Atlanta. So, very reluctantly, I find I shall not be present.

The associations through the Southern Regional Council have been close to my heart through these years. My best wishes go to you and the Council for a good meeting. May God richly bless this significant work in the days and years ahead.

I enclose my refund check on the plane ticket, which I think is the amount advanced to me for travel. If there is a discrepency here, please notify me and I will make the proper correction.

Cordially,

Bert

Colbert S. Cartwright

CR 77 98
(Ark.) Annual meeting
advance
RISA
77.28-7
77.78
Cartwright
7/23/64

BCC: FRED ROUTH, NAIRO

file Cabirac "Ca" Gen. corresp.

October 23, 1964

Mr. Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.
6211 South Tonti Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

We shall continue to keep our eyes and ears open, and I have talked to one federal agency about you. I think it would be worthwhile, if you have not already done so, to get letters off to various agencies and people; please feel free to use my name whenever you wish.

I would suggest in particular you write to Sam Simmons, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights; John A. Griffin, Community Relations Service; and Glenn W. Ferguson, Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of the President. If you have not already written to Fred Routh, NAIRO, you certainly should do so and even if you have, it would be well for you to keep Fred informed from time to time of your situation.

All the best, and we hope to see you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

PHONE 866-6649

HENRY A. CABIRAC JR.

6211 SOUTH TONTI STREET NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

PA - advise — I don't think we should push this more than necessary

LD

September 21, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les:

How have you been? Since I haven't visited Atlanta recently I miss seeing most of my friends working in the intergroup field.

Les I'm still looking for the right job in human relations. I turned down a job for the Youngstown, Ohio Commission and the Catholic Council in Omaha, Nebraska largely because I didn't want to brave the harsh winters.

Do you know of any openings in the South, the Southwest or West coast? Tell everyone hello for me.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry A. Cabirac,Jr.

Ca. Gen. Corresp.

December 4, 1964

Mr. Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.
6211 South Tonti Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

Thank you for your letter. I am glad you found a job in the warm climate, but I'm sorry you had to go to the southwest.

I have a very good friend in Phoenix whom you might look up sometime, his name is Joseph Harris, 245 West Flyn Lane.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:p

Rec'd 11/13/64

PA
VJ
LD

6211 South Tonti Ave.
New Orleans, Louisiana
November 4, 1964

Mr. L. W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you for your suggestions and offer to use your name, however, it won't be necessary. I have just accepted the job as the new Human Relations Director for the city of Phoenix, Arizona which, according to Harold Fleming is "God's Country".

Whereas, I am delighted Goldwater won't be elected President, I would prefer him being someother place rather than Phoenix, Arizona. This should be a challanging opportunity.

Please tell Paul I will miss seeing the gang, but hope to run into as many people as possible at NAIRO conventions and other functions.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

CITY OF PHOENIX
ARIZONA

Rec'd 1/8/65

PA
SW-file

January 4, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les.

Thanks for Joseph Harris' name and address. As soon as I have had an opportunity to get my feet on the ground I am going to call on him.

I too regret leaving the section of the country I love and my many fine friends, however, from what I have seen thus far I believe I am going to enjoy living here.

Yours sincerely,

HUMAN RELATIONS DIRECTOR

Henry

Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.
Human Relations Director

HAC:lh

MEMORANDUM July 1, 1965

To: RHAlexander

From: LWDunbar

Please issue a check for $183.00 to the Atlanta Council of Camp Fire Girls, Inc., and charge to "Special Fund for Educational Purposes" (Contingency)

NOTE: A check was issued yesterday in the amount of $122.00 for this purpose, please void.

File - "CA" gen. corresp.
Cr. ref. - New World Foundation "Contingency Fund"

July 1, 1965

Mr. Edward J. Negri
Atlanta Council of Camp Fire Girls, Inc.
167 Walton Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ed:

In reply to your letter of June 24 we are pleased to forward, enclosed, our check for $183.00 to sponsor three (3) girls in the first integrated session at Camp Toccoa this summer.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check, $183.00)

COMMUNITY CHEST AGENCY OF YOUR UNITED APPEAL

ATLANTA COUNCIL OF Camp Fire Girls INC.

Telephone JAckson 5-7635 — 167 WALTON STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

June 24, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

Many thanks for your kind offer of $122.00 to sponsor two under priviledged girls in our first integrated session at Camp Toccoa this summer. I am sure that the little girls will enjoy an experience they will long remember.

Please make check payable to the Atlanta Council of Camp Fire Girls, Inc.

Regards

Ed

Edward J. Negri

EJN/ph

See: Center for Continuing Educ.

File

PRE-REGISTERED ROSTER OF PARTICIPANTS

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION CONFERENCE
February 18 - 20, 1966

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Arnold Aronson, Executive Director
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Professor Carl Auerbach
University of Minnesota Law School
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Berl Bernhard, Attorney
1875 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Wiley Branton
Special Assistant to Atty. General
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Professor Thomas Broden
University -Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Vernon Eagle, Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

John Feild
U.S.Conference of Mayors
1707 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Potomac Institute
1501-18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Professor G.W. Foster, Jr.
University of Wisconsin Law School
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Eli Ginzberg, Director
Conservation of Human Resources
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

Professor Robert Harris
University of Michigan Law School
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Vivian Henderson
President, Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Frank S. Horne
N.Y.Housing & Redevelopment Board
2 Lafayette Street
New York, New York 10007

Father William Lewers, C.S.C.
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Burke Marshall, General Counsel
International Business Machines
Armunk, New York

Joseph O'Meara, Dean
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

John de J. Pemberton, Executive Dir.
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Professor Dan Pollitt
Univ. of North Carolina Law School
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

John Silard, Attorney
1631 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

William Taylor, Staff Director
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
17th and Pennsylvania, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Professor Daniel Thompson
Dillard University
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

John Wheeler
Mechanics & Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

A SERVICE OF THE
CENTER FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION

See "OA" gm.

July 18, 1966

Mr. Patrick J. Kenniff
President
Canadian Union of Students
Suite 406
45 Rideau
Ottawa 2, Canada

Dear Mr. Kenniff:

I am very sorry that you arrived here on a day when things were so hectic. I do hope that other members of the staff were able to help you.

We will look forward to reading your publication when it is available. If we can, by mail, supply you with additional information, please let us know.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Recd 7/14/66

SECRETARIAT: 45 RIDEAU,
SUITE 406, OTTAWA 2, CANADA
TELEPHONE: CODE 613, 236-0703
CABLES: CUS-UCE

Canadian Union of Students ■ Union canadienne des étudiants

(1)

July 11, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsythe Street,
Atlanta, Ga.,
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Now that I am back in Ottawa, I wanted to take this opportunity to thank you for the few moments you were able to give me last Thursday morning, as well as the very valuable help which the members of your staff were able to give me. My brief stay in your office enabled me to amass considerable amount of very valuable documentation which will serve me well in the preparation of my report.

It is my intention at the present time to complete the report within the next three weeks for presentation to the International Student Conference in Nairobi in August, at which time the report should be printed in booklet form. I shall endeavour to send you a copy of it as soon as it is available, in order that you may read it.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Patrick J. Kenniff

Patrick J. Kenniff,
President.

PJK:rs

See "CA" Gen'

November 7, 1966

Mr. David C. Caverly
249 Pasadena Blvd.
Toledo, Ohio 43612

Dear Mr. Caverly:

Your letter to Mr. Dunbar has come to my attention since Mr. Dunbar is no longer with the Council. He is at present Director of the Field Foundation (250 Park Avenue, New York, New York.)

I am sure Mr. Dunbar would be pleased to consider your request and I think that he is a particularly appropriate person to tape his responses to your questions.

Incidentally, you might be interested to know that Mr. Dunbar has just published a book, A REPUBLIC OF EQUALS, published by the University of Michigan Press. You might well find this helpful in your considerations.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

(5)

November 1, 1966

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am a sophomore in the college of Education at the University of Toledo. I am doing a project on the effects of Civil Rights on school curriculum. The purpose of this letter is to seek your help. I would like to have you state some of your views for me on a tape cartridge. This tape would be used in class. If you would be willing to help me in this way, please reply to my letter and I will send you the tape cartridge and the material which you would discuss.

Thank you for your time and help.

Sincerely,

David C. Caverly

David C. Caverly
249 Pasadena Blvd.
Toledo, Ohio 43612

File "CA" gen.

June 2, 1967

Miss E. Josephine Lowrey
3034 South Dakota Avenue, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20018

Dear Miss Lowrey:

Please extend to the members of the Capital Press Club my sincere regret that I will be unable to attend the 24th Anniversary Celebration on June 10th.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd
5/19/67

The Capital Press Club

requests the honor of your presence

at its Twenty-fourth Anniversary Celebration

with

The Honorable H. Kamuzu Banda

President, The Republic of Malawi

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference

The Rev. Leon Sullivan

Founder of Opportunities Industrialization Centers

As Honored Participants

on Saturday, the tenth of June

nineteen hundred and sixty-seven

six o'clock

The Sheraton-Park Hotel

Washington, D. C.

R.s.v.p. Black Tie

TWENTY FOURTH ANNUAL AWARDS CELEBRATION

To Benefit the John F. Kennedy Memorial Scholarship Fund

Honorary Chairmen

SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS OF NEW YORK

SENATOR JOSEPH S. CLARK OF PENNSYLVANIA

* * *

Tenth Annual Press Institute On
Poverty, Crime and Home Rule
9:30 a.m. — Virginia and Maryland Rooms

Panelists

Roger Wilkins
Theodore Berry
Fred Z. Hetzel, Sr.
James G. Banks
Petey Green
Stephen N. Shulman
Marjorie Lawson
Wilhelmina Jackson
Tilford Dudley
Richard Boone

* * *

RECEPTION

Six O'Clock — Virginia and Maryland Rooms

ANNUAL AWARDS BANQUET

Seven O'Clock — Sheraton Ballroom

Award Recipients

COMMISSIONER JOHN B. DUNCAN
DR. JAMES M. NABRIT
BISHOP PAUL MOORE JR.
CHARLES EVERS
WILLIAM MATNEY
CLIFF W. MACKAY
BILL COSBY
ROBERT CULP

Entertainment — Ten p.m. — one a.m.

The Capital Press Club

We (I) accept with pleasure your invitation to the Twenty-Fourth Anniversary Celebration of The Capital Press Club, on Saturday June 10, 1967, at the Sheraton Park Hotel.

Enclosed is our (my) check for _____ banquet ticket(s) at $12.50 each We (I) understand that the price of the ticket(s) includes admission to the Press Institute, Banquet and Dance.

Further, we (I) understand that celebration is being held for the benefit of scholarships for the District students who wish to pursue studies in the field of journalism.

Name_____

Address_____ Zone_____

City_____ State_____

Phone_____

MISS E. JOSEPHINE LOWREY
3034 South Dakota Avenue, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20018

1. Encl. with Ben Carmichael's ltr of 4/26/62
Supt. of Pub Schools. Chatt. Tenn

C O P Y C O P Y

A recent report, released by the Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action and reviewed in the February 20 TIMES regarding job opportunities and training facilities for Negroes does not accurately describe comparative vocational education opportunities offered by the Chattanooga Public Schools. Conclusions drawn relative to educational opportunities hardly seem supported by the findings of the survey, and when examined in relation to conditions and facts would not seem to be supported at all.

The facts show that the ratio of vocational training opportunities is definitely favorable to Negroes. Enrollment figures at the four Chattanooga high schools indicate that there are 2,549 white students, grades 10-12, and 1,360 Negro students, grades 10-12. All white and Negro students have an opportunity to enroll in vocational home economics since it is offered in the four high schools in the city system. One distributive education class is offered for 2,549 white students and one class for 1,360 Negro students. In the Trade and Industrial Vocational area, there are 17 skilled trades taught in 14 courses for 2,549 white students and 18 skilled trades taught in 11 courses for 1,360 Negro students.

Further, the ratio of trade and industries facilities is also favorable to Negroes. With present facilities, 31 per cent of Negro students could be accommodated in T & I courses while only 24 per cent of white student could be accommodated in T & I courses.

The research and report of the committee, to be valid and understood, should be based on fairly broad study and understanding of the manner in which vocational and technical programs are organized and of the regulations to which these programs are subjected. The following facts and conditions influence the differences in course content in the high schools of the city system and the approach to meeting the needs of the students enrolled in them.

1. The State of Tennessee sets the requirements for graduating from high school, prescribing eight specific subjects and eight additional credits in courses which may be selected by the students, guidance teachers, and parents.

2. Individual Chattanooga secondary schools offer courses in addition to those prescribed by the State, in the areas of general education (language arts including foreign languages, social studies including history and geography, mathematics, science, physical education and health, fine arts, including music) and vocational education financed locally (business education and industrial arts). Decisions as to the specific cpurses to offer are made jointly by the principal, teachers and supervisors in terms of the following factors:

a. That a number of students sufficient to form a class elect the course.

b. That the course be educationally sound and beneficially to the student.

c. That the course not prevent the school from offering the basic program nor the student

from taking those courses for general education leading to high school graduation.

d. That a certified teacher be available.

e. That the necessary funds for the teacher's salary and instructional supplies be available.

Two examples illustrate: the application of the factors.

Plane Geometry, based on Modern Mathematics materials, is offered at Brainerd High, Chattanooga High and Howard High Schools, but not at Kirkman Technical High School. Business Arithmetic is offered at Brainerd High, Chattanooga High and Kirkman Technical High Schools, but not at Howard High School. If the principals and staff at Kirkman and Howard had felt that their students needed Plane Geometry, based on Modern Mathematics materials, and Business Arithmetic, respecively, there was no barrier to the organization of these courses at the two schools.

3. The Federal Government makes possible the offering of vocational courses in the Chattanooga schools. Federal and State vocational funds are available to employ specially trained teachers for vocational courses, subject to the following conditions and guiding principles:

a. That the controlling purpose of the course be to fit the student for useful employment. (Tennessee State Plan for Vocational Education, Nashville,: Tennessee State Board for Vocational Education, Revised 1959, pp. 7 - 8.) i. e. Flycasting course would not be approved.

b. That the student's chances of securing employment in the occupation for which he desires the training be good. (Administration of Vocational Education, Bulletin No. I Washington: Federal Security Agency, Revised 1948, pp. 30-31)

"Programs should reflect the training needs of local industries. It is useless to train young people in skills or technical knowledge if at the end of the training there are no opportunities for them to use the skills and knowledge acquired. Each course should be based upon the known need in the industries of the community. The need shall be determined at the places of employment." (The Operation of a Local Program of Trade and Industrial Education, Bulletin No. 250, Washington: Federal Security Agency, 1953, p. 2).

i.e. A Course in oil well drilling would not be approved for the Chattanooga Public Schools because few students here are expected to enter into this vocation, although it is conceivable that an occasional Chattanooga student would become an oil well driller.

i.e. A part-time Industrial Co-Operative Training offered at Howard High School was closed at the end of the 1960 school year because the Howard program could not meet the standards of the Tennessee State Board for Vocational Education; it proved impossible to place Negro students on bono fide trade and industry jobs in Chattanooga.

c. That there be sufficient interest on the part of students to insure reasonable enrollment.

i.e. Distributive Education has been available at Chattanooga High School for a number of years but has not been organized and taught because of lack of pupil interest.

i.e. Since community employment opportunities for Negroes in metal and electrical trades are limited, student interest, as shown by the present enrollment at Howard High School, is similarly limited. To enable this small group of students (an average enrollment of 11 per class) to pursue their interests, a cluster of metal and electrical trades are represented in the respective courses.

4. The Chattanooga Board of Education offers State and Federal supported vocational courses in home economics, distributive education, and trades and industry.

a. Vocational home economics is offered at all four Chattanooga high schools.

b. Distributive Education is offered at Howard High School and Kirkman Technical High School.

c. Trade and industry classes are offered at Howard High School and Kirkman Technical High School.

FURTHER FACTS

The review of the report indicates an incomplete understanding of the breadth of the vocational program at Howard

Howard High School. Howard is one of the very few comprehensive high schools in the State of Tennessee. Its complete educational program can meet a broader range of student needs than that of any other high school in the Chattanooga system.

In all fairness to the local school system, it should be pointed out that the Board of Education cannot regulate community employment practices, but must organize its courses in accordance with State and Federal regulations which, in turn, are revised and changed only when there is a significant change in community employment opportunities.

Sent to:
RB Choate - Wash. DC
Wm. Seabaru, Wash. DC.

file Campbell Phil
See Choate file

file: Campbell, Phil

When Agriculture Commissioner Phil Campbell left the Democratic party to become a Republican late in 1968, he made a number of public statements denouncing his former party and Hubert Humphrey. The following exerpts are from articles appearing in Atlanta newspapers following the 1968 Democratic Convention.

"Campbell Sounds Humphrey Alert"
Agriculture Commissioner Phil Campbell said he resigned from the Democratic Party "to alert the people of Georgia to the danger of electing Hubert Humphrey president." He described Humphrey as "too far to the left" and George Wallace's actions as "way over to the right." He also described Humphrey as "a very confused man" and charged "Mr. Humphrey made concession after concession to a group that was inspired and dictated to by the same hard core radical element responsible for disorder and disruption on the campuses of some of our greates universities such as Columbia and the University of California at Berkley, the same group that thrives on an attitude of extreme permissiveness to riot in our greatest cities."

"Campbell Expects Humphrey Rebuff"
In this article Campbell accused Humphrey of "selling out the loyal, white, middle-of-the-road Democrat." "Mr. Humphrey, Mr. McCarthy and the Americans for Democratic Action also made it abundantly clear that the responsible Negro leadership in Georgia including Sen. Leroy Johnson, Sen. Horace Ward, R. A. Dent, Mrs. P. Q. Yancy, and Mrs. Mamie Reese were not only unacceptable, but that such leadership must be replaced by Stokley Carmichael type leadership as personified by Julian Bond who helped Carmichael found SNCC." Such rhetoric has been known to warm the hearts of Georgia voters.

Once having accepted the Republican standard, Campbell helped his new party fight the Wallace threat to a Republican victory in Georgia.

"Campbell Warns of Wallace Vote"
Campbell wrote 50,000 letters to Georgia farmers warning them that "a vote for George Wallace might put Humphrey in the White House." The Commissioner emphasized that his letter "is not intended as a criticism of George Wallace, for whom I have high regard. But I cannot vote for him with the knowledge that such a vote might help Hubert Humphrey become President of the United States."

Campbell's criticism of Humphrey (who had lost much support in Georgia after the Convention fiasco) and his attempts to "oppose" Wallace through the possibility of a Humphrey victory in the state, are nothing more than simple political expediency. (No Georgia politician in his right mind would oppose Wallace when the state was expected to go for the Alabama former governor, without blaming his opposition on the threat of victory by the unpopular Humphrey.) Campbell saw a good thing and hitched his star to Nixon whom he considered a winner. The same tendency is evident in the 1960 and 1964 presidential elections when he refused to endorse Kennedy and Johnson - then very unpopular in Georgia. Campbell has been a real power in Georgia politics for many years. The following article illustrates the tremendous influence of the man on state affairs.

"Statehouse Clique Has Election Power" 11/11/64
Four state officials are said capable of naming their choice. They are called "the clique" and nobody denies its existence. A coalition of four powerful state officials working quietly behind the scenes to influence

important elections. Members of the "clique," who tested their power in supporting Rep. Alpha Fowler successfully this year for a seat on the Public Service Commission are Phil Campbell, Commissioner of Agriculture, Jimmy Bentley, Comptroller General, Jack Ray, State Treasurer and Crawford Pilcher, Chairman of the Public Service Commission. One source said "the four are trying to form a government within a government with the power to sit back and pick people off one at a time."

"Challenged By The "Clique" 11/11/64
Most observers think the "clique" has been strengthened considerably because none of the four campaigned for the Democratic ticket. Also the four are considered strong segregationist, a fact that may be politically valuable since Goldwater's Georgia vote total means the race issue will remain very much alive in the state's political campaigns.
When Rep. Fowler becomes a Public Service Commissioner in January, the "clique" will have a new member with special credentials on segregation. In 1957 Fowler, long time politico Roy Harris and Alan Kemper (State Public Welfare Director at the time) chartered the American Resettlement Foundation, Inc. Its purpose was to locate Southern Negro families in white Northern residential areas. There were never any reports that the foundation fulfilled its purpose. A veteran state official who did not want to be identified summed up the "clique" this way: "With their influence in so many fields they could be an important factor in just about any election. You've got all those agriculture department employees all over the state. You've got Bentley with influence in insurance and small loans and Jack Ray with influence among the bankers because of state deposits. And you've got the Public Service Commission with control over public utilities."

Campbell's segregationist tendencies are not unusual in the sense that he has played the wild eyed extremist's role. It was not only acceptable but expected that Georgia politicians follow the seg tradition. (To do otherwise would have been political suicide in the early '60's when the following newspaper lead was written: "Campbell To Address Citizen's Council."
It was during this period that Phil Campbell had a yen to be governor. Once again, seg politicians were successful politicians. When Campbell announced his candidacy for governor (the election wasn't until 1962) in 1959, later to withdraw from the race before it really even started, he said in a 5/22/60 newspaper article when asked his position on the Georgia school integration crises:
"I have faith in the people of Georgia that they will not be panicked or stampeded and I am convinced that every child in Georgia will be educated at public expense. I personally believe in the separation of the races."
And:
"Big Question in Klan Rally" an editorial of the early 60's: "The state of Georgia had better clarify its policy about the use of state property for such assemblies as meetings of the Ku Klux Klan. It comes as somewhat of a surprise that some 75 robed Klansmen conducted two hours of speechmaking at the farmer's market in Savannah, paying no heed to Gov. Griffin and Agriculture Commissioner Phil Campbell, who previously had voiced their disapproval. ...Mr. Campbell is reported to have placed this stamp of disapproval on Klan use of the public marketing facility. The question quite naturally arises: Is he helpless to do anything else?"

As for Campbell's being a Talmadge man, he supported Herman during his governorship (as any state Georgian with higher political aspirations would) but there was an old anti-Talmadge feeling that ran deep. That feeling dates

back to the time when Herman's father, Gov. Gene Talmadge, engaged in a bitter wrangle with Campbell's father over the administration of Georgia's county farm agent system. Campbell's father lost. But political fences tend to mend easily in the name of expediency, as shown by Campbell's present relationship with "Hummon."

Campbell has run the Department of Agriculture like a czar since his election in 1954. He exerts tremendous influence in the Georgia Farm Bureau and had publically been accused of hand-picking its president. He is not opposed to spreading this influence around either. In November of 1960 he saw to it that a special constitutional amendment appeared on the Georgia ballot designed to place him on the State Board of Regents. The voters refused. Campbell has never been afraid to help out a friend - especially a political one. In June of 1961 the Atlanta Constitution carried an article entitled "Commissioners in Five Counties Listed as State Inspectors." The paper noted that "Five County Commissioners (a fairly powerful political position especially in those county unit system days) and several other persons with political connections are listed as part time inspectors on the State Department of Agriculture payroll."

His agricultural philosophy is simple. Campbell has supported federal price supports since the '50's and has often called on the government to increase its price support payments. He has said for many years that "co-ops are the answer" to the problems Georgia farmers encounter in breaking into the market place. Campbell believes in strong federal farm support and only turns against federal control when his empire is threatened. In 1967 when bad meat was being sold in Georgia market-places, he fought a proposed federal law for government

meat inspection. Passage of the law caused a sizable reduction in state agricultural personnel and funds. Shortly after crying state's rights in opposing the federal meat inspection law, he turned around and asked for more federal poultry inspectors to augment the staff of state inspectors.

file
File Gen.

STANLEY CRONER
EXECUTIVE PRODUCER

ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA EDUCATIONAL CORPORATION
WEST COAST FILM UNIT 6519 FOUNTAIN AVENUE
PHONE: (213) 466-8496 LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90028

Miss E. Josephine Lowery
3034 South Dakota Ave., N. E.
Washington, D. C.

We (I) accept with pleasure your invitation to the Twenty-First Anniversary Celebration of The Capital Press Club, on Saturday, June 13, 1964, at the International Inn.

Enclosed is our (my) check for____banquet ticket(s) at $10.00 each. We (I) understand that the price of the banquet ticket(s) includes admission to all activities of that day, including the dance.

Further, we (I) understand that the celebration is being held for the benefit of scholarships for Negro journalism students.

Name _____

Address _____

File Gen. Corres.

MISS E. JOSEPHINE LOWERY
3034 South Dakota Avenue, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

The Capital Press Club

requests the honor of your presence

at its Twenty-First Anniversary Celebration

honoring

The Attorney General of the United States

The Honorable Carl T. Rowan

Mr. A. Philip Randolph

with

The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey

and

The Honorable Thomas H. Kuchel

as honored speakers

on Saturday, the thirteenth of June

Nineteen hundred and sixty-four

International Inn

in the City of Washington

Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson
Honorary Banquet Chairman

R.s.v.p.

Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson

Honorary Banquet Chairman

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Senator, The State of New York

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Bishop of the Bible Way Church

Honorary Banquet Co-Chairmen

Banquet for the Benefit of
The John Fitzgerald Kennedy
Memorial Scholarship Fund
of
The Capital Press Club

Standing Scholarship Committee

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Democratic National Committee

George Reedy
Press Secretary
The White House

Carl T. Rowan
Director
The United States Information Agency

Samuel F. Yette
Executive Secretary
The Peace Corps

The Banquet will salute the 1964 Civil Rights Bill and pay tribute to the memories of the late John F. Kennedy, under whose Administration the Bill was introduced, and the late Medgar W. Evers, whose struggle to achieve some of the objectives of the Bill cost him his life.

Twenty-First Anniversary Celebration

Saturday, June thirteenth

Seventh Annual Press Institute – 10 a.m. – Cabinet Room

Theme: Race and Politics in 1964

Speakers – The Honorable Augustus F. Hawkins
Representative, The State of California

Robert E. L. Baker
Murray Kempton
Clarence Mitchell Jr.
Grant Reynolds
C. Sumner Stone

Luncheon – 1 p.m. – Cabinet Room

Cocktails – 6 p.m. – Pool Side

Annual Awards Banquet – 7 p.m. – Federal Hall

Guests of Honor – The Honorable Robert F. Kennedy
Attorney General, The United States of America

The Honorable Carl T. Rowan
Director, The United States Information Agency

A. Philip Randolph
Director, The March on Washington

Main Speakers – The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Senator, The State of Minnesota

The Honorable Thomas H. Kuchel
Senator, The State of California

Award Recipients Include: James Baldwin
The Continental Society
Walter Cronkite
Myrlie Evers
Pearlie Cox Harrison
Ruby Hurley
Ralph McGill
Arnold Perl
Sidney Poitier
George C. Scott
Cicely Tyson

Dancing to the music of Garland Butts – 10 p.m. to 1 a.m.

Banquet and Dance – Black Tie

Federal Hall

camps & camping

TELEPHONE: MEDALLION 3-3105

CHILDREN'S WELFARE FEDERATION
435 NINTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y.

September 30, 1946

Dear Mr. Trigg:

Mr. Granger of the National Urban League referred your communication of September 13 on to us.

We are the coordination agency for the social agency camps operating out of New York City. These number approximately 130 agencies operating 186 camps.

There is also in New York City a section of American Camping Association which covers both juvenile and organization camps.

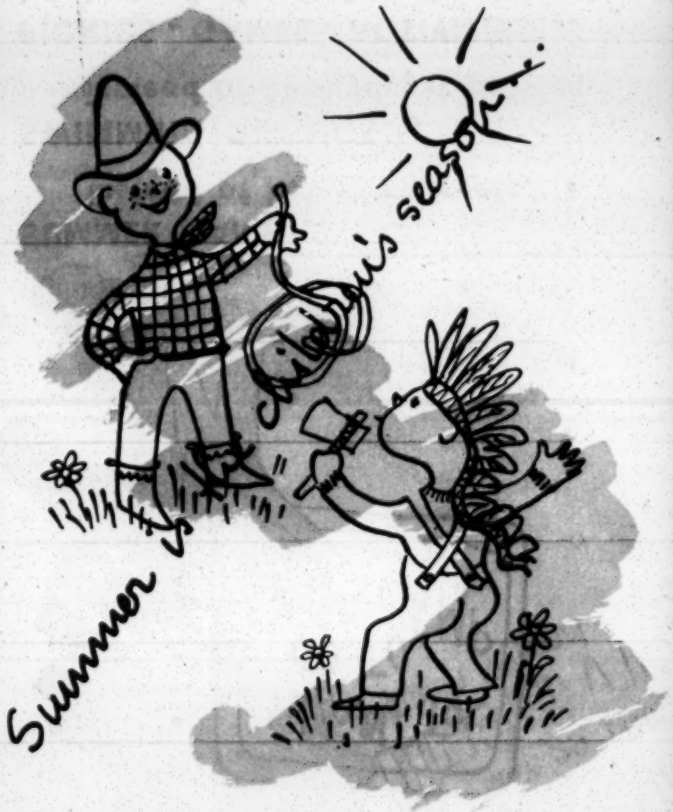
The president of this section is Mr. Ralph Roehm, Y.M.C.A., 420 Lexington Avenue, New York.

Let us know if we can be of further service to you.

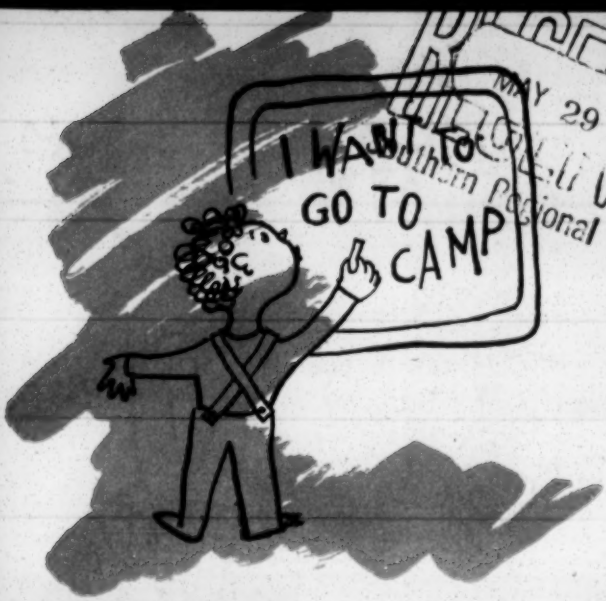
Sincerely yours,

Helen Leighty

Helen Leighty, Director



RIVERDALE CHILDREN'S ASSOCIATION



MAY 29 1946
Southern Regional Council

SUMMER CAMP...
instead of hot city streets.

SWIMMING OUTINGS...
instead of fire-hydrant bathing.

PICNICS - GAMES - ACTIVITIES...
instead of street corner gangs.

MR. FRANKLIN P. ADAMS
RIVERDALE CHILDREN'S ASSOCIATION
122 East 22nd Street, New York 10, N. Y.

Dear F.P.A.:

Enclosed is my check for $..... as my contribution toward a happy, healthy summer for the youngsters under Riverdale's care.

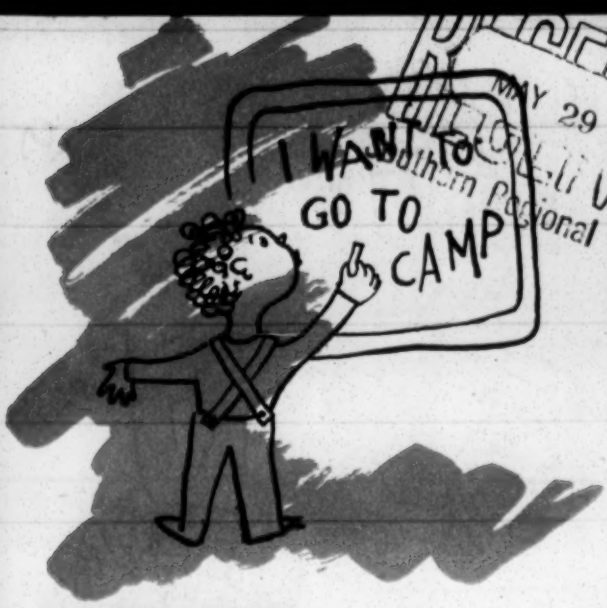
NAME.....

ADDRESS..... CITY.....

FIRM (if any).....

RIVERDALE CHILDREN'S ASSOCIATION

MAY 29 1946
Northern Regional Council



SUMMER CAMP...
instead of hot city streets.

SWIMMING OUTINGS...
instead of fire-hydrant bathing.

PICNICS - GAMES - ACTIVITIES...
instead of street corner gangs.

Help Us Give These Summer "Breaks"

To The Children Under Our Care

For 109 years The Riverdale Children's Association has been home and parents to 13,000 youngsters.

A normal childhood means a future good citizen. A happy summer is part of a normal childhood.

450 children of many races look to Riverdale for their happiness and security. Help us keep the faith!

122 East 22nd Street
New York 10, N. Y.
GRamercy 5-5965

●

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Mrs. Greer Zachry

Memo from
F.P.A.

Westport, Conn.

Riverdale's boys and girls like to swim, and play ball, just like my own Connecticut kids.

The difference between them and most others is that they can't take these things for granted — not even a real home and parents — unless we help.

So let's give generously and promptly — there are no better causes.

Franklin P. Adams

MR. FRANKLIN P. ADAMS

Suite 1404

122 EAST 22nd STREET

NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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34th ANNUAL REPORT
of
The Children's Welfare Federation of New York City, Inc.

435 Ninth Avenue New York 1, N. Y.

Our Thirty-Fourth Year

THE CHILDREN'S WELFARE FEDERATION begins 1946 with high hopes for continuing growth and closer coordination in the field of health and welfare for children and young people in New York City. Since 1912 the Federation has operated as a clearing house for its members and many other groups and individuals interested in the children of New York City. Despite war shortages and changing staff, our committees and bureaus functioned efficiently, achieving closer coordination of programs and stronger membership interests.

The following is a brief account of committee and bureau activities:

Committee on Mothers' Milk

DR. CARL H. LAWS, *Chairman 1945*
DR. MINER C. HILL, *Chairman 1946*

This committee establishes policies and standards for our Mothers' Milk Bureau which are accepted throughout the country. Statistics are compiled regularly with the cooperation of bureaus in Canada and the United States to give a picture of the progress being made in this field. Agencies throughout the country planning to start new units turn to the Federation for help and advice. Many delegates from Mexico, Central and South America, and our own country visited the Bureau in 1945. Medical students, nurses and post graduate students from the various schools and colleges in the City come for observation and instruction in the technique of manual expression. 300 visitors were registered in 1945.

The Mothers' Milk Bureau continues to promote the use of mothers' milk for ill and premature babies. 46,000 ounces were supplied in 1945 to babies in hospitals and under the care of private physicians, regardless of ability to pay.

Committee on Maternity Care

(Committee on call)
NELSON B. SACKETT, M.D., *Chairman*

Committee on Temporary Care for Children

WINIFRED KALTENBACH, R.N., *Chairman*

At the request of the Department of Health, this committee undertook a review of section 203 of the Sanitary Code dealing with temporary care of children, and after intensive study suggested recommendations for revisions were submitted to the department.

At the request of the Children's Welfare Federation, a joint committee of the Welfare Council and the Federation was formed to discuss the relationship between the two organizations and any possible duplication of service.

As one result of these conferences, the responsibility for coordination of the program of agencies operating temporary shelters and the giving of information relating to the placement of children in these shelters was turned over to the Welfare Council.

Committee on Child Health

DR. DONOVAN J. MCCUNE, *Chairman*

The Committee on Child Health brings together voluntary agencies and hospitals conducting child health services to study problems, coordinate programs, prevent duplication and improve standards of work. These agencies depend upon the Federation for information and new developments in the child health field.

A survey of facilities for the care of mentally handicapped children under five years of age was made at the request of the Welfare Council. Upon completion of this survey the State Charities Aid Association assumed responsibility for the use of the information compiled and for continuance of future program as indicated by the study.

The Committee on Child Health is now actively engaged in a revision of Guides for Child Health Services which will be available in 1946.

Committee on Camping

MAX OPPENHEIMER, *Chairman 1945*

HERBERT BIELE, *Chairman 1946*

The Committee on Camping of the Children's Welfare Federation continued to act on many of the important features of camp life through its Executive Committee. The committee met regularly and held several special meetings when necessary to speed the action on its objectives. This active year-round group has continued to stimulate interest in better camping for more children. Sub-committees worked on legislation affecting camps, health practices in camping, camping for the handicapped, camp records and the problem of standardization of camp fees. Outstanding products of committee activity were publications on counselors training and various record forms.

Much effort went into working with City, State and Federal departments to assist camp agencies in problems of transportation, food, and employment caused by war conditions.

For the second consecutive year an In-City Training Course for young counselors was organized by the Federation. This included nine sessions and six workshops which had three to five sessions each. Three hundred forty-three students were registered for the course. A week-end in the country rounded out the instruction period.

A week-end conference for camp directors attended by one hundred persons was held at Palisades Interstate Park in the autumn. Through discussions and comparisons of experience, camp groups coordinated and enriched their program planning.

The Directory of Summer Homes and Camps first published in 1944 proved so practical and was so widely used that a 1945 edition was necessary. This was published by the Federation at the request of the Committee on Camping.

The Vacation Clearance Service which had proved to be of value as an integral part of the whole camping picture, was operated for the sixth consecutive year.

Camp scholarship funds granted by the Greater New York Fund and others were administered under criteria set up by the Executive Committee of the Committee on Camping with approval of the Fund and the Federation.

At the request of the Department of Health a sampling survey was made during the summer of the various types of recreation programs operating under the general term of "Day Camps." This survey was made to determine whether the existing standards set up by the Federation for country camps could be applicable to day camps operated for children within the city and to gain information as to the content of these summer recreational programs. This preliminary survey indicated the need for continued study of the day camp field.

Camping News bulletins were issued regularly to member agencies and others giving them up-to-the-minute information on the numerous problems affecting camping for children in war time.

Year by year the experience and thinking of the committee on camping has developed into a practical service through the camping bureau. Visits are made to camps by experienced field workers; assistance is given to child caring agencies on matters pertaining to sending children to camps and general camp procedure. A consultation service is also maintained on individual placement of children in camps.

Information Bureau

During 1945, 5,646 inquiries, including telephone calls, letters and personal interviews, came from teachers, social workers and personnel in hospital, health and welfare organizations as well as industrial groups, parents and interested individuals in the community.

Those who ask advice from the bureau present a cross-section of life in a big city and test the ingenuity and skills of the staff to whom they come for guidance and information.

Some Printed Results of Committee Activity

PAMPHLETS:

- Aims and Guides for Improving the Practice in Camping
- Camp Directors' Guide in Meal Planning
- Pre-Camp Health Examination
- The Child Goes to Camp (A guide for camp and sending agency relationship)
- Camp Directors' Conference (Addresses and Discussions)
- Camping News Bulletins
- 1946 Supplement to Directory of Summer Camps and Homes Operated by Social Agencies of New York City
- Standards for Child Health Services
- Suggested Program for Pre-Season Training of Counselors at Camp and In-Service Training During the Camp Season
- Manual of Training Course Material
- Brochure on Mothers' Milk Bureaus
- Handbook for Mothers' Milk Bureaus

RECORD FORMS:

- Child Health Services (3)
- Campers (Health, Social, Activities records)
- Staff Application Form
- Camp Operation Records and Report Forms

STATISTICS ON

- Well-Baby Services in New York City
- Camping in New York City
- Mother's Milk Bureaus in Canada and the United States

The above publications, which are available at cost, are the result of study and research growing out of the discussions of problems arising within the committees.

The Federation is keenly aware of and grateful for the loyal cooperation of its staff, member agencies and friends which made the year 1945 a busy and productive one. We wish to express our grateful appreciation for the infinite and detailed work done by our members in all the committees.

It is gratifying to report recognition of our service to the community by the Army Second Service Command in selecting the Federation with 26 other agencies to receive a certificate of commendation for meritorious service to army personnel and their families.

No report for the year would be complete without a tribute to our loyal director and staff and we wish to express publicly our warmest thanks for their untiring efforts and excellent record in a difficult year.

The work of the Federation is supported by contributions from the general public, membership dues which cover only a small part of our budget, and grants from the Greater New York Fund.

The major part of this support comes from our friends and we wish to express our grateful thanks to these friends, old and new, and especially to St. Mary's Hospital, for their loyal cooperation and generous help.

Thank you.

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

October 8, 1946

Miss Virginia Musselman
National Recreation Association
315 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Miss Musselman:

I thank you for your letter of September 24. I have not written Miss DuPois because Miss Helen Leighty of the Children's Welfare Federation has already sent me the information which I desired.

Incidently, Mr. Attwell has visited us in person.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:MP

NATIONAL RECREATION ASSOCIATION

Founded 1906 as the Playground Association of America

Serving Over 6000 *Communities a Year*

315 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

September 24, 1946

Mr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Trigg

Mr. E. T. Attwell has given us your letter of September 13th asking for a list of individuals and organizations which maintain summer camps for children of all races. We know, of course, that there are a great many organizations in and around New York City that conduct such camps but we do not maintain a camp listing.

Upon reading your letter, we telephoned Miss DuBois who is in charge of the Camp Bureau of the Children's Welfare Federation. Miss DuBois told us that she felt very sure that she could help you in your question and could send you the names of some of these organizations. She suggested that you write to her direct giving her as many details as possible as to what you wish in such a list, how it is to be used, and the like, so that she will be able to give you an adequate answer. The address of this Federation is 435 Ninth Avenue, New York City.

Sincerely yours

Virginia Musselman

Virginia Musselman
Correspondence and Consultation Bureau

VM/jk

HOWARD BRAUCHER, PRESIDENT
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GUSTAVUS T. KIRBY, TREASURER

Camp -

April 25, 1950

Miss H. Blackburn
Chairman, Camping Committee
Camp Fire Girls
204 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Blackburn:

Thank you for your letter of April 19.

We got together fifteen dollars. Herewith.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

ANYBODY ELSE ?

GSM

CAMP FIRE GIRLS

204 Auburn Ave., N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

MR. CHARLES GIDEONS
Chairman of Extension Committee

MRS. GENIE CHAIRES, *President*
MRS. PEARL CLEMENT, *Vice-President*
MRS. GENEVA HAUGABROOKS, *Secretary*

MR. C. R. YATES, *Treasurer*
MRS. DOLLIE ALEXANDER
Chairman of Committee of Awards

April 19, 1950

RECEIVED
APR 20 '50
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Every summer the Camp Fire Girls of Atlanta provides a ten day camping period for Negro girls at Camp John Hope.

There are several hunderd Camp Fire Girls who are eager to attend camp. However, this year the Camping Committee is attempting to provide facilities for at least one hundred girls to Camp John Hope.

We are asking that you, (as a group,) assist us in our project by bearing the camp expenses of one girl. Expenses including room, board and transportation for the ten days period are $20.00. If you find it impossible to bear all of the expenses any contribution you have to make will be highly appreciated.

Contributions may be sent to the Camping Committee, Camp Fire Girls, 204 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia.

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation.

Signed,
H. Blackburn
H. Blackburn
Chairman of Camping Committee

Make file

CANDEUB, FLEISSIG AND ASSOCIATES
Planning & Community Development Consultants

July 5, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a draft of a letter which we discussed which we would like to have sent out in order to test the alternative equal opportunity in housing programs which we are developing for the city.

Please call me when you receive this and we will discuss it.

Sincerely yours,

Bron

Bron Cleveland

CBC:kp
Enclosure

Other agencies -

SUITE 421, 900 PEACHTREE BUILDING, ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309 TEL. AREA CODE 404/875-0721/2

Make file
"Candeub Flessig + Associates"

July 25, 1966

Mr. C. Bron Cleveland
Candeub, Flessig and Associates
900 Peachtree Street, N. E., Suite 421
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bron:

While we will talk in the morning, enclosed is a folder with those questionnaires that have been returned to date. Also, enclosed are copies of letters sent out indicating to whom questionnaires were sent.

In time, we would either like to have this material returned for our files, or to have copies of it. If more information comes in, we will forward it to you.

Hope this is of some help.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Make feeder

file in "C" section of files

MJ file

CANDEUB, FLEISSIG AND ASSOCIATES

Planning & Community Development Consultants

October 7, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

This is to confirm my agreement with you whereby our firm will produce an article for the Southern Regional Council on the subject of equal opportunity in housing. We will attempt to keep the style similar to the examples which you gave us.

Our estimate of cost of the above was approximately $1,250 which you agreed would be appropriate although the final cost may be slightly less or slightly more. We hope to have a draft of the article completed by the end of next week or early the following week.

We appreciate the opportunity to work with you on this assignment.

Sincerely yours,

John Brown

John A. Brown
Vice President

JAB:kp
c.c. C. Morstein
M. Fleissig

SUITE 421, 900 PEACHTREE BUILDING, ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309 TEL. AREA CODE 404/875-0721/2

Make file
Candeub Fleissig
& Assocs
file in "C" section

November 23, 1966

Mr. Fred C. Michaeli
Vice-President
Candeub, Fleissig and Associates
32 Green Street
Newark, New Jersey 07102

Dear Mr. Michaeli:

Enclosed is our check in payment of the work done by your Atlanta office.

We appreciate the cooperation of Candeub, Fleissig and Associates and especially the high quality of work done for us by Mr. Brown and Mr. Cleveland of your Atlanta office.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc. - Check $1,250.

cc: Mr. John Brown, Atlanta, Ga.

(7)

CANDEUB, FLEISSIG AND ASSOCIATES
Planning & Community Development Consultants

November 15, 1966

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Att: Mr. Paul Anthony

Re: Article on Equal
Opportunity in Housing
Invoice No. 3783-1-0079

In accordance with the terms of our Agreement for services dated October 7, 1966, between the undersigned and your Council, we hereby certify that we have completed the article on equal opportunity in housing.

Pursuant to the aforesaid agreement, request is hereby respectfully made for payment in the amount of $1,250.

CANDEUB, FLEISSIG & ASSOCIATES

Fred C. Michaeli
Vice President

FCM:jm

32 GREEN STREET, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY 07102 TEL. AREA CODE 201/643-3919

Make folder "Capitol Press Club"

May 20, 1966

Miss E. Josephine Lowery
3034 South Dakota Avenue, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20018

Dear Miss Lowery:

I deeply regret that a prior commitment will make it impossible for me to accept your thoughtful invitation to attend the Twenty-Third Anniversary Celebration of the Capital Press Club.

Thank you most sincerely for your invitation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

3

MISS E. JOSEPHINE LOWERY
3034 South Dakota Avenue, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20018

The Capital Press Club

We (I) accept with pleasure your invitation to the Twenty-Third Anniversary Celebration of The Capital Press Club, on Saturday, June 4, 1966, at the International Inn.

Enclosed is our (my) check for ..... banquet ticket(s) at $10.00 each We (I) understand that the price of the banquet ticket(s) includes admission to the Institute, Banquet, and Dance.

Further, we (I) understand that the celebration is being held for the benefit of scholarships for Negro journalism students.

Name.....

Address.....

The Capital Press Club

requests the honor of your presence

at its Twenty-Third Anniversary Celebration

with

The Honorable John W. Gardner
The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare

The Honorable Thurgood Marshall
The Solicitor General of the United States

The Honorable Andrew F. Brimmer
Member, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System

as honored participants

on Saturday, the fourth of June

Nineteen hundred and sixty-six

at six o'clock

at the International Inn

R.s.v.p. Black Tie

Twenty-Third Anniversary Celebration

To benefit The John F. Kennedy Memorial Scholarship Fund

Honorary Chairmen

The Honorable Robert C. Weaver
The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

Senator Thomas H. Kuchel of California

Ninth Annual Press Institute — 10 a.m.
Cabinet and Diplomat Rooms

Theme — The Negro Looks at Africa

Chairman — The Honorable Howard B. Woods

Participants

The Honorable Samuel Z. Westerfield, Jr.

Mr. Anthony Astrachan — Dr. Edward Mazique
Mr. George E. Carter, Jr. — Mr. Tom Schropshire
Mr. James D. Williams

Cocktails 6 p.m. — Poolside

Annual Awards Banquet 7 p.m. — Federal Hall

Main Speaker

The Honorable John W. Gardner

Award Recipients

The Honorable Thurgood Marshall
The Honorable Andrew F. Brimmer
The Honorable Verda F. Welcome
The Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy
Mr. Jules Feiffer
Mr. Edward P. Morgan
Mr. Carl Murphy
Mr. A. T. Spaulding

Dancing — 10 p.m. to 1 a.m.

October 6, 1954

Mr. Herman M. Case
Asst. Professor, Oklahoma A. & M. College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Case:

Ever since Sol called me about your opinion sampling studies, I have been trying to think of some way to find the relatively small sum you need to summarize the findings. Unfortunately, no luck.

As I explained to Sol in some detail, SRC's resources are heavily committed to state organization; the budget hardly allows enough for printing our small publication New South, much lessffor the preparation of its contents.

By rights, some professional journal ought to foot the bill in order to be able to publish the findings. Do keep after Guy Johnson; he should be in a strategic position to help.

Please give my regards to Sol and, again, my regrets that I can't come up with the answer.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE
STILLWATER

September 24, 1954

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming

I am writing to follow up the discussion Sol Sutker had with you regarding the segregation studies made during this past summer session.

As Sol probably mentioned, the studies were done for me by graduate students, in educational administration at Oklahoma A & M. These students surveyed their own communities for the most part on a random sampling basis, to get at the calculated risks of desegregation as reflected in public opinion on the supreme court decision and its implications.

Financial assistance will be necessary, if I am to summarize these findings in such a way as to give a meaningful picture for the state as a whole. The relevant data will have to be extracted from each study, standardized where possible, re-analyzed in some instances where improperly handled and/or to get a certain relevant background factors. I shall also have to have maps and charts made.

Guy Johnson examined some of these studies when he visited the campus in early August. He thought that he might be able to support such a project, and I agreed to contact him again in September. I have just received word from him. He still seems interested, but his funds are bottled up at the moment. Since the significance of these studies depends in part, on their timeliness, I am taking the liberty to approach you, rather than chance waiting. I am sending Dr. Johnson a copy of this letter to inform him of my decision. In any event, I am anxious that the materials I have do get reported. That, I believe to be the important thing.

Should you be able to provide financial assistance, which I estimate at $200, I shall, of course, be prepared to write up the results in a way you suggest for publication in the source you indicate.

I would appreciate a prompt answer to this letter for a reason other than the timing of the report. The fall semester began the 17th, and the sooner I have word,

the better chance I shall have to select one or two qualified assistants before they are gobbled up by other departments.

Best regards from Sol.

Sincerely yours

Herman M. Case

Herman M. Case
Assistant Professor
Sociology & Rural Life

HMC:psk

cc Dr. Guy B. Johnson, University of North Carolina

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE

STILLWATER

I. Title:

A Study of Attitudes Toward Public School Desegregation in 40 Oklahoma Communities

II. Statement of the problem:

On May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court declared public school racial segregation unconstitutional. Since that time a number of communities in the 17 southern states practicing segregation have made plans or have, in fact, attempted to implement desegregation. In a certain number of communities inter-racial friction has developed to threaten the success of desegregation.

This study is an attempt to determine how much friction is potentially manifest in Oklahoma by analysis and evaluation of public opinion data on public school desegregation collected in 40 Oklahoma communities.

III. Objectives of the study:

1. To determine the general pattern of public opinion toward public school desegregation in the state of Oklahoma.

2. To determine if the public opinion data is different for different areas of Oklahoma.

3. To aid those policy-makers and policy-administrators in the state of Oklahoma who are actively concerned with this problem and who seek empirical evidence of the public opinion toward desegregation.

4. To aid those policy-makers and policy-administrators in other states who can either profit from the findings or else aid Oklahomans by making relevant policy suggestions on the basis of their own studies.

IV. Principal investigator:

Herman M. Case, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology & Rural Life

V. Cooperating departments:

a. Department of Sociology & Rural Life
b. Research Foundation

VI. Duration:

a. Date begun: Nov., 1954 b. Estimated date of completion: Jan., 1955

VII. Summary of Previous Research:

a. School administrators enrolled in Sociology 413 (Advanced General Sociology) during the 1954 summer session of Oklahoma A. & M. College were asked to survey their own communities' attitudes toward the Supreme Court decision and its implications. The students used, in the main, a standardized questionnaire, and followed as closely as possible, scientific sampling procedures. Data from 40 Oklahoma communities are now available but they have not yet been collated and summarized to present a broader picture for the state as a whole.

b. Race relations literature is too voluminous for full mention here. Since the beginning of World War II, almost all race relations studies have raised the issue of segregation, its causes, its conditions, its effects. Many of these studies have had wide audiences beyond the academic. The Supreme Court, in fact, admitted that in declaring school desegregation unconstitutional it had disregarded the principle of decision by historical precedents of early court cases and instead [redacted] stated that it was most singularly influenced by the research of social scientists in this area. The research studies were not specifically mentioned by the Court, but doubtless, it must have become familiar with such studies as Myrdal's American Dilemma, Cox's Caste, Class and Race, Benedict's Race and Racism, Moon's, The High Cost of Prejudice, the American Council on Education series edited by Robert Sutherland and culminating in Color, Class and Personality, Charles Johnson's Patterns of Negro Segregation, Soenger's Social Psychology of Prejudice, and the UNESCO statement on race problems.

Such groups as the American Jewish Committee, the Urban League, the Anti-Defamation League of the B'Nai Brith and the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Educational Foundation have sponsored extensive research in this area. This latter group, aided by the Ford Foundation, sponsored the "Ashmore" report, The Negro and the Schools which was published on the eve of the Supreme Court decision. Since September, 1954, a new journal, the Southern School News, sponsored by the newly created Southern Education Reporting Service has been reporting on developments in the 17 southern states practicing segregation.

VIII. Methodology:

The project proposes to carry to completion the work begun in the summer of 1954, data having been collected and left in mostly raw and unrelated form. This involves the following steps:

1. The relevant public opinion data will be extracted from each community survey, standardized for comparability, and reanalyzed in some instances where improperly handled.

2. Relevant tables, charts and maps will be made to help maximize the clarity of the findings.

Methodology (Continued)

3. A report will be written in such a way as to give a meaningful picture for the state as a whole and to point out any unique regional differences in Oklahoma.

4. This report will be prepared for publication in a journal suitable for disseminating the information in other states as well as in Oklahoma.

IX. Significance of the study:

1. It is assumed that attitudinal information expressing the likes, dislikes, the needs and the fears of the public can help make for more intelligent planning of desegregation policies.

2. It is, also, assumed that such information can arm people responsible for the implementation of desegregation plans with knowledge of some of the calculated risks involved, especially state departments, local boards of education and school administrators.

3. The findings of these 40 Oklahoma surveys can do much to aid in planning the implementation and the follow-up of the desegregation policies that are decided on. School administrators who made independent studies of their own communities can get a broader picture of the state pattern to illuminate and guide the individual administrator's problem-solving.

4. Such information, when properly disseminated by such agencies as the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Educational Reporting Service, can do much to further illuminate the problems of desegregation found in other states. It can break down "pluralistic ignorance" and mere speculation on the part of the public, generally, regarding the readiness and ability of a state to follow the May 17 Supreme Court decision.

X. Budget:

Funds are needed to aid in synthesizing the materials collected into an organized report so that it may serve as a basis for the guidance of public policies relative to public education in Oklahoma. Any unused portion of the money budgeted is to be returned to the Research Foundation. If more money is needed than estimated, a supplementary request will be submitted at a later date. At present, however, it seems possible to complete the work already underway, if support can be granted as itemized below:

Departmental Contributions		Request to Research Foundation	Total
1. Secretarial assistance	$ 50	_____	$ 50
2. Materials	10	_____	10
3. Office space	50	_____	50
4. Machine service	15	_____	15
5. Supervision	150	_____	150
6. Clerical work	___	$100	100
7. TOTAL	$275	$100	$375

Requested by: Date

Herman M. Case, Assistant Professor of Sociology

Recommended by:

O. D. Duncan, Head, Department of Sociology & Rural Life

Approved by:

Schiller Scroggs, Dean, School of Arts and Sciences

O. M. Smith, Director, Research Foundation

For Harold Fleming,
George Mitchell, & others interested.
From H. M. Case
Okla. A & M College
Stillwater, Okla.

May 27, 1955

Mr. Herman M. Case
Department of Sociology
Oklahoma A & M College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Case:

I have been feeling increasingly uncomfortable about sitting on your very interesting manuscripts reporting the findings of your opinion studies. Frankly, I have been hoping for some word from Guy Johnson, a prospect which you advanced in your letter of transmittal. Have you heard from Guy?

Our best judgment here is that the full reports -- or some of them -- might best be published by a professional journal. Even if we had the money to publish them in brochure form, they are somewhat too specialized and too localized to warrant a special publication by us. And New South, as you know, is too small a vehicle to carry even one of the full reports. The best we might be able to do would be to carry a popularly written article summarizing the high lights of your findings. But this I take it does not meet your primary need.

Accordingly I am returning the carbons of the three typed manuscripts, and, for the time being, am retaining the mimeographed report on 37 communities. We read them with great interest and I am only sorry that there is so little I can suggest in the way of publishing opportunities.

Please let me hear from you and meanwhile my best regards to you and to Sol Sutker.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
for
Information

HCF:rnf
encl. 3mss

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE
STILLWATER

April 4, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director for Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I had hoped to see you at the recent SSS meeting in Nashville. I carted along several manuscripts that I hoped you'd have time to look over.

I've finally completed the study of 37 Oklahoma communities I discussed with you earlier. I would like to see the report published in New South since then the most pertinent audience would be covered.

I am sending along three other studies (I have two others on attitudes of Negro students and Negro teachers toward desegregation not ready to send). I am not sure where these (enclosed studies) can be most satisfactorily published, either separately as articles or all four studies together as a monograph. I'd appreciate any suggestions. There is some chance the college may be willing to publish these studies in monograph form but the arrangement leaves a good deal to be desired.

Also, I did see Guy Johnson in Nashville. He agreed to examine the studies with a view to the problem of publication. He indicated that he would be in contact with you on this matter.

I recognize the great amount of pruning that will be needed if New South is to carry any or all of these studies. My main concern, of course, is that the data be published in such a way as to give the clearest information to the widest relevant audience.

Sol Sutker sends his regards.

Awaiting your response, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Herman M. Case

Herman M. Case
Assistant Professor
Sociology and Rural Life

HMC:ng

Denham Springs Resolution
Catholic 1944
CCS

June 12, 1944

The Rev. Frank S. Persons, II
Christ Church Rectory
Bastrop, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Persons:

Thank you for your letter of May 29. I have not heard from Bishop Jackson yet. I am sure that he is an exceedingly busy man.

Looking over the Denham Springs Resolution again, it occurs to me that perhaps I was a bit brash in asking permission to quote without deleting the last part of point 3, namely, the words "with a view to becoming members therein, and urging membership upon members of their congregations." It would of course not be in very good taste for us to use these words from the Resolution.

We have just received a letter from Mr. M. C. D'Argonne, Xavier University, New Orleans, telling of the formation of a Louisiana Commission on Interracial Cooperation. I wonder whether you have been in touch with him.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Rt. Rev. John L. Jackson, D. D., Bishop
509 Louisiana Building
New Orleans 12, La.

Rev. Edwin L. Conly
Rev. Howard S Giere
Very Rev. William H. Nes, D. D.

Rev. Frank S. Persons, II,
Chairman,
Bastrop, La.

Rev. Frank W. Robert,
Secretary,
Natchitoches, La.

Rev. George P. Pardington
Mrs. Carl F. Dahlberg
Harvey Lee Marcoux

Forward In Service Commission
Diocese of Louisiana

Christ Church Rectory,
Bastrop, Louisiana,
May 29, 1944.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia.

My dear Dr. Johnson:

May I thank you for your generous and encouraging letter of the twenty-fourth.

Realizing that I have no authority to commit the diocese to any public statement, however enthusiastic I may be, I have submitted the matter to our Bishop, under whose vigorous and inspirational leadership we have been working. He will probably write you just what he feels would be wise in print.

At our meeting Tuesday and Wednesday in Birmingham, where Bishops, heads of departments, and members of our National Council met, we accomplished a great deal along this line.

Thursday I spent in Tuskegee; had a most helpful day at the Institute, and brought home much that seems worthwhile.

We are most grateful for your leadership and feel sure that we will all benefit by your broadened program.

Cordially yours,

Frank Persons

Frank Persons.

Christ Church Rectory,
Bastrop, Louisiana,
May 29, 1944.

The Rt. Rev. John L. Jackson, D.D.,
The Bishop of Louisiana,
New Orleans, Louisiana.

My dear Bishop:

In a letter received this morning from Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, he asks:

> "May I ask whether there would be any objection to our quoting the Denham Springs resolutions in the SOUTHERN FRONTIER?"

Realizing how very careful we must be in print, I am writing to submit this to you. You had a copy of the resolutions, but I quote so that you may have them before you:

"1. "That the Christian doctrine of man be made the chief subject of study in all types of adult religious education in the diocese during the present year.

2. That <u>the application of this doctrine</u> be considered, especially with relation to the problems of the minority groups in the United States.

3. That the clergy be asked to inform themselves concerning the activities of the Southern Regional Council WITH A VIEW TO BECOMING MEMBERS THEREIN, AND URGING MEMBERSHIP UPON MEMBERS OF THEIR CONGREGATIONS."

I would be most grateful, however, if you yourself would drop a line to Dr. Johnson (710 Standard Bldg., Atlanta) sending him just what you are willing to have published. I certainly have no authority to commit the diocese to anything.

Enjoyed being with you in Birmingham.

Caroline joins in best wishes to you both.

Faithfully,

Frank Persons.

Rt. Rev. John L. Jackson, D. D., Bishop
509 Louisiana Building
New Orleans 12, La.

Rev. Edwin L. Conly
Rev. Howard S Gieke
Very Rev. William H. Nes, D. D.

Rev. Frank S. Persons, II,
Chairman,
Bastrop, La.

Rev. Frank W. Robert,
Secretary,
Natchitoches, La.

Rev. George P. Pardington
Mrs. Carl F. Dahlberg
Harvey Lee Marcoux

Forward In Service Commission
Diocese of Louisiana

Christ Church Rectory,
Bastrop, Louisiana,
June 10, 1944.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Exec. Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia.

My dear Dr. Johnson:

With apology for delay in writing you, (the Bishop was out of New Orleans for an extended trip), I enclose his letter, giving permission, with the reservations mentioned, to print our Denham Springs resolutions.

I hope that this has not delayed the matter too long, but I had not the right to speak for the diocese.

Today's (May) copy of "The Southern Frontier" caused me to sit down and write to enquire about the Institute of Race Relations to be held at Fisk University; I am hoping that I can arrange to go, and to take Mrs. Persons and our daughter, a pre-medical student at L.S.U. It appears to be most worthwhile.

All good wishes for you and for your Work.

Cordially,

Frank Persons

Frank Persons.

THE BISHOP OF LOUISIANA
509 LOUISIANA BUILDING
NEW ORLEANS 12

June 7, 1944

Rev. Frank S. Persons, II.,
Bastrop, Louisiana.

My dear Frank:--

Your letter of May 29th received and my reply has been delayed because of my absence from the city.

I see no possible reason why you should not send to the SOUTHERN FRONTIER the resolutions that were adopted by the members of the Forward in Service Commission of the Diocese of Louisiana who were present at the Denham Springs meeting.

I see nothing that any one could object to in these resolutions, but in order that we can be kept perfectly in the clear, ask that in using them the statement will be made that they are resolutions adopted by a Committee of the Diocese of Louisiana by those members who were present at that Committee meeting at Denham Springs.

With warmest personal regards, I remain,

Very sincerely your friend
and Bishop,

John L. Jackson

Dictated by the Bishop just before leaving for Sewanee.
Signed for him at his request to avoid delay in mailing.
-S-

November 27, 1945

Mr. John E. Eck
Treasurer
Catholic Committee of the South
Gastonia, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Eck:

Dr. Howard W. Odum has transmitted to us your check for $100.00 for the membership of the Catholic Committee of the South in the Southern Regional Council. Please accept our deepest gratitude for this contribution.

Will you kindly advise us as to whom to list as official representative of the CCS for receiving correspondence and Council literature?

We are delighted that Mr. Paul D. Williams of Richmond has recently been elected president of the Southern Regional Council succeeding Dr. Howard W. Odum who has served two years.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

November 21, 1945

RECEIVED
NOV 23 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy:

The enclosed letter and check are satisfactory. I shall be writing you a footnote to this letter later.

Cordially yours,

HWO

HOWARD W. ODUM

(Enclosed - Letter from John E. Eck, Gastonia, N.C. and check from CCS for $100.00)

by
Rt. Rev. Monsignor T. James McNamara

THE CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO.

Reluctantly do I entitle this paper "The Catholic Committee of the South and the Negro," because the Catholic Committee of the South has no separatist view of the Negro and does not look upon him through segregated eyes. It looks to the Negro as it looks to any other ethnic group within the Southern Region and sees him as a member of the Mystical Body of Christ, sharing with all other groups the potential of making real to the Region all that is promised in the comprehension of the phrase, "the Mystical Body."

However, the caption serves a useful purpose in that for the average reader it holds a challenging paradox or perchance a contradiction. Catholic, South, Negro, - must seem perforce to the constant reader of the "Interracial Review" as so many contradictory terms, challenging his credulity and irking his charity. And yet we Catholics of the South find no contradiction when as Catholics, native to and resident in the South, we form ourselves into a Regional Committee under Catholic auspices to demonstrate in the Southern Region wherein the citizens of the Region, White and Negro, have part with Christ in making for the abundant life for all.

RECEIVED
JUN 23 1947
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

The program of the Catholic Committee of the South has as its underlying premise the conviction that "Christianity does and professes to insert something into our sheer humanity which will bring it to perfection, natural and supernatural alike. This perfection is indicated in the likeness that man bears to God, a likeness not merely pictorial but real, inasmuch as man is no less spirit than he is body. A most profound and full sonship is made possible by the death of Christ on Calvary. It is only in this sonship that man attains to the natural yearning of his heart in the attainment of this perfection."

Out of the conviction, serving as its premise, the Catholic Committee of the South evolved a nine point program:

1. To bring to Catholics in the Southland and in other sections of the Country a knowledge of the Church's promise in the Southland.

2. To intensify Catholic activity in the South through means supplemented by other sections of the Country, enjoying a greater measure of material prosperity.

3. To assist in establishing a social order that will be favorable to a Christian family life.

4. To sponsor sound programs that look to the improvement of the worker in agriculture and industry; to oppose all exploitation of the agricultural and industrial worker and to seek for him a just return of the fruits of his labor.

5. To foster a better understanding between Southern capital and labor, according to the principles defined in the social encyclicals of the Popes.

6. To train leadership, White and Negro, in order to bring the force of Christian teaching to labor and industry and their organizations.

7. To develop special programs for the youth of the South so as to insure a trained leadership for the future.

8. To bring about a friendlier understanding between Southerners, irrespective of race or creed.

9. To insist on the historic fact that Christian Principle is basic to the American conception of citizenship and government.

It will be seen from the enunciation of the points of this program and their inspiring premise that the Catholic Committee of the South as it faces its Region, the Southern Region, does so perhaps wishfully and wistfully but nevertheless realistically in the manner that Catholics should be realistic.

Catholic Realism is not circumscribed by the materialism of the world but has the extension of the Kingdom of God. It does not sell short the essential, although intangible values, of true Democracy, because immediate but tangible values are threatened. It does not trade Christ for thirty pieces of silver, because thereby it might escape repudiation and make for a momentary gain.

No, Catholic Realism faces life as the Author of Life ordered it and not as the world's realists have distorted it. It knows that man, - all men, - are creatures composed of body and soul and made in God's image and likeness. It knows that by virtue of the soul man, - all men, - will increasingly reflect the likeness of God and that to the extent this creativeness is inactive man, - all men, - will reflect animal, which they are in their bodies. Through their creative faculty, rightly directed, man, - all men, - becoming God-like, will become makers of peace and sharers in the good life. Neglecting the principles, which make for right direction, man, - all men, - using their creative faculty will find their motivation in the craving of the instincts, which are shared with the animals, and will level off all living to the jungle law of survival.

The Catholic Committee of the South with the knowledge and the motivation which the Christ-life gives, addresses itself to the problems of the Southern Region not within the artificial limitations of the legal pattern of segregation, but within the limitations of God's concept of man, - all men, - and the restrictions of God's Law, the Ten Commandments.

And so in its nine point program the Catholic Committee of the South makes reference to the pigmentation of the citizens of the Southern Region only when it sets down its aspirations and its hopes for leadership within the Region. Here in point #6 it looks to leadership, White and Negro, to bring the force of Christian teaching to the economy of the South.

In this the Committee is truly realistic, even with the realism of the children of this world. As children of the Light the members of the Catholic Committee of the South realize that fundamental to

society's chaos and disorder is the lack of equal employment for all. They know that the opportunity for employment should not be restricted because of color and they know the opportunity will not be restricted if the force of Christian teaching is operative in the affairs of men.

Rightly then the Catholic Committee of the South realistically views the bi-racial complexion of the South's population as it reaches out after a Southern leadership charged through and through with the force of Christian teaching. It would like to believe that this Region, still clinging to essential Christian truths, could be made to demonstrate rationally in its living that to which emotionally it so firmly adheres.

Call it the Bible Belt, if you will, The Southern Region's reverence for the Bible is America's greatest hope for the survival of Americanism and the perpetuation of ideals, which have made the United States the highest exemplar of human dignity, human liberty and human freedom.

The Catholic Committee of the South, because it is Catholic, has found in the South a people who constitute, as it were, a soil indigenous to the truths which in turn constitute its own "modus vivendi et operandi." It is not discouraged by reason of the fact that the Region's profession is so frequently nullified by its actions. It knows that the South's unhealthy economy is not of its own creation but is a by-product of a fratricidal strife wherein men, to establish an equally false economy, slew their brothers to accumulate the momentary gains which false economies inevitably bring.

Not as an indictment of those who created the false economy that was or that now is, was the Catholic Committee of the South established, but rather to awaken in Southerners generally, White and Negro, an awareness of their priceless Christian heritage, so that aware, they might build anew an economy wherein they will be equal opportunity for all.

Dramatizing its conviction that all Southerners, White and Negro, are contributing equally to the advancement of the Southern Region, the Catholic Committee of the South, in its annual award, citing those who have made for progress within the Region, has singled out members of the Negro Race equally with those of the White Race. Indeed, its annual citation has gone to White and Negro, not on the basis or out of the consideration of color, but rather on the basis of contribution to the progress and welfare of the South. It is highly significant that even though color was not a consideration, the Catholic Committee of the South's award has gone almost equally to a White and to a Negro.

With its conviction of Christianity and its devotion to the Southland, the Catholic Committee of the South looks forward hopefully to the future, when the hysteria of war and the prejudices it engenders will have passed. It knows that the social soil of the South is essentially Christian. It looks forward hopefully that its meager resources will be so supplemented as indicated in point #2 of its program that it will be enabled to so intensify Catholic activity in the South that out of this Southern soil will come the flowering which will give full bloom to the maturity of our Country's Declaration of Independence.

October 30, 1946

Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S.M.
2901 S. Carrollton Avenue
New Orleans 18, La.

Dear Father O'Connell:

I am very grateful to you for your letter of October 19, and wish to assure you that I felt it an honor to participate in the program on the occasion of your 1946 annual convention of The Catholic Committee of the South. The general atmosphere was excellent and stimulating. I enjoyed every moment of the visit.

Trusting that I may have the opportunity to see you on my future trips to Louisiana, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director

HLT:rr

The Catholic Committee of the South

REV. VINCENT J. O'CONNELL, S. M.
CHAIRMAN

2901 S. CARROLLTON AVE. NEW ORLEANS 18, LA.

October 19, 1946

Dr. Harold Trigg, Associate Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Northeast
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

In announcing the opening of its headquarters in New Orleans, the Catholic Committee of the South takes this occasion to thank you for your generous cooperation in making its 1946 annual convention a memorable success.

Your personal sacrifice in attending our convention was an inspiration to us all. We renew our pledge of collaboration with the Southern Regional Council in the South's future for the nation.

Sincerely,

Vincent J. O'Connell S.M.

Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S.M.

VJO/dc

Catholic Conf of the South

February 17, 1947

Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S. M.,
2901 S. Carrollton Avenue,
New Orleans 18, La.

Dear Father O'Connell:

Thanks for your letter of February 11.

Mr. Paul Williams has already told me of your 1947 Convention to be held in Charlotte, North Carolina and I am sure it will be a good one.

The man who is responsible for the credit union movement in eastern North Carolina is a Negro, Mr. S. P. Dean, Columbia, North Carolina. He is a good speaker and will fit well into your program. If you plan to give consideration to the problems involved in the merchanization of Southern Agriculture, may I suggest Mr. John W. Mitchell (colored), Field Agent, Extension Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. or Dr. Authur Raper (white) Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington D. C. Migration and urbanization will certainly be two major social problems resulting from the growth of industry, and the expanded use of machines in the cotton fields of the South.

Mr. Dean will be able to send you the literature on credit unions.

I hope that my schedule will find me in the vicinity of Charlotte at the time of your Convention.

If I may be of further service, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

The Catholic Committee of the South

REV. VINCENT J. O'CONNELL, S. M.
CHAIRMAN

2901 S. CARROLLTON AVE. NEW ORLEANS 18, LA.

February 11, 1947

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Trigg:

Please accept my apologies for not looking you up last Wednesday evening at the Religion and Labor Foundation meeting. I got so tied up in committee work that I even forgot a dinner engagement for that evening.

What I wanted to talk to you about concerns our Catholic Committee of the South 1947 convention to be held in Charlotte, N.C. I received some fine suggestions from Dr. Johnson regarding speakers. In our conversation, Dr. Johnson mentioned the credit union movement in east North Carolina among a colored group. If I remember rightly, he was referring to Mr. McClure's work. Dr. Johnson said that you knew about this work and would be able to inform me as to the feasibility and possibility of having someone talk on this work before our membership.

As you know, we have five departments in the Catholic Committee - Rural Life, Labor-Industry, Race Relations, Education and Southern Apostolate (missions). At this convention we would like to highlight Rural Life, bring out the necessary relationships between rural and urban problems and the need for cooperation. We would appreciate any information that you could send us on the credit union movement and any other topics that you consider timely.

We have been assured that all of our meetings at the Hotel Charlotte will be open to the colored on a non-segregation basis. You understand, of course, that this is not for publicity, but merely to give you the necessary information for your suggestions.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Vincent J. O'Connell S.M.

Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S.M.

vjo/mas

S. P. Dean
John W. Mitchell

Catholic Committee of the South
2901 S. Carrollton Ave.
New Orleans 18, La.

March-April, 1947

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

YOU ALL

ARE LABOR UNIONS AMERICAN? - see page one

A SUPRESSED STATEMENT? - see page one

THE TELEPHONE STRIKE AND CATHOLIC SOCIAL PRINCIPLES - see page three

PLAYING POLITICS WITH LABOR LEGISLATION - see page four

IT JUST ISN'T DONE - see page four

SUPPORT THE WAGNER-ELLENDER-TAFT BILL - see page eight

*Congratulations to His Excellency, the Most *
Reverend Thomas J. Toolen, D.D. on the occasion
*of the 20th anniversary of his consecration. *

"Brethren, be of the same mind....and the God of peace and love will be with you. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Charity of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with YOU ALL. (2 Cor. 13, 11-13)

WHAT IS THE AMERICAN WAY?

We see by the papers that the Advertising Council is about to launch a campaign to sell the American way of life. The council is a non-profit board set up during the war to promote the sale of War Bonds and other public drives. It is made up of representatives from business, labor and the public. Among the 10 points listed by the committee, perhaps the most significant are those that recognize organized labor and collective bargaining as thoroughly American.

It seems to us that the American story could be summed up as the battle for free representation. Most Americans remember from their history books the rallying cry of our revolution against the 18th century English doctrine of the divine right of kings. To all political tyrants and state absolutism, the American answer is still the same - "taxation without representation is tyranny."

What some of us fail to realize is that in the 1850's another English importation was brought to this country, namely extreme economic individualism. This foreign way of life teaches that employers have the "divine right of giving orders while employees have the duty of taking orders." Now the American worker is not an anarchist. He will take orders, but he insists that his representatives must have something to say about determining those orders. The American worker has rebelled against economic dictatorship. The rallying cry is the same as that of the American colonials - REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR OWN CHOOSING. He expresses his American economic faith through a labor union. He realizes that representative POLITICAL democracy must be matched with representative ECONOMIC democracy. Thousands of American employers are agreeing more and more with their employees that the American revolution must be completed with a "declaration of inter-dependence" recognizing equal partnership between management and labor. May the American Way grow until every laborer is working WITH management and not merely FOR management.

THE TELEPHONE STRIKE

I A SUPRESSED STATEMENT? - Some months ago, with the approval of the Episcopal Chairman, the Catholic Committee of the South released a statement on the coal strike. In this statement, we saw fit to take issue with John L. Lewis' arbitrary behavior.

This statement received prominent and lengthy reporting in the press and on the radio.

On Thursday, April 24th, the CCS released a statement to the same press, with the same approbation, in which it saw fit to take issue with the arbitrary behavior of the American Telephone and Telegraph Companies which precipitated the phone strike.

To date, we have no knowledge of even brief reporting in the press or on the radio regarding our statement on the telephone strike. It pays to advertise!

Our thanks and congratulations to Catholic Action of the South for printing our statement in full.

II THE STATEMENT - The president of the United States has issued a solemn warning to all Americans. If we are to avoid a depression, the maladjustments between family income and the cost of living must be corrected. "SOUND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IS ESSENTIAL", the President insists, if management and labor are to do their part in preventing a depression capable of causing world wide disaster.

Thousands of employers, thousands of labor leaders and millions of workers are doing their part in the American Way by bargaining in good faith. An outstanding exception to the rule at present is the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and affiliates which have rejected our national policy of "SOUND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING".

Every demand made by the telephone workers gives evidence of a sincere desire to bargain. The few proposals made by the Bell companies give evidence of a determined unwillingness to bargain. For instance, in response to the unions' wage demands, the Bell companies do not offer one penny in wage increases.

The National Federation of Telephone Workers IS NOT seeking one wage rate for the same job in every city. THEY ARE attempting to narrow geographical wage differentials which amount in some cases to a difference of $14 to $22 per week for the same work.

The Catholic Committee of the South is in accord with the merchants, the men and women in the professions and the workers of this region who resent the unfair wage differentials between Southerners and their fellow Americans in other parts of the country. These wage differentials do not effect a lower COST of living, but a lower STANDARD of living.

The Catholic Committee of the South offers the following recommendations:

A. FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF ORDER DURING THE STRIKE

1) Strikers should use only just means to make their strike effective.
2) Strikers should refrain from all acts or threats of violence.
3) The companies should accept the unions' offer to supply experienced workers for the maintenance of emergency services.
4) The companies should refrain from using or enticing employees as strike-breakers.

B. TO END THE STRIKE

1) Government, socially conscious employers, and public opinion should use all just means to persuade the Telephone companies to negotiate with the unions in good faith.
2) In the case of a deadlock after compromises have been made, both parties should submit their disagreements to the ordinary processes of mediation and arbitration.

The Catholic Committee of the South in harmony with all right-thinking people, insists that the public safety and welfare are of paramount consideration in this dispute. All parties must recognize their obligations to the common good.

Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell,
General Chairman
A. J. Cummings,
Executive Secretary
Roger Baudier, K.S.G.,
Publicity Chairman
Rev. Thomas E. O'Connell,
Chairman, Labor-Industry

III THE TELEPHONE STRIKE AND CATHOLIC SOCIAL PRINCIPLES -

A. A Strike Must Be The Last Resort. The program of the National Federation of Telephone Workers permitted negotiations to be conducted either at the local or the national level. It provided ample time for the parties to reach a settlement. Most of the contracts terminated in March, 1947. The unions submitted demands as early as January, 1947. As late as the beginning of March, the companies were still requesting explanations of the terms. By mid-March, the local compaies had still not made any counter proposals stating that they could not establish a pattern for the industry. The unions then approached the American Telephone and Telegraph Company asking the industry to form a negotiating committee. The request was

refused. The parent company insisted that the local level was the proper place to conduct negotiations. This is commonly known as "the run-around". It seems clear that the representatives of the telephone workers exhausted every means at their disposal before going on strike.

B. The Harm Caused Must Not Exceed The Good Gained. Telephone service is a vital need in our country. There are many theoretical arguments for holding that telephone workers should be bound by a no-strike clause. However, considering the actual status of the telephone workers, the right of the public to demand such a sacrifice as a no-strike pledge is open to question. If the telephone workers are to be put in a special category and asked to give up their privilege to strike, it is only fair to demand that they be privileged workers as far as benefits are concerned. They should have the best grievance procedure. They should have the highest degree of job security. Since, at present, the telephone workers don't have these privileges, it would be unjust to demand that they give up the only effective means in their possession for obtaining what other workers already have or can obtain through the strike.

C. The Establishment Of Justice Requires That Workers Organize. Every person made to the image and likeness of God is required in justice to use all the means as his disposal which will enable him to live as befits a child of God. Many Americans do not have the material means to live as befits human beings. Organization is a just and efficient means of acquiring them. The means to organize, in most instances, are at hand.

D. Commutative Justice And Distributive Justice Demand That Workers Receive A Fair Shaire Of The Returns On Their Product. In our day equal bargaining power is the only guarantee of this fair return. We need not insist that no individual worker can have equal bargaining power with the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. The plight of the white collar worker can be attributed to one fact - lack of organization.

E. Social Justice Requires That Each Member Of The Social Body Have What Is Necessary To Make His Contribution To The General Welfare. How this can be without the collective action of workers is difficult to see. Leo XIII lists as the first cause of modern social injustice the destruction of workers unions during the 19th century and the failure to establish any alternative protection for the working people. The occupational group

system proposed by Pius XI for the reconstruction of our social order presupposes labor organizations. There is a strong case for the thesis that American workers have a duty either to themselves or to their fellow workers and to their country to organize.

PLAYING POLITICS WITH LABOR LEGISLATION

Too many Democratic congressmen from the South have allied themselves with the Republican majority in Congress in playing politics with labor legislation. They do not seek industrial peace. They have insidiously combined constructive suggestions with out-and-out anti-labor proposals so that the President would be forced to veto the good with the bad.

As we pointed out in our January issue, Mr. Truman proposed four measures for industrial peace. If drawn up in accordance with Mr. Truman's suggestions, these measures would be examples of good statesmanship.

1) Prevention of jurisdictional strikes.
2) The banning of secondary boycotts where used to further jurisdictional disputes or to compel employers to violate the National Labor Relations Act.
3) The provision of machinery whereby either party may appeal to impartial arbitration in disputes concerning the interpretation of existing contracts.
4) A Labor-Management-Government Commission to inquire into the basic causes of labor disputes.

Mr. Truman's fourth proposal has the urgent support of Eric Johnston, former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. In the New York Times Magazine Section of March 30th, 1947, Mr. Johnston makes the following important comments.

"British management ignored two significant vital facts of modern economic life. They did not appreciate that free unions, like free business, in a free-enterprise system are dynamic forces. Nor did they appreciate that either unions will have a state and a status in the existing system or they will try to build one in which they do.

"British experience convinces me that it is fatal to depend entirely on legislation...In the final analysis, the primary burden of providing an answer rests squarely on the shoulders of management and labor

"What I propose is a permanent council of management and labor appointed by the President of the United States. The council would confer regularly with the Secretaries of Labor and Commerce and with the Chairmen of the Senate and House Labor Committees. It would make an annual report to the President on the state of the nation's industrial relations.

"I know that this has been tried before...but is it too much for the public to ask management and labor to try it again and give America peace in industry?"

Both Mr. Truman and Mr. Johnston are speaking language that should be familiar to all who have read Pius the XI's Industries and Professions Plan.

"First and foremost, the State and every good citizen ought to look to and strive toward this end: that the conflict between the hostile classes be abolished and harmonious cooperation of the industries and professions be encouraged and promoted." (Q.A. #81)

"The social policy of the State, therefore, must devote itself to the re-establishment of the industries and professions." (I.B. #82)

IT IS BEING DONE

I When the regional organization of a unit of the National Student organization was initiated at Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, in April, delegations from Xavier University, New Orleans, and other Southern Negro schools found that they were expected to take part in a separate meeting, off the LSU campus. Despite all that many white delegates could do to avoid it, the sessions were to be split along racial lines with one meeting on the campus and one off the campus. But at the last minute, it was found that the white group didn't even have a meeting place on the campus. Too many other meetings had been scheduled by LSU. So the white delegates accepted their Negro brothers' invitation to move in with them and a single interracial meeting was held, -- off the campus. Among other things, it elected a permanent regional committee which is interracial.

II Both Negro and white children displayed their talents in music and dancing when a program of folk dances opened the Catholic Music Festival of the Louisiana unit, National Catholic Music Educators' Association in New Orleans, April 18. Negro and white school bands combined for the music. Both elementary and high schools took part. The remainder of the series of concerts, recitals, etc. also was interracial.

III The general picture of interracial activity in Louisiana includes the Catholic Students' Mission Crusade, meeting monthly in New Orleans, and Catholic Action cells of both Negro and white schools meeting at Notre Dame Seminary, New Orleans. Pan-American Day, celebrated at Dominican College, New Orleans, in March, was interracial, as are the monthly conferences of the Franciscan Third Order.

THE WAY OF THE SOUTH

Another valuable study of the South by Howard W. Odum has just come out. It is THE WAY OF THE SOUTH, published by Macmillan. Dr. Odum, a native of Georgia and resident of North Carolina, is the author of SOUTHERN REGIONS, the standard text of those interested in Southern regional planning.

THE WAY OF THE SOUTH is sociological but contains much history and other sections which should give it much more popular appeal than Odum's previous works. In it he traces development of folkways and sees the South as much closer to the hunting and pioneering age of America than is the more greatly industrialized North. Long honored for his contribution to improvement of race relations, Dr. Odum has important comments on the South's bi-racial makeup in THE WAY OF THE SOUTH. He advocates equality of opportunity, of course, but he recognizes that the racial problem is the most difficult of our domestic problems and approaches it as a realist rather than as a doctrinaire.

The book summarizes the South's needs and the nature of the planning it must undertake. He nowhere suggests that the South should retreat from its cultural ideologies, many of which are of great value to an America grown overly commercial. But he sees that the entire nation must attain unity in diversity and outlines a constructive program for a better balance among the regions of our country.

You all will recall that Dr. Odum was the recipient of our CCS award in Memphis, 1944.

ADDING A COLUMN TO THE SOUTH

Look for OUR STAND in your diocesan press.

OUR STAND is a column of comment that we are initiating in the Southern press, starting with the week of May 12th. It is the product of a layman, an assistant in our publicity section and will reflect the layman's viewpoint on the South's problems.

SUPPORT THE WAGNER-ELLENDER-TAFT BILL

"The cumulative housing shortage has been accompanied by an alarming increase in the break-up of family life and the increase in juvenile delinquency." (National Conference on Juvenile Delinquency, Department of Justice, November 1946).

THE DEMAND - "Non-farm housing needs over the next ten years require 12,600,000 units of new construction as follows, based on 1940 price levels:

1) Above 3,600,000 units, about 28 percent of the total will be needed at monthly charges of less than $20;
2) Above 4,800,000 units, about 28 percent of the total will be needed at monthly charges between $20 and $40;
3) Above 4,200,000 units, about 34 percent of the total will be needed at monthly charges above $40."
(Hearings on S.1592, Committee on Banking and Currency, U.S. House of Representatives, July 1946)

THE SUPPLY -

1) Seward H. Mott, Director of the Urban Land Institute, stated at a home-builder forum in Rochester, N.Y. that moderate cost housing ($35 to $40 a month) cannot be built without Federal or State aid. He asserted that industry can maintain a rate of 500,000 to 600,000 units under construction annually.

2) The Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill calls for the construction of 1,500,000 homes a year - 15,000,000 during the next ten years.

SOCIAL JUSTICE - It seems clear that the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Act is a necessary means to protect family life and the morals of our youth. We urge all who are sincerely interested in social justice to write to their respective senators urging passage of S.866.

A citation from our Holy Father, Pius XII, quoted in our statement of principles for 1947 is pertinent here:

"We have used more than one occasion to call the attention of statesmen and leaders in the social and economic field to the cankers that weaken the body politic in its national and international life...ECONOMIC SELFISHNESS, whether national or individual, that makes it impossible for an honest, faithful, working man to provide a DECENT home for his family, to fill that home with the joy and the laughter of children growing up and being educated in healthy surroundings..."

NATIONAL
CATHOLIC RURAL LIFE CONFERENCE

MOST REV. EDWIN V. O'HARA, D.D., *Honorary President*
MOST REV. ALOISIUS J. MUENCH, D.D., *Episcopal Adviser*
MOST REV. WILLIAM T. MULLOY, D.D., *President*, COVINGTON, KY.
VERY REV. MSGR. HUBERT LERSCHEN, *1st V.-Pres.*, RAYNE, LA.
VERY REV. JOHN J. HEINZ, *2nd V.-Pres.* . . . MOHALL, N. D.
MOST REV. GERALD T. BERGAN, D.D., *Moderator*
DR. LYDWINE VAN KERSBERGEN, *3rd V.-Pres.*, LOVELAND, OHIO
MR. JOSEPH TRAINER, *4th V.-Pres.* . . . . PHILADELPHIA, PA.
MR. FRANK BRUCE, *Recording Secretary* . . . MILWAUKEE, WIS.

ADMINISTRATIVE
3801 GRAND AVENUE

HEADQUARTERS
DES MOINES 12, IOWA, U.S.A.

RT. REV. MSGR. LUIGI G. LIGUTTI
Executive Secretary

September 12, 1947

RECEIVED
SEP 15 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am extremely happy to know that you will participate in the Rural Section of the Catholic Committee of the South meeting in Charlotte, North Carolina, Wednesday morning, September 24. I am enclosing the general outline of it. From it, you can readily see that it is to be a discussion with no speeches and that certain facts and possibilities are to be brought out. It will be a most important meeting, and we are most happy to know that you will be present.

Mr. Paul Williams, 3320 Gloucester Road, Richmond, Virginia, will send you any other details that may be necessary. For reservations, or anything else, please write to him.

With every good wish and kindest regards, I beg to remain

Very sincerely yours,

L. G. Ligutti

L. G. LIGUTTI
Executive Secretary

LGL:g
Enc.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD L. TRIGG
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. INEZ B. TILLISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES
RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

September 18, 1947

My dear Sir:

At the suggestion of Mr. Paul Williams, the Council takes pleasure in sending you a copy of one of its more recent pamphlets, which bears closely on the rural problems which will be discussed at the forthcoming meeting of the Catholic Committee of the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

5 - Catholic Cttee of the South

CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH

CONVENTION ANNOUNCEMENTS

No. 1

RECEIVED
SEP 5 1947
Southern Regional Council

QUESTIONS EVERYBODY IS ASKING:

Q. WHEN is the 1947 Catholic Committee of the South Convention?

A. TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY: SEPTEMBER 23-24-25.

Q. WHERE is the Convention?

A. AT THE HOTEL CHARLOTTE, CHARLOTTE, N.C.

Q. WHAT is on the program?

A. 1. A SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE FOR PRIESTS.

2. A TEACHER'S INSTITUTE.

3. THE IMPACT OF THE MECHANICAL PICKER ON THE ECONOMY AND PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH.

4. THE SOUTH, CRADLE OF THE AMERICAN FAMILY.

5. THE RURAL SOUTH AND THE FUTURE OF OUR NATION.

6. CAN MANAGEMENT AND LABOR BE PARTNERS?

7. THE SOUTHERN APOSTOLATE NEEDS APOSTLES.

Q. WHO is on the program?

A. OUTSTANDING LEADERS IN CHURCH, GOVERNMENT, AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, LABOR AND EDUCATION.

Q. WHOM should I notify for reservations?

A. MR. EDWARD MacCLEMENTS, 270 COLVILLE RD., CHARLOTTE, N.C.

THE CCS OFFERS A UNIQUE 3 DAY SOUTHERN PROGRAM FOR CLERGY, RELIGIOUS AND LAITY INTERESTED IN THE SOUTH'S FUTURE FOR GOD AND COUNTRY:

Tuesday - September 23

SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE FOR PRIESTS ..... 9.30 a.m. - 12.00

Theme: Labor in the South.

TEACHER'S INSTITUTE ..... 9.30 a.m. - 12.00

Topics: The Catholic Teacher; Catholic School Discipline; Catholic Education, A Challenge to the South.

OPENING SESSION ..... 2.30 p.m. - 4.30

Appointment of Committees

The Impact of the Mechanical Cotton Picker on the Rural and Urban Economy of the South.

The Cotton Picker and the South's Displaced Persons.

FAMILY LIFE MEETING ..... 8.00 p.m.

As the Family so the Nation.

Wednesday - September 24

RURAL LIFE MEETING ..... 9.30 a.m. - 12.00

What are the Rural Economic Problems of the South?
What has been done about these Problems?
What can be done in the Future for the Good of the South?

LABOR-INDUSTRY MEETING ..... 2.30 p.m. - 4.30

Theme: Can Labor and Management be Partners?

GENERAL PUBLIC SESSION ..... 8.00 p.m.

Presentation of the 1947 CCS award.

Thursday - September 25

THE SOUTHERN APOSTOLATE

General Meeting ..... 9.30 a.m.
Workshops ..... 10.00 a.m.
Reports on Workshops ..... 11.00 a.m.

BUSINESS MEETING ..... 12.00 noon

Charge to the account of SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 63 Auburn Ave. NE $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1206

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

September 25, 1947

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N.C.

HEARTFELT CONGRATULATIONS ON CATHOLIC COMMITTEE AWARD. AN HONOR MOST TRULY DESERVED.

SRC Staff

September 26, 1947

The Rev. Fr. Vincent O'Connell
2901 South Carrolton Avenue
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Father O'Connell:

I profited greatly in facts and in encouragement from the Charlotte Meeting of your Committee. All of us in the Council greatly appreciate the honor bestowed on Guy Johnson. Naturally we praise the wisdom and generosity of that choice.

I was greatly pleased with your statement about Guy made just before the archbishop presented the plaque. I noticed that you had it written out. We would like to use that statement and also Guy's response, we think, in some early issue of New South. Would you be kind enough, if that is acceptable, to send us a copy of your statement?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:EE

September 26, 1947

Most Rev. Bishop Vincent S. Waters
15 North McDowell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Bishop Waters:

I should like to express my appreciation for your several kindnesses at the meeting of the Catholic Committee of the South, and particularly for the most enjoyable luncheon yesterday. All of us in the Council felt honored by the Committee's gracious recognition of Guy Johnson's work.

It was a particular pleasure to me to receive in such generous measure the fellow-ship of your group.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:EE

September 25, 1947

Dr. Guy Johnson
Box 652
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

I came back this morning and talked with all the staff about the dignities and honors of last night.

I have written Father O'Connell for a copy of the statement he read just before the Archbishop handed you the plaque. On the assumption that he will send it, we would like also to have a copy of your response. This latter was a particularly engaging and appropriate bit of speaking. We thought we would like to run both in some early issue of New South.

If you are not otherwise disposing of your ten point manuscript, would you be inclined to let us have it for New South? I don't know what Fleming's requirements are on space. Possibly when I read it, it will call for a few quite minor editorial omissions. In cold print in Georgia, for instance, the word aggressiveness in these times in point ten might stir up more counter-aggression than I would like to see.

Everyone's regards and affection for you and for Guion.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:EE

October 24, 1947

The Rev. Vincent O'Connell
2901 S. Carrolton Avenue
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Father O'Connell:

Here are some extra copies of the October New South with the excerpts from your presentation on behalf of the Catholic Committee of the South on the award to Guy Johnson.

I greatly appreciate your kindness in letting us use this.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encls-5
GSM:s

Catholic Committee of the South.

October 15, 1947

Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S. M.
Chairman
The Catholic Committee of the South
4101 State Street Drive
New Orleans 15, Louisiana

Dear Father O'Connell:

Thank you very much for sending us your tribute to Guy.

We have not been able to get hold of Guy's response, so we are running in the coming October issue of New South several parts of your tribute. I thought it all beautifully worded, and am sorry that we could not run the whole of it.

The Charlotte meeting was one which I greatly enjoyed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ee

The Catholic Committee of the South

A. J. CUMMINGS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

4101 STATE STREET DRIVE NEW ORLEANS 15, LA.

October 3, 1947

RECEIVED
OCT 6 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

It was grand having you with us in Charlotte for the convention. You did a fine job in livening up the Rural Life panel. We are most grateful for your valuable contribution and for the friendly, or one might say family, spirit with which you participated in the various sessions of the convention. I hope that the friendly cooperation between our organizations will continue to grow and be fruitful of lasting mutual benefits.

I am enclosing a copy of my tribute to Guy Johnson with the request that you send me a copy of Guy's talk. His talk was taken down by the stenotypist, but it will be sometime before I can get a transcribed copy from the proceedings.

With every best wish,

Sincerely,

Vincent J. O'Connell

Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S.M.
Chairman

vjo/mas
encl.

No copy 9:39's address spread.

TRIBUTE TO RECIPIENT OF CCS AWARD

Eight years ago a presidential report on economic conditions in the South was issued. That report was an occasion of shame for both the South and the nation. It was both disheartening and a challenge to action. It stated that the South is the nation's economic problem number one. It revealed a South which was a paradox, a land blessed by nature with immense natural wealth, populated with people who were the poorest in the country, a land rich in God-made wealth and poor in man-made wealth. It told the story of waste "so titanic as to be incomprehensible - a waste that invades every department of life. It includes wasted men, wasted money, wasted land, wasted time and wasted opportunity."

To millions of the South's sons and daughters, these dismal economic conditions dictated only one course of action - flight. Over the last three decades, they fled to the North and West seeking the opportunity denied them in their native region. Other Southerners saw in these conditions a challenge and consecrated themselves to the building of a new South. They were convinced that the new South must be a product of the South itself. Its future for the nation and the world must be secured by conserving and developing its own resources, material, intellectual and spiritual. These men were convinced that the greatest requirement for rebuilding the South was energy, intelligently applied, so they set about to discover and develop men of wisdom and vision who could not be frightened by obstacles nor dismayed by the enormous amount of perservering hard work which the realization of their dream would necessarily require. They recognized that there are problems pressing for solution in the region, especially in the social and economic spheres which are delicate ones indeed and which cannot be solved precipitately. They also recognized, however, that the good of the Southland and of the nation demands that these delicate problems be faced with candor, discussed frankly, with moderation and charity, and that the solutions which are arrived at through right reason and Christian principles be accepted with resolute courage.

The Catholic Committee of the South has sought over the past seven years, not only to develop such intelligent leadership within her own ranks, but also to give recognition to the self-sacrificing and stout-hearted leaders of the new South regardless of race, creed or color. In the past, the recipients of our awards have included, Negro, Catholic, Protestant and Jew, not because of what they were, but because of their outstanding contributions to the progress of our beloved Southland. This year, 1947, in choosing Dr. Guy B. Johnson for our award, the CCS honors and presents to the South another valiant contributor of intelligent leadership. One of our recipient's many strong points is his respect for truth. This respect for truth shines through his professional work. It is the solid basis for his painstaking review of all the facts and ~~which~~ restrains him from giving a decision except on the basis of comprehensive knowledge. His sensitive mind, trained in accuracy, making judgments only on the basis of knowledge, has attracted to him many completely trusting friends.

Anyone who knows the recipient of our 1947 award will testify to the fact that he is himself without prejudice, and yet he understands the thought of persons whose thinking is in other molds. His co-workers can picture many a roomful of people engaged in heated debate and recall that slowly, but surely, a quiet voice succeeded in summing up and suggesting a course of action which brought calm and clarity where confusion and clamor seemed certain to rule.

He has a special talent for putting forth new ideas with such reasonableness and without appeal to passion that many who are but little inclined to his views come to agree with him much more than they had previously dreamed possible. This fair, gentlemanly and scholarly approach has won for him friends in both the old and the new South. Guy Johnson always keeps his feet on the ground and refuses to be held back by the fearful counsel of the ultra-conservative or pushed forward by the clamoring urgings of hot-eyed zealots.

When we say that the man we are honoring tonight He knows the South's ~~we mean he knows its geography, its population, its culture, its attitudes, its very heart and soul. It is because of this knowledge that he has the unusual ability, even in these days of confusion, to point out the next and the right step towards the goal of a South enriched and strong with the riches and power of God and man.~~

He is a Southerner, born at Caddo Mills, Tex., 1901. He studied at Burleson College, Greenville, Tex. in 1917-1919. He received his B.A. from Baylor in 1921, strayed off to the University of Chicago for his M.A. in 1922, came back home to the South to get his Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina in 1927. In 1923, Guy Johnson lost his heart to Miss Guion Griffis. Their union has been blessed with two fine boys, Guy and Edward. After teaching Sociology at Ohio Wesleyan and Baylor Women's College, Dr. Johnson, in 1924, began as a Research Associate at the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina. In 1927, he was raised to the rank of professor in Sociology at Chapel Hill. In 1944, he became the first Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council with the understanding that he would return to the University of North Carolina within a year or two. He remained with the council until it was well established and his assignment had been efficiently carried out. Now he has returned to Chapel Hill and to his first love, the relatively hidden and sacrificing life of teaching.

Dr. Johnson's retirement from the position of Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council was accepted with regret by all who are familiar with his work in this fine Southern organization.

In honoring Dr. Johnson tonight, we are also honoring the Southern Regional Council. Certainly there is no other organization interested in the South's future for the nation which commends itself to all men of good will more than does the Southern Regional Council. The Council's factual analysis of the South's problems and potentialities, presented with distinctly Southern approach, is a lasting contribution to the building of our new South. The Catholic Committee of the South concurs wholeheartedly with the purpose of the Council expressed in its charter as follows:

"... the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts toward regional and racial developments; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding and racial mistrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, state and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives."

May our humble ceremonies here tonight serve as a spark added to the fire of enthusiasm which burns in the hearts of the leaders in the new South. May it serve as a gesture of encouragement to all those who are determined to face our social problems with candor, discuss them frankly with moderation and charity and courageously accept the solutions which are arrived at through right reason and Christian principles. With such leadership, we will, please God, wipe away all stains from Southern culture, preserve the best in that culture and bring forth a South which is the pride of the nation and the world.

#

With your kind permission, I will now read to you the inscription on our humble plaque which is to be presented to the recipient by His Excellency, the Most Reverend Joseph Francis Rummel, Archbishop of New Orleans and Episcopal Chairman of the CCS.

5-Catholic Committee of the South

Catholic Committee of the South
April 1949

RECEIVED
APR 22 1949
Southern Regional Council

THE CATHOLIC SOUTH

NEWS OF THE CONVENTION-
in Lexington, Kentucky,
On May 10th, 11th, and 12th,
Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday.
The tentative program has
been completed and submitted
for episcopal approval.

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PROMOTING THE GENERAL WELFARE — Theme of the convention will be "Promoting the General Welfare," in accord with the Bishop's statement of November 1948 on Secularism. In that important and effective statement on hierarchy laid down principles for the "free organization of capital and labor in permanent agencies of co-operation for the common good," and called on government to stimulate and guide such agencies, pointing out that the Constitution empowers government to promote the general welfare.

AN IMPORTANT MEETING on the Industry Council is scheduled for the Wednesday night session. The bishops, in their statement, call Industry Councils "basic organs of a Christian and American type of economic democracy."

THE CONVENTION COMMITTEE expects to have important leaders of American economic thinking, including nationally known representatives of the Church, government, management, labor, and agriculture.

WORKSHOP SESSIONS, at which CCS expects to record observations, make correct judgements, and plan effective action for promoting the general welfare of the South through its five regional departments, will be of great interest and value at the convention.

FIVE WORKSHOPS will be operating simultaneously, with experts leading discussion by all present. These sessions will not be set up as a lecture series. Each workshop will seek to develop free but orderly discussions leading up to definite and specific programs. Our only restriction will be no filibusters.

For reservations, please contact
Rev. Fred. G. Bamberger
485 West Fourth Street
Lexington 25, Ky.

--0--

SUMMER SCHOOL CALLS — The call to the CCS Summer School has been issued by the Rev. Henry C. Bezou, chairman of the department of Education. Professional teacher training for Catholic faculties of Southern schools will be given for the third summer at Loyola University of the South, New Orleans, and will be accredited at that University. Besides professional training, the CCS Summer School proposes to give teachers an approach to the peculiar needs of the Southeast region. Schools in the South have specific problems not typical of problems in other regions. Courses are to be pointed towards an understanding of the teaching and administering of Southern schools.

REGISTRATION will be on June 10th and 11th, and sessions will begin June 13th and end July 26th. The Ursuline nuns are offering their hospitality under the same favorable terms as last year. Lodging in other convents also can be arranged.

THE SUMMER SCHOOL BULLETIN has been distributed. Its roster of instructors contains the names of many outstanding educators. The courses listed range from the Philosophy of Christian Education to Social Problems of the South.

Further information may be obtained from
Rev. Henry C. Bezou,
7845 Apricot Street, New Orleans 18, La.

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NEWS ABOUT NEW ORLEANS — We have been asked to describe the CCS organization in New Orleans. The following is a brief description which we hope may prove helpful to other diocesan units.

MEETINGS: New Orleans' CCS meets quarterly on the second Thursday of the month. Meetings consist largely of reports from the heads of archdiocesan departments, and from sub-committees organized for special activities. The reports usually develop into discussions with the various members offering suggestions or volunteering to co-operate on a particular project.

OFFICERS: The New Orleans unit has four elected officers; the chairman, the vice-chairman, the secretary, and the treasurer.

DEPARTMENTS: Each of the regional departments is matched on a local level; rural life, labor and industry, education and youth, race relations, southern apostolate, and publicity. The important feature about the departments is that the members of each department are working in their respective fields outside the CCS. The local unit has enabled each of them to clear with others regarding activities, contacts, and information.

MEMBERSHIP includes such persons as;
the teacher of a university course in race relations, spiritual director Archdiocesan Holy Name, editor of the local Negro weekly, head of an institute of industrial relations, archdiocesan superintendent of schools, archdiocesan director of displaced persons program, newspaperman important in CIO and Newspaper Build circles, and a leader in NCCW activity.

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5- Catholic Ctee of the South

November 28, 1949

Mr. Philip S. Ogilvie
The Catholic Committee of the South
7927-A St. Charles Avenue
New Orleans 18, La.

Dear Mr. Ogilvie:

Quite the other way around; many thanks for every one's kindness in permitting me to sit with the Executive Board of CCS in Atlanta. I wanted the opportunity to see those good friends.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

The Catholic Committee of the South

PHILIP S. OGILVIE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

7927-A ST. CHARLES AVE. NEW ORLEANS 18, LA.

November 21, 1949

RECEIVED
28 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Just a note to thank you for attending the executive board meeting of CCS in Atlanta. All of us appreciate your contribution toward a successful meeting.

I hope you will keep in touch with us. Let us know of any ideas or suggestions for a more successful program. Again thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Phil

Philip S. Ogilvie

PSO:mnw

-5

Catholic Committee of the South
PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPT.

A. Jackson, assistant to the chairman ■ 732 Saint Peter st. ■ New Orleans 16, La.

RECEIVED
OCT 30 1950
Southern Regional Counc

Oct. 27, 1950

Harold C. Fleming,
SRC,
63 Auburn Ave., NE,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

When you have any press releases centering about or even mentioning Paul Williams, will you please send copies to me.
I can get them into the Catholic press and into the labor papers on occasion.

Sincerely,

A. Jackson

A. Jackson
732 Saint Peter st
New Orleans 16 La

Also:
Mr. John Popham
c/o Chatt. Times
Chatt., Tenn.

Mr. Henry Lescene
7512 Glenwood Rd
Columbia, S.C.

Mr. Alfred Reynolds, editor
Ditto

CC of South

February 20, 1951

Mr. Philip S. Ogilvie
7927-A St. Charles Avenue
New Orleans 17, Louisiana

Dear Phil:

We are typing up from notes what I had to say when I stood up in the place of the Governor of Arkansas. We will send that to you in a few days.

My other appearance was before the clefgy. It was my standard one and only speech, as to which I am careful to make no written version (mainly because the swoops I draw on the map, if printed, would have to be pinned with minute accuracy to the census figures and I have never had the clerks to get that done). It would be possible in a narrative of the afternoon session of the clergy to say that Dr. Mitchell at this point outlined a breakdown of the South into four main sub-regions and, after characterizing the economy of each, offered for each sub-region a series of measures which in his view would strengthen the material and civic life of the people. He ended with an application of these fundamental facts about the South to the current controversy on expanded civil rights.

It was nice to see you, and I look forward to our next occasion to be together.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

The Catholic Committee of the South

PHILIP S. OGILVIE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

7927-A ST. CHARLES AVE. NEW ORLEANS 18, LA.

February 13, 1951

RECEIVED
FEB 16 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

It is my happy privilege to express to you the thanks of the Catholic Committee of the South and my personal thanks for your participation in our convention program in Columbia, S.C., January 22-24. We are most grateful for the time and interest which you contributed so generously towards making the convention one of the most outstanding in the history of CCS.

If we do not already have copies of the speeches which you delivered, we should appreciate it if you will send them to us at your earliest convenience. We hope to print as much as possible of the proceedings of the convention.

With assurances of my prayerful best wishes, I am

Gratefully and respectfully yours,

Phil

Philip S. Ogilvie
Executive Secretary, C.C.S.

PSO:mnw

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CCS

HOLY TRINITY MISSIONARY CENACLE

COLONIAL BEACH, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
MAY 8
Southern Regional Council

May 5, 1953

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

May the grace and peace of the
Holy Ghost be with us forever!

I am sorry to be so late sending you the enclosed, but I was very busy when I got back from the Convention and couldn't get it done right away.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for coming up to Richmond and speaking on our Industrial Relations panel at the Convention. You well understand the difficulties and problems of our work. It is encouraging to have men like yourself give of their time and ability to us. I believe that in the not too distant future our efforts will bear great fruit.

May God bless you.

In the Most Holy Trinity,

Father Loyola O'Leary

(Rev.) Loyola O'Leary, M.S.SS.T.

Enclosure

CCS

May 19, 1953

Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C. O.
Catholic Committee of the South
Box 895
Rock Hill, S. C.

Dear Father Shean:

Two people who I think could be quite helpful are:

(1) Philip Hammer. He has newly been put on to a job of running for the National Planning Association's Committee of the South whatever is its program. I am a little vague about it. It's a mixture of economic, industrial, and constitutional advance. Able man. Liberal, sound, business connected. He and I worked together for years in the government. Pretty sure he would come for some days and would enjoy it.

(2) Mr. H. M. Conway, Executive Secretary, Southern Association of Science and Industry. I talked by phone to Mrs. Conway, who said in the event they had a letter from you, they would probably steer you to a vice-president of the Southern Association of Science and Industry, whose name I forget, but whom they greatly praised. He would be a business guy with, I believe, Presbyterian connections. Couldn't find out where he lives.

SASI has been doing good work linking manufacturers and research in the physical sciences at Southern institutions. They are the best current voice of Southern industry, without the stridency of the Manufacturers Record at Baltimore or the fibbiness of Chambers of Commerce. So I suggest you write Mr. Conway and ask him to name you somebody from his group.

For an agricultural person you might draw on Professor George Aull at Clemson. He's near-by and he would understand matters and he's pretty widely informed. Truth about George Aull is he's fairly conservative. But he's pretty good on interracial matters and he understands the needs both of large-scale and small-scale farming. I don't know anybody at State College at Raleigh comparable to Aull in maturity and information and judgment, though there may be somebody.

Why don't you try to get Walter Regenery?

I should think Rousseve could contribute a good deal.

I am sure that is going to be a most enjoyable and fruitful gathering.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

The Catholic Committee of the South

P. O. BOX 895

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA
May 7, 1953

RECEIVED
MAY 9
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor:

I did not arrive in Atlanta until 8:00 P. M., so consequently it was too late to get in touch with you. And I understood that you were leaving town the next day to go to Arkansas, so I thought I would have to do something about our meeting at a later date.

I think that you are pretty familiar with the personnel that we had intended to ask to come to work with us on this Session in August. And at the moment, I am anxious for you to help us with a couple of contacts, if you possibly can. We intend to ask for someone from the Political Science Department at U.N.C. and also from the Sociology Department. But I think that Dr. Guy Johnson could clear us on this.

I also know that it is going to be necessary for myself or someone else to go to Chapel Hill and discuss with him the whole business of maps and other pertinent information on the South, itself.

I am enclosing a list of the people whom we have already contacted. We have received, up to the present moment, acceptances from about 63. I wonder from the wealth of your experience in contacts throughout the region, if you could indicate to us any other people whom you might think would be of benefit to us. They do not have to be Catholics, nor need they be Priests. In fact I think we have enough of these on the listing already. What we are more anxious about now is to hear from individuals or organizations who understand various sections or segments of the area, and can help us to acquire a broader outlook or broader prospective, and a deeper understanding of just what

problems there are that exist. And if you can spare a few moments, let me know whom you think can be of help to us. You may be sure I shall be most grateful.

With every expression of esteem, I am,

Sincerely yours in Christ and St. Philip,

Maurice V. Shean

(Very Rev.) Maurice V. Shean, C. O.

MVS:e

Abramson: Dr. S. H.
Marksville
La.

Allen: Very Rev. Cuthbert, O.S.B.
Belmont Abbey
Belmont, N. C.

Arceneaux: Dean Tom
Southwestern Louisiana Institute
Lafayette, La.

Baerwald: Dr. Frederick
Fordham University
Fordham, N. Y.

Bennett: Mr. Clyde
Marksville
La.

Bezou: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Henry C.
St. Patrick's Rectory
724 Camp Street
New Orleans, La.

Boiting: Rev. Ralph
St. Clare's
Berea, Ky.

Bordelon: Rev. Marvin
Christ the King Church
Simmesport, La.

Bordelon: Rev. Roland
St. Paul's Church
Mansura, La.

Borders: Rev. W. D.
Newman Club
Louisiana State U
Baton Rouge, La.

Boudreaux: Rev. Warren
P. O. Drawer 1126
Lafayette, La.

Burkley: Rev. Francis
Mater Dolorosa, 8128 Plum St.
New Orleans, La.

Byrnes: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Leo M.
Box 129
Mobile, Ala.

Cantwell: Rev. Daniel
1359 S. Harding St.
Chicago, Ill.

Capuloff: Mr. Max.
American Arbitration Assoc.
9 Rockfeller Plaza, New York, N.Y.

Cassidy: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Jos.
Christ the King
2699 Peachtree Rd.N.E.,Atlanta,Ga.

Chatham: Rev. Josiah
237 E. Amite Street
Jackson, Miss.

Considine: Rev. John, M. M.
Maryknoll
New York

Cort: Mr. John
Commonweel
New York, N. Y.

Cronin: Rev. John
NCWC, 1312 Mass. Ave. N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Daly: Rev. Maurice
St. Paul's
152 Alabama St.
Spartanburg, S. C.

DeBlanc: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Irving
Our Lady of Wisdom
Southwestern Louisiana Institute
Lafayette, La.

Deye: Rev. Anthony
St. Anne Convent
Melbourne, Ky.

Digby: Rev. Frederick
1342 Moss Ave.
New Orleans, La.

Dolan: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Hugh
St. Benedict's Church
Short St., Greensboro, N. C.

Donnelly: Rev. Felix
1420 Monte Sano Ave.
Augusta, Ga.

Dunn: Rev. Daniel
Natl. Rural Life Conference
3801 Grande Ave., Des Moines, Iowa

Durick: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Jos.
St. Margaret's
714 4th Court, Birmingham, Ala.

Eck: Mr. John
P. O. Box 1064
Gastonia, N. C.

Egan: Rev. John
Cana Conferences
21 W. Superior St., Chicago, Ill.

Eiselein: Rev. Eugene
Asst. Director Youth Dept., NCWC
1312 Mass. Ave. N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Elder: Mr. Morton
1518 46th St. W.
Birmingham, Ala.

Fichter: Rev. Jos., S. J.
Loyola University
New Orleans, La.

Fitzpatrick: Rev. Jos., S. J.
Fordham University
Fordham, N. Y.

Flaherty: Rev. J. Louis
807 Cathedral Pl.
Richmond 20, Va.

Foley: Rev. Albert S., S. J.
221 N. Grand Blvd.
St. Louis, Mo.

Gaudin: Rev. Harold A., S. J.
St. John Berchmans
923 Jordan St., Shreveport, La.

Gibbons: Rev. Wm., S. J.
30 W. 16th St.
New York, N. Y.

Goetz: Rev. Chas., S. J.
Spring Hill College
Spring Hill, Mobile Co., Ala

Gremillion: Rev. Jos.
216 Patton
Shreveport, La.

Hanks: Rev. Geo., S.S.J.
Corpus Christi Church
2022 St. Bernard Ave. New Orleans La.

Hartnett: Rev. Robt. C., S. J.
329 W. 108th St.
New York, N. Y.

Hasiwar: Mr. Hank
Log Cabin
Hammond, La.

Hayes: Mr. Tom, Jr.
Ouachita Bank Bldg.
Monroe, La.

Hodges: Most Rev. Jos.
317 E. Marshall Street
Richmond, Va.

Hayes: Rev. John
Incarnate Word College
4301 Broadway, San Antonio, Tex.

Head: Mr. Alex
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Hillenbrand: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Reynolds
Hubbard Wood 905 Burr Ave.
Chicago, Ill.

Jaubert: Mr. Chas.
915½ Ryan Street
Lake Charles, La.

Kane: Mr. Dan
Grailville
Ohio

Lackowsky: Rev. Anthony, C.S.SP.
Rock Castle
Virginia

LaFarge: Rev. John, S.J.
329 W. 108th St.
New York, N. Y.

Ligutti: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Luigi G.
3801 Grand Ave.
Des Moines, Iowa

Lynette: Rev. C. Franklyn, S. J.
Spring Hill College
Spring Hill, Mobile Co., Ala.

McCann: Mr. John
220 Baronne St.
New Orleans, La.

McCown: Rev. James, S. J.
830 Poplar St.
Macon, Ga.

McGowan: Rev. Raymond
NCWC, 1312 Mass. Ave. N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

McGuire: Rev. Frederick, C. M.
NCWC, 1312 Mass. Ave. N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

McLaughlin: Rev. J. Lawrence
Stella Maris
Sullivan's Island, S. C.

McManus: Rev. Wm.
Educational Dept. NCWC
1312 Mass. Ave. N. W., Washington, D.C.

Maddon: Rev. Richard
St. Andrew's Church
Myrtle Beach, S. C.

Mahoney: Rev. Chas., C.S.C.
2699 Peachtree Rd. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Maritain: Dr. Jacque
Princeton University
Princeton, N. J.

Martin: Rev. I. A.
Immaculata Seminary
Lafayette, La.

Masse: Rev. Benj., S. J.
329 W. 108th Street
New York, N. Y.

Michaels: Rev. Chester
316 E. Marshall St.
Richmond, Va.

Mitchell: Mr. Clarence
N.A.A.C.P.
Washington, D. C.

Mitchell: Dr. Geo.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Mulloy: Most Rev. Wm. T.
1211 Madison Ave.
Covington, Ky.

Murphy: Rev. John
Villa Madonna College
Covington, Ky.

O'Connell: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Geoffrey
Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary
612 W. Howard Ave., Biloxi, Miss.

O'Connell: Rev. Vincent J., S.M.
St. Louis Church
506 Cedar St., St. Paul, Minn.

O'Connor: Mr. John
5315 Moorland Lane
Bethesda 14, Md.

O'Leary: Rev. Loyola, M.S.SS.T.
P. O. Box 275
Colonial Beach, Va.

Plauche: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Chas. J.
7845 Walmsley Ave.
New Orleans 18, La.

Quinn: Rev. Wm. J.
Catholic Action Federation
638 Deming Pl., Chicago 14, Ill.

Reese: Rev. J. Thos.
610 Philadelphia Pike
Bellefonte, Del.

Reggio: Mr. Emile
P. O. Box 576
Crowley, La.

Rooney: Rev. Wm.
Catholic University of America
Washington, D. C.

Russell: Most Rev. John J.
114 Broad Street
Charleston, S. C.

Schieder: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Jos.
Director of Youth Dept. NCWC
1312 Mass. Ave. N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Schmiedeler: Rev. Edgar, O.S.B.
Family Life Bureau
NCWC, 1312 Mass. Ave. N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Sigur: Very Rev. A. O.
Our Lady of Wisdom Chapel
Southwestern Louisiana Institute
Lafayette, La.

Sloyan: Rev. Gerald
Catholic University of America
Washington, D. C.

Smith: Rt.Rev. Msgr. Geo.Lewis
725 York Avenue
Aiken, S. C.

Spellman: Rev. Chas.
Newman Club, Crane Hall
Gainsville, Fla.

Swanstrom: Rt. Rev.Msgr. Edw.
War Relief Services, NCWC
350 5th Ave., New York, N. Y.

Tracy: Rt.Rev. Msgr. Robt.
Newman Club;La State University
Baton Rouge, La.

Twomey: Rev. L.J., S. J.
Loyola University
New Orleans, La.

Wade: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Francis
St. Augustine's
2630 34th Ave., Birmingham,Ala.

Wahl: Rev. Richard, C. O.
The Oratory
Rock Hill, S. C.

Weber: Rev. Gerald
Christian Family Movement
100 W. Monroe St., Chicago 3,Ill.

Williams: Mr. Paul
3310 Gloucester Rd.
Richmond, Va.

Witte: Dr. Ray
Loyola University
New Orleans, La.

Work: Mr. Martin
NCWC
1312 Mass. Ave. N.W.,Washington D.C.

Yancy: Mr. John
CIO Transport Workers
Chicago, Ill.

This list is not quite complete. We hope, in the near future, to add other names, particularly from fields of endeavor not yet represented in this list.

CCS

June 10, 1953

The Most Reverend John J. Russell, D. D.
Bishop of Charleston
114 Broad Street,
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Bishop Russell:

The Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council, at their meeting May 13, 1953, heard with appreciation an account by Mr. Paul Williams, a member of the Board, of the honor conferred upon the executive director of the Southern Regional Council at the April 24th meeting in Richmond. The Board of the Southern Regional Council, upon motion, expressed its pleasure and pride that the Council's executive director had been thus signally honored.

Respectfully,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks

The Catholic Committee of the South

P. O. BOX 895

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA

June 4, 1953

RECEIVED
JUN 10

Miss Katherine Stoney
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Stoney:

In reply to your letter of June 3, The Episcopal Chairman of The Catholic Committee of the South is, His Excellency, the Most Reverend John J. Russell, D. D., Bishop of Charleston, 114 Broad Street, Charleston, S. C. The General Chairman of the Committee is the Reverend J. Louis Flaherty, 807 Floyd Avenue, Richmond 20, Virginia.

I trust this is the information you desire and if we may be of further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

Sincerely yours in Christ and St. Philip,

Maurice V. Shean, C. O.

(Very Rev.) Maurice V. Shean, C. O.

MVS:e

March 16, 1956

Mr. David J. Galligan, Executive Director
Chicopee Taxpayers Association, Inc.
48 Center Street
Chicopee, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Galligan:

I'm mighty sorry, but we are the wrong outfit for your letter of March 8. I've searched for people of my acquaintance who could get together the information you need, and the search is fruitless.

So though the delay is regrettable I can't think of anything to do but send your letter back, and suggest you try to aim it this time at an opposite number hereabouts.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encls. (2)

July 12, 1956

Mr. Zechariah Chafee, Jr.
J. B. Lippincott Company
E. Washington Square
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Mr. Chafee:

Your book The Blessings of Liberty is most interesting. A copy of it has been passed on to me here at the Southern Regional Council.

However, there is one item to which I wish to call your attention. It is the statement on page 30 - "The Georgia Board of Education allows local school authorities to revoke, perhaps for life, the license of any teacher who supports the idea of non-segregated schools or agrees to teach in such a school." It is true the Georgia Board of Education did pass such a resolution but this resolution was later rescinded. The original purpose of this resolution can still be carried out by not renewing a contract of a teacher who supports integration, but the local school boards in themselves cannot revoke teachers' licenses. Enclosed is a copy of a news article describing the rescinding of the resolution.

A minor detail in an excellent book to be sure, but I thought I would just pass this along for the record in case there are any additional editions of the book.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo
Enc.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Jul 3, '56

JC fr. GSM

p. 830 of Z. Chaffee's "The Blessings of Liberty" says the Ga. Bd of Ed lts local schol authorities jerk the tching licenses of non-agreeing tchrs. Gives NY Times as authority. I thought that got squuushed? What are facts?

If the man C. should be (purely for the record and for prospective successor editions) set straight, will you pen him a gentle note, getting that one right?

December 27, 1956

Miss Lucille A. Chambers
174-15 Murdoch Avenue
St. Albans, L. I.,
New York

Dear Miss Chambers:

Mighty nice to see that the book is this close to being out. I have already been telling people in letters to go buy it, that it will be a honey!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM:fc

31 UNION SQUARE WEST NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

TWAYNE PUBLISHERS, INC.

ORegon 5-1198

JOHN CIARDI, *Executive Editor*
M. B. TOLSON, *Associate Editor*
ALICE V. GRIFFIN, *Educational Consultant*

JACOB STEINBERG, *Managing Editor*
JOEL E. SALTZMAN, *Sales and Promotions*

December 14, 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This note is to inform you that "America's Tenth Man" is actually a reality.

At times I had my fears that I would not see this day. You will recall how anxious I was about it when I drove you + Mrs. Hedgeman to the subway after your wonderful lecture this Spring.

Hope you can find use for it. Mr. W. Headley, Police Chief of Miami, Fla. was one of the many fine individuals who sent photos for the book.

Sincerely yours,

Lucille A. Chambers
174-15 Murdock Ave.
St. Albans, L.I., N.Y.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:
thanks for your kind letter and pamphlet. Since I wrote you I have a publisher and all will be well I hope.
I would like a photo of you and your staff.

174-15 Murdock Avenue
St. Albans, L. I., N. Y.
February 14, 1955

Dear Sir:

I am writing to you at this time regarding a pictorial document which I am preparing for publication this year by Oceana Publications. The projected book, "AMERICA'S 10th MAN", will be an up-to-the-minute record in eighteen parts of the participation of the colored tenth of the population in all diverse professions, businesses, government, arts, sciences, and industries which make up their daily life in the United States.

I started this document more than a year ago after a two months stay in Europe. It was clear to me that the written word is not sufficient to tell any positive factors about the American colored population and have them believed. Therefore, I have attempted to tell the story in pictures. I found the same to be true to some extent when I visited the Caribbean, and South America more recently. Most people wanted to know: "What are Negroes allowed to do in the United States?"

Because the world, and our fellow Americans must be made fully aware of the valuable contribution you are making to the progress of Democracy in the United States, I am cordially inviting you to appear in my book, "AMERICA'S 10th MAN".

If you wish to be represented in the forthcoming book, please send me a gloss photograph of yourself at your business (action photograph preferred). Attach to the photograph a brief statement regarding the length of time you have been in your business. If you own your business, please state when it was founded, and give the number of individuals you employ. You may state your previous business or occupation if you care to do so.

I will appreciate your prompt reply by, or before February 25th because of a deadline which I must meet.

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation, I shall look forward to hearing from you.

Gratefully yours,
Lucille A. Chambers
Lucille A. Chambers

January 11, 1955

(Dictated January 7)

Miss Lucille A. Chambers
174-15 Murdock Avenue
St. Albans, L. I.,
New York

Dear Miss Chambers:

I am interested in what you are working at, and hope for some opportunity to see it and advise about it. Goodness knows much more of the sort of thing you are doing needs to be done.

There isn't any way for the Southern Regional Council to help in the money end of your program. Every penny we have got is budgeted out for setting up twelve race relations agencies in twelve Southern states. Sometime you should talk to Dan Dodson at New York University. He is a pretty good one to advise people on where their program fits into slots.

If you ever come South come to see us. I haven't got any early plan for getting to New York, but do find myself in the city two or three times a year.

Incidentally, the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, to which SRC is successor, did a pamphlet years ago which has the name you like. I don't think the name is copyrighted, and you ought to feel perfectly free to use the same title for any larger and to-be-wider-used publication that you get out. We have found the name a popular one and several hundred thousand of this pamphlet has been sold. It is still being used in schools, though we admit it is greatly out of date.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. America's 10th Man

JAN 7 1955

174-15 Murdock Avenue
St. Albans, L.I., N.Y.
January 5, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This letter comes to wish you a very successful New Year in the wonderful work which you are doing, and to tell you of a project I have worked on for more than two years.

I have spent much time doing research study on the full participation of the American colored population in as many phases of every day life in this and the past decade as is possible. This material will eventually be published and made available to the public in pictorial, documentary form which I call "AMERICA'S 10th MAN". I am doing the study in eighteen parts, starting with the participation in Government on all levels, Education, the professions, labor and industry, businesses, farm and agriculture, housing, arts, TV and radio, Religions, and organizations (National Health, civic, social, and youth) etc.

I was inspired to do this work after my European tour in 1951 with the New York University Study Group in "Human Relations in World Affairs". We studied at Heidelberg University in Germany. It was during this time that I discovered as an American of color that very little light can be given people of other countries of the distorted picture of what colored American's are "allowed to do in the United States", by colored Americans themselves or by the written word. When I returned home I began to seek the reason for the distortions which I had found to be deeply rooted. I have found that the negative life of colored Americans was the only side presented; partly done intentionally or through ignorance of the positive factors.

On further tours in the Caribbean and South American countries, I have found the same to be true. Although I have continued my studies in the School of Education Department of Human Relations, and expect to get a masters degree in this field after completing five points more, I have done this study independently because I have found no source for funds for such project.

At the present time much of the research has been completed, but I am not financially able to continue giving full time to this valuable study without assistance. I am now busy going through picture files of several sources made possible for me.

Several outstanding leaders in the field of Human Relations and educators have suggested that I write to you concerning my project. It has been suggested too that this study may be of interest to the Southern Regional Council. If you plan to be in New York City in the near future, I would be happy to show you the work I have done to date on the study.

Last week I visited several Government Agencies in Washington for statictical data and photos. I found much cooperation and enthusiam, but all were surprised to find that I have undertaken this tremendous task on my own.

The Information Service of our State Department saw a sketch of my study some time ago, and said that they could use the material. However, they advised that the work be done on private funds so that the material could not be labeled government propaganda

I have had many years of community organization experience__much of which was civic. I feel that when my material is made available to the general public, better understanding and less racial tension and fear may result after a comprehensive picture is given to show the vast participation of the American colored population. Each year during Brotherhood Week I am kept busy speaking on this very topic. To date there is no book which gives this complete picture.

I am a graduate of Wayne University in Detroit, Michigan. Am a member of the New York Branch of the American Association of University Women, and active on the Social Studies, and International Committees. Also a member of the National Council of Women o f the United States; National Council of Negro Women, Inc., organizer and first president of the Long Island Council of N.C.N.W., Inc. (1946) Member of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority__speaker's bureau. Was an official observer at the first United Nations meetings in San Francisco in 1945 for the Detroit Association of Women's Clubs. These are a few of my activities. I have been administrative secretary of the New York City Cancer Committee of the A merican Cancer Society__Harlem Divisio n.

I will appreciate any consideration or suggestions which you may give me regarding this matter. I would like to complete this study as soon as possible because statistical data changes so rapidly these days, to say nothing of the rapid political changes.

Most sincerely,

Lucille A. Chambers.

Lucille A. Chambers.

P.S. I have corresponded with Dr. Benjamin Mays several time regarding this study. Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune also has been a great help.

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MRS. MARY HOWGATE CHAMBERLAIN
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
2006 WALNUT STREET
PHILADELPHIA 3, PENNSYLVANIA

REGRET CANNOT ATTEND ANNUAL MEETING JUNE 9.

STRONGLY URGE YOU INVITE REV. W. K. WILLIAMS, 213 N.E.

SECOND AVENUE, MIAMI, DIRECTOR OF SRC AFFILIATE FLORIDA COUNCIL

ON HUMAN RELATIONS. BEST WISHES FOR SUCCESS OF MEETING.

Harold C. Fleming

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

JANE ADDAMS HOUSE
RITTENHOUSE 6-7110

2006 WALNUT STREET
PHILADELPHIA 3, PA.

April 16,1957

Mr. Harold Flemming, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue NE, Atlanta, Georgia.

RECEIVED APR 17 1957

Dear Mr. Flemming,

Let me say to begin with that your help and advise when I was in Atlanta in February has proved valuable indeed and that the response among our members and leaders to your materials as I show them wherever I go is immediately good. I am grateful to you, and to Mr. Routh, for your help.

We would like very much to have you participate in our Annual Meeting program if you can arrange to be in Miami on Sunday evening, June 9th when we are opening our Annual Meeting with a session on "Non-violence, a Way of Life". One of our national leaders will give an interpretation of our fundamental philosophy, and then we would like to have reports of four people on current examples of the use of non-violent methods. Since the Southern Regional Council has a more comprehensive view of slow but orderly projects toward better racial relations we'd like you who have been with it for some years to give us an over-all picture, or should I say sketch, since we feel twenty minutes would be appropriate for this?

The other presentations we are hoping for will be from Mrs. Mayme Williams, of Miami, president, National Congress of Negro Parents and Teachers-- giving the story of how that organization is disappearing from the scene as integration takes place in southern state after state; a representative from Montgomery, Alabama-- preferably one of our members who has worked closely with a few other white people in that bus protest-- whom we'd like to tell us about what is happening after the demonstration; and Mr. Clarence Jordan, of Koinonia, to tell us about that beleaguered community.

We would leave it to you to choose the examples you think tell the most effective story of progress in the south knowing the ones we have chosen to highlight.

We would be delighted to have you as our dinner guest on Sunday evening, June 9th, at 6 p.m. The program opens at 7:30 p.m. with short greetings from our Florida leaders, a report from our out-going national president and then the program as outlined above; your report should be heard beginning approximately at 8:20 p.m. We wish we could offer you at least transportation costs but unfortunately, are unable to do so for any program participants.

In the interests of getting our printed programs on the road, we'd be pleased if you would wire us collect if, for any reason, you are unable to accept this invitation. Personally, Mr. Flemming, I am hoping that it will be possible for you yourself to be there, and for the work of the Southern Regional Council to be heard.

P.S. On re-reading this, we'd like you to wire collect whether or not you can accept - we need to hear as soon as possible. Printed program will be sent you.

Sincerely,
Mary Howgate Chamberlain
(Mrs.)Mary Howgate Chamberlain,
Field Secretary.

May 15, 1957

Mr. Henry M. Christman
Post Office Box 812
Grand Central Station
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Christman:

Thanks for your letter.

Enclosed are some clippings which trace the latest abortive effort to outlaw "mixed" baseball in Georgia. This will at least give you a start. If the story looks promising and you need further information, perhaps we can advise further.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . JOHN CONSTABLE . . . .

5/13/57

HCF:

Attached are the clippings we have concerning the baseball bill in Georgia. Mr. Christman should contact George M. Trautman, who heads all of the minor leagues in baseball. Don't know whether he'd talk too much or not. Earl Mann,president of the Atlanta Crackers here, might be another good person to begin talking to concerning the situation since he was one of the strong protestors.

Mr. George M. Trautman, President,
The Nat'l Assoc. of Baseball Leagues

720 East Broad Street
Columbus 15, Ohio

HENRY M. CHRISTMAN

Post Office Box 812
Grand Central Station
New York 17, N. Y.
May 9, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 1. Just after receiving your letter, a packet of material arrived from the Southern Regional Council. These pamphlets are quite interesting, and helpful to me in terms of providing background concerning the work of your organization.

What would be most helpful to me now is the kind of information you and I discussed -- material never before presented in article form. I am particularly interested in the south Georgia situation you mentioned, and the effect it had in preventing the banning of interracial sports in the State of Georgia. I think this might well make an article, and I would be very happy to have any specific material and information you can provide me about this situation.

Best wishes.

Cordially,

Henry M. Christman

Henry M. Christman

HENRY M. CHRISTMAN

RECEIVED JUN 6 1957

Post Office Box 812
Grand Central Station
New York 17, N. Y.
June 3, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Many thanks for sending me the clippings concerning the proposed ban on interracial athletics in Georgia. On the basis of this material, I prepared an article outline for THE NATION. I have just heard from that journal; the editor has advised me of his interest, and asserts he hopes to assign me to do such an article for them.

I think this idea will finally develop in article form. Meantime, let me know if I can be of further assistance. As we discussed, New York editors are interested in having new and novel ideas about the Southern situation, but generally seem quite disinclined to run anything of a general nature. They give as their reason the number of articles already published, and assert that reader interest can be captured only by novel or exceedingly dramatic material. Justified or not, this is the reaction I get over and over again, and I must be prepared to meet it.

I would be very happy to have any other ideas you might care to suggest for possible articles.

Best wishes.

Cordially,

Henry M. Christman

Henry M. Christman

Blind copy sent to: Mr. Harry Fleischman, Nat'l. Labor Service

June 25, 1957

Mr. Robert Porter
Chemical Week Magazine
330 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

file

Dear Mr. Porter:

Here are several clippings and Southern Regional Council publications dealing with the economic implications of the South's racial practices.

I hope that this background will assist you in planning the article we discussed on the telephone and that you will call on us when we can be of further help.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosures - Newspaper clippings

New South - back issues

Encls. Congressional Reprint
SRC History and Aims
Annual Report - 1957
South of Promise

VIA AIR MAIL

February 18, 1958

Miss Melinda Chantry
Studebaker Hall
La Verne College
La Verne, California

Dear Miss Chantry:

In the absence of Dr. Mitchell, who has retired and now lives in Scotland, your letter of the 10th has been referred to me.

Accordingly, we are enclosing several pieces of material on the Council, its background and current activities. You should begin receiving New South with the current issue.

We are grateful for your interest and will be happy to be of any additional help that may be possible.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

February 10,1958

Southern Regional Council
Mr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED FEB 14 1958

Mr. Mitchell:

As a student of sociology at La Verne College in La Verne California, I am taking a Course in Contemporary Social Movements. One of the requirements of this course is to write a 3000 word paper on an organization that is doing something in the area of race relations.

The Southern Regional Council seemed appropriate because it is first necessary to solve race problems internally before one can attempt to solve them on a world level. Your ideals, as stated in the Social Work Yearbook 1957, "to work for the improvement of economic, civil, and racial conditions in the South; and to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people in the region..." seems most necessary in today's society.

Any pamphlets you could send giving a more detailed description of your work, accomplishments and future plans would be appreciated. Also, I would like a years subscription to your magazine, New South, for which a check is inclosed. $2 cc RHA
Since there is a deadline for this paper to be finished, the material and subscription will be needed as soon as possible.

If there is a branch office in Los Angeles, could you please send the address, as La Verne is located close to Los Angeles.

Thank you for the help and information.

Sincerely,
Melinda Chantry
Melinda Chantry
Studebaker Hall
La Verne College
La Verne, Calif.

cc:encl.

$2.-, entered 2/14/58.

Send - Chgr. reprint
SRC History + Aims
Annual Report
So of Promise

cc: Claude A. Barnett, Dir.
, Associated Negro Press

March 25, 1958

Chicago Council on Foreign Relations
116 S. Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Attn: Mrs. Rosenthal

Dear Mrs. Rosenthal:

Mr. Claude A. Barnett has suggested we write you concerning his suggestion of having Mrs. M. E. Tilly, the Council's Director of Women's Work, as a speaker for the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.

Mrs. Tilly will be happy to serve as a speaker for your group, assuming your choice of dates does not conflict with prior commitments. Other than travel expenses, no fee or honorarium is necessary though any modest honorarium you might want to make would be considered a contribution to the Council.

We are enclosing a brief biographical sketch of Mrs. Tilly for your use.

If you care to correspond further on this matter, Mrs. Tilly can be reached at this address.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

August 28, 1958

Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs
73 King Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Childs:

Mr. Fleming is away from the office, therefore I am answering your letter of August 24th.

We will be delighted to be of whatever help we can to the Chacko's when and if they are able to get by the office. Mr. Fleming returns tomorrow, therefore, if they do get by he will be able to see them.

We have seen Ed Cony's article in the Wall Street Journal and it is excellent. However, it was thoughtful of you to call it to our attention. Too much good material appears for us to keep up with it all and our friends throughout the region do us an invaluable service in helping to keep us informed.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs - 73 King Street - Charleston, South Carolina

Aug. 24
1958

Dear Mr. Fleming,

We are expecting a visit from Mr. & Mrs. Chacko, & Dr. Chacko (sister-in-law) and a little girl, their daughter this Wednesday the 27. From Chas. they go to Montgomery, & from M. on the 29th they go to Atlanta — quite an itinerary for anybody, I fear. I shall give the Chackos your name & the SRC address. I did not realize at first hearing that

they are particularly interested in the southern racial picture, and as far as Chao'n goes - I have planned their time badly - one evening with a few white Charlestonians. The carbon of their itinerary says they would like to stay at Atlanta U., ~~but~~ I hope they will come by the office so as it might prove an oasis for them.

Mr. Chacko is a student of economics, associated with the Consulate in N.Y. Mrs. Ch is interested in nursery schools.

Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs - 73 King Street - Charleston, South Carolina

The lady who wrote about them says they are leaders in the ~~the~~ Indian community in N.Y. and most likable, delightful people.

Please thank Mr. Via for for his study - certainly timely and interesting one.

If the Charlos do reach 63 Auburn, I hope it will not be inconvenient for you or your staff.

Did you all see excellent story in Wall St. Journal of Aug. 22 by Ed Cony headed "Colored Cand: dates."? No doubt of here among Mr. Cony's guides & mentors, but if you did not know about it, I can't get a copy, drop me a card, & I can clip this one.

Sincerely yours

Margaretta P. Ch: Pres

October 24, 1958

Mr. Malcolm H. Christian
Box 6301 Main Post Office
Chicago 7, Illinois

Dear Mr. Christian:

I regret that we have not earlier acknowledged receipt of your manuscript, "Let My People Go," which you were kind enough to send us some time ago.

Your manuscript is being circulated among our staff and we all find it interesting and thoughtfully written. Quite obviously, you have put a great deal of time into this work. We have found it all the more interesting since not only do we come in for our share of attention from the Citizens' Councils and like groups, but we are quite familiar with their pamphlets on which you base your work.

If you have occasion to circulate other of your works, we would be most grateful to receive copies. And, we are indeed grateful that you have shared "Let My People Go" with us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Encls: Atl. Journal Article - "53 Ministers Take Stand Against Mix" 3/25/59
Feb/1959 New South
"The Economic Effect of School Closing" - Montgomery

April 15, 1959

Mr. Howard G. McClain
Executive Director
Christian Action Council
1420 Lady Street, Room 201
Columbia 1, South Carolina

Dear Howard:

I am enclosing the pamphlet by Jim Montgomery and the recent issue of New South which published Lorin Thompson's statement. I am assuming that the latter is what you had in mind.

I am sorry to say that we don't have the full text of the statement by the segregationist ministers of Atlanta.

I, too, would welcome an opportunity of a lengthy talk with you. There is no telling when I will be in Columbia again, but I would certainly be in touch with you in that event. I trust you will do the same on any Atlanta visit.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

P. S. We did come up with the full text of the segregationist ministers' statement, a copy of which is enclosed.

H.C.F.

R. WRIGHT SPEARS, PRESIDENT - NEIL TRUESDELL, MRS. D. C. BOMAR, VICE-PRESIDENTS - O. R. REUBEN, RECORDING SECRETARY. DIRECTORS: JOHN A. BARRY, JR., EDUCATION - A. MCKAY BRABHAM, JR., PUBLIC RELATIONS - R. ARCHIE ELLIS, FINANCE - HARRY HARVIN, CITIZENSHIP - ELLIS MACDOUGALL, COMMUNITY SERVICES.

HOWARD G. MCCLAIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR - TREASURER
MRS. MARGUERITE WOOLLEN, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
MRS. JEAN MCKAY, SECRETARY

Christian Action Council

ROOM 201
1420 LADY STREET
COLUMBIA 1, S. C.
PHONE ALPINE 4-1679

April 9, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Please send me a copy of the Emory University lecture on "The Economic Effects of School Closing" by Jim Montgomery. I would also appreciate a copy of the complete statement along similar lines by Dr. Thompson of the University of Virginia's Bureau of Social Research.*

If a copy of the pro-segregation statement by Atlanta Ministers is available I would also appreciate the complete text of it.

I would like very much to have the opportunity to sit down and talk at length with you. Please let me know if you are to be in Columbia.

Very sincerely yours,

Howard

Howard G. McClain
Executive Director

HGM:jm

* if you have it.

SALISBURY-ROWAN COUNTY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

NORTH MAIN STREET • SALISBURY, NORTH CAROLINA • DIAL: MELROSE 3-4221

August 28, 1959

Gentlemen:

PLEASE CHANGE YOUR RECORDS

Now been put on mailing list 9-10-59

We wish to advise that Mr. Henry H. Palmer is now Executive Secretary of the Salisbury-Rowan County Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. William P. Pence left the Chamber July 1, and can be contacted at 2005 Yost Street, Salisbury, N. C.

Yours very truly,

James A. Cobb

James A. Cobb
President

Gentlemen:

Please note below change of name applicable to our organization:

Formerly: Mrs. Polly P. Crisson
Chamber of Commerce
Lincolnton, N. C.

fulle

New: A. Ralph Fulle
Executive Manager
Lincoln County Chambe r of Commerce
and Merchants Association, Inc.
P. O. Box 247
Lincolnton, N. C.

Thank You

put on list 3-16-60

June 20, 1963

Mr. Opie Shelton
Executive Director
Chamber of Commerce
Commerce Building
Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

file

Dear Mr. Shelton:

I am sorry about the omission on the L-Report. We have done what we can at this date to rectify it, and any copies which go out subsequently will be as the enclosure.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I thought might be of interest and possibly of some use to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

L-Report #43; copy of a ltr. from Mr. Larry Mansfield, Convention Bureau of Miami - 6/17/63

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
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NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

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Mrs
Eleanor
Mary

950P EST DEC 2 63 AC706 LA639
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LESLIE W DUNBAR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA
I AM PRESENTLY REVIEWING POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING SOUTHWEST
VERSION OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL HAVE REVIEWED IN DEPTH
THE MATERIAL YOU SENT US STILL CONFUSED ABOUT CERTAIN ISSUES.
WILL YOU PHONE US COLLECT STATION TO STATION 1130 WEDNESDAY
AM YOUR TIME, FOR LENGTHY DISCUSSION OF SOME CRITICAL POINTS
ROBERT B CHOATE JR PHONE 252-7497

Rm 607
Security Bldg.
Phoenix

File
"C" Gen. corresp.

April 19, 1963

Mrs. Grace Gill Olivarez
Careers for Youth
128 North First Avenue
P. O. Box 2326
Phoenix 2, Arizona

Dear Mrs. Olivarez:

Your letter to Mr. Dabbs has been referred to me for reply. I would first like to thank you for the vivid enclosures on Careers for Youth. It is a most worthwhile undertaking, and you must indeed take pride in your accomplishments.

Regarding the inter-state clearing house on Mexican-American problems in the Southwest which you are planning, we are pleased to be of any assistance that we can in sharing with you our own organizational structure, methods of operation, aims, etc. The enclosures will give you a general idea. The Reports of the Executive Director, for 1962 and 1961, will give you an idea of our yearly program, which changes emphasis with the current needs as we see them.

Although our staff at present includes about 25 persons, the Council began with a much smaller staff and budget. It has grown with the times, and with the funds available.

Regarding the state councils on human relations, they are now autonomous, electing their own officers and managing their own affairs and programs. This is

because a local group is more able to judge what it can do and how it can best accomplish its objectives. The Council maintains liaison with the state councils through a field representative and periodic meetings of the state directors. The Council also assists them financially, and they in turn make financial and program reports each quarter.

After you have had a chance to look over these materials, if you have any questions, please write again.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures: SRC ~~B&&~~ Board List
BY-LAWS
"The Southern Regional Council - Its Aims and Origins"
Congressional Record Reprint of the above (inserted July 16, 1957)
Congressional Record Reprint of Richmond Times-Dispatch of Aug. 21, 1958: "A Race Agency and the Facts"
Proposed 1963 Budget for SRC
Executive Director's Reports: 1961-1962

See "Ch" file

April 19, 1967

Mr. Ed Hope
Chestnut News Service
126 Chestnut Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hope:

Al Ulmer has informed me that you make Sunday delivery of the New York Times. If delivery in my area is possible (1728 Moores Mill Road, N. W.), please call me either at the office number above, or at 351-1844.

I very much hope you will be able to give me this service.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

CONVENTION AND TOURIST DIVISION
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF GREATER AUGUSTA
P.O. Box 901 Augusta, Georgia

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Mr Anthony

FROM: Convention and Tourist Division
Chamber of Commerce of Greater Augusta

SUBJECT: QUESTIONNAIRE AND ANNOUNCEMENT LETTER--FOLLOW UP

Recently, I mailed a brief questionnaire to you together with an announcement of the formation of our new Convention and Tourist Division.

The announcement letter contained an offer of the various professional services we are prepared to perform for you at no charge in the event you can arrange to hold one of your future meetings or conventions here in Augusta.

The questionnaire will be used as a basis for us to serve you effectively and efficiently.

I would be ever so grateful if you will fill out the questionnaire and return it to me today. Please do this, even if you may find it necessary to decline my invitation to meet here.

I am enclosing another copy in case the first one didn't find its way to you. Thank you very much for your courtesy.

Sincerely,

Charlie Bender

Charles R. Bender
Executive Director

Encl.
CRB:eb

Mailed 8/21/68 MY

CONVENTION AND TOURIST DIVISION
Chamber of Commerce of Greater Augusta

Your answers to the following questions will be the basis for us to serve you. We will be most grateful if you will fill out this questionnaire and return it today in the enclosed self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Name of Organization Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Address 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Have you met previously in Augusta? No When?

What is your earliest open date for which Augusta can be considered for a meeting?

When will the decision be made?

May we have the name of the person or group who will decide on the meeting site?

Address, if different from above?

What is the average attendance at your meeting(s)

Would you be kind enough to give us the names and addresses of one or two of your active members who reside in the Augusta area?

Your remarks or comments: While we would be happy to consider Augusta as a site for our meetings, I don't believe there will be any meeting that would be appropriate for your city in the near future. My apologies for this late reply, and thank you for inviting us.

Your name: Paul Anthony Title Executive Director

MANY THANKS !!

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
P. O. BOX 901
624 GREENE STREET
AUGUSTA, GEORGIA 30903
•
CONVENTION AND TOURIST DIVISION

AUGUSTA, GA
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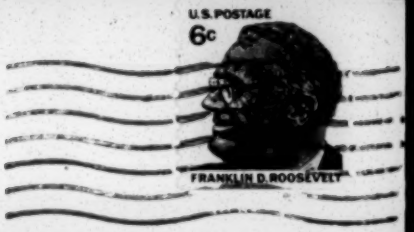
1968



Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

PA (FYI) — file
Discard

CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF METROPOLITAN ATLANTA, INC.

167 WALTON STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303, PHONE 524-1167

RC

March 14, 1969

Dear Sirs:

The attached information has been sent to the following:

Georgia Council of Churches
President, Georgia Medical Association
President, Fulton County Medical Society
President, Georgia League of Women Voters
President, Fulton County League of Women Voters
President, Civic Clubs in City of Atlanta
President, Atlanta Chamber of Commerce
President, Atlanta Jr. Chamber of Commerce
Southern Region Council.

This is a follow-up of our March 7 letter.

Sincerely yours,

Don Harrison

The Rev. H. Don Harrison
Chairman, Task Force Committee
School Lunch Program

HDH/jmw
enc.

Offering the 3rd Dimension to 5 Growing Counties

DR. WILLIAM H. GEREN
PRESIDENT
524-1167

WELFARE & SOCIAL SERVICES
523-7533

GA. ASSOC. FOR PASTORAL CARE
523-4711 - EXT. 207

RADIO AND TV
524-0514

DR. HARMON D. MOORE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
524-1167

CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF ME ROPOLITAN ATLANTA, INC.

167 WALTON STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303, PHONE 524-1167

March 14, 1969

In recent weeks there has been a great deal of publicity regarding hungry children in this and many other states. One way of dealing with the problem is through the School Lunch Program. Attached, you will find a Fact Sheet dealing with the State of Georgia and the City of Atlanta. The figures cited are conservative since they are based on the 1960 census. I urge you to study the Fact Sheet and disseminate its contents to the members of your organization. Specifically, three thin gs can be done to help the hungry children. First, the Christian Council of Metropolitan Atlanta is receiving contributions which will be channeled through the Ira Jarrell Milk Fund. Checks can be made payable to the Council, marked "Lunch Fund" and are tax deductable. Second, urge the Georgia General Assembly not to cut the proposed supplement to the School Lunch Program. Third, urge the Georgia Congressional delegation to support those federal programs which will provide additional funds for the School Lunch Program. I specifically refer your attention to HR 515 and HR 516 mentioned in the Fact Sheet. Finally, our Task Force Committee is prepared to provide speakers on this subject for organizational and professional meetings.

Your assistance in dealing with this urgent problem will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

The Rev. H. Don Harrison
Chairman, Task Force Committee
School Lunch Program

HDH/jmw

Offering the 3rd Dimension to 5 Growing Counties

DR. WILLIAM H. GEREN
PRESIDENT
524-1167

WELFARE & SOCIAL SERVICES
523-7533

GA. ASSOC. FOR PASTORAL CARE
523-4711 - EXT. 207

DR. HARMON D. MOORE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
524-1167

RADIO AND TV
524-0514

FACT SHEET

SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM - NEEDY CHILDREN
BACKGROUND PAPER

STATE LEVEL

In the state of Georgia, using as a poverty level income, the figure of $2,000 annually, there are 137,000 children not covered by the school lunch program. This figure is derived by subtracting the number of children in the $2,000 poverty class from the total average Daily Participation of children in the state lunch program. If one uses the Federal poverty standard of $3,000, the number of children not covered is railed to 237,000.

The total cost for a hot lunch is approximately 36¢. The maximum amount of Federal assistance is 20¢. This 20¢ is only for those lunches served over and above the number served last year. Also there is a limit on the funds available. Therefore the smallest deficit on a lunch is 16¢.

Recently allocated Federal Emergency Funds brought the State of Georgia $1.8 million. This sum enabled an additional 40-45,000 children to participate in the lunch program. At the present time, at least 91,000 children are not able to participate.

The state of Georgia provides no supplement to the School Lunch Funds. A 1937 court ruling stated it would be illegal for the state to do so. A Constitutional Amendment, passed on November 5, 1968 which does allow the State to supplement the program.

In the Proposed Budget now before the General Assembly there is a proposal to supplement each meal by 1¢ in 1969-70 and 2¢ in 1970-71 (House Bill #785). However, the State Auditor has suggested a budget cut by reducing this supplement to 1/2¢ in 1969-70 and 1¢ in 1970-71. On the other hand, the state of Louisiana supplements 9¢ per meal.

It is not feasible to raise the cost of existing lunches because the amjority of children in Georgia are from low to middle income families with several children to a family. A raise in the cost of the lunch would exclude more children than it would include.

CITY OF ATLANTA

In the City of Atlanta, it is impossible to determine the number of children who need assistance in participating in the free or reduced lunch program. 27,492 children are not participating in the School Lunch Program. Of this number, some are not participating simply because they chose not to do so. However, it is safe to assume that some do not participate because of a lack of funds. At the present time a survey is being conducted to determine how many families want free or reduced-cost lunches. It will be several weeks before these figures are available.

The cost of a meal in the City of Atlanta is higher than the State average due to the higher cost of labor. The average cost is approximately 37-39¢. The program receives no local supplement other than Federal Funds allocated through the State.

Other cities have found various ways in which to supplement the Lunch Program. New York City uses welfare funds. Houston, Texas receives money from their United Appeal Funds.

In the State of Georgia, each School System must pay for its own School Lunch Equipment. Last year, the City of Atlanta spent $200,511.30 on this one item alone. The State of Florida, however, provides all equipment.

There is only one agency in the City of Atlanta which provides supplementary funds for the School Lunch Program - The Ira Jarrell Milk Fund. This fund originally provided only milk, but for the last several years it has provided full lunches. The Milk Fund receives its income from two main sources: a) The Milk Bowl Football Game, and b) the "Feed a Friend" contributions conducted through the schools. In 1968-69, this Fund has had $17,746.60 to spend.

SPECIAL NOTE: On Monday, March 17th, the U.S. House of Representatives will begin hearing debate on HR 515 and HR 516. These two bills have been authored by Rep. Carl Perkins of Kentucky. The effect of the legislation would provide more Federal Funds for children in poverty level income families - funds to be used in the School Lunch Program. The State of Georgia would receive approximately $2,000,000 additional income if this legislation is passed.

SUMMARY: It would appear that any funds raised through an appeal to the public will be almost infintesimal compared to the need. However, appeal for funds would tend to highlight the need and would provide some emergency assistance for the remainder of the year.

Of more benefit in terms of both funding and long-term assistance is the passage of particular legislation. Specifically, efforts must be exerted to insure that the State Budget is not cut in the area of the School Lunch Supplement. Also, it is imperative that HR 515 and HR 516 are approved by the U.S. Congress.

~~EU~~
MJ-file

FRANK H. CASSELL AND ASSOCIATES, INC.

David L. Chewning, *Vice President*
Washington, D.C.

March 31, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Our effort to establish a quality consulting service in the increasingly important field of manpower is progressing nicely and has aroused considerable interest in both this country and abroad. We continue to hope that you will keep us in mind if and when needs for our professional services arise. For this reason, I thought you might be interested in the enclosed reprint which was published in the December issue of INTERNATIONAL MANAGEMENT Magazine.

Cordially,

Dave

David L. Chewning

DLC/mm
Enclosure

104 South Michigan Avenue Suite 725 Chicago, Illinois 60603 (312) 726-2308 | 1218 Sixteenth Street N.W. · Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 737-2727

Getting the best from manpower

Reprinted from the December, 1968, issue of

International Management

Getting the best from manpower

US consultant talks about the crisis in human resources

THE PROPER USE of manpower is a problem facing every executive. In many companies, productivity difficulties can be directly traced to improper use of available manpower.

Frank H. Cassell, president of Frank H. Cassell & Associates of Chicago, is a specialist in delving into behind-the-scenes problems facing companies in evaluating their manpower situation. A former director of the US Employment Service, Cassell is a noted author and lecturer. In addition to running his own consulting agency, he is a professor of industrial relations at Northwestern University.

In this interview with Susan Winer of *International Management*'s Chicago Bureau, he discusses the importance of manpower planning in corporate management.

Your primary interest is in human resource development. Exactly what is this and what do you do?
To explain this, let me first point out that whatever the nature or size of an organization, its prosperity, growth and the efficient use of its capital largely depend on the availability of manpower with the required skills and knowledge. We are concerned primarily with helping a company achieve maximum prosperity by using the resources at hand. In our case, the resource we are most concerned with is the human one, the employee—both at plant and executive level.

Why is it so important that companies become more aware of their internal work force and its capabilities?
We're in the midst of a manpower revolution in the US and elsewhere. Here in the US we shall be 14 million people short of our manpower goal by 1975, if we reach the national resource goals which have been set.

There is obviously then a shortage of qualified workers. What can be done about this shortage?
There must be a realignment of management thinking on organizational restructuring, an awareness of the options available. These include:

1) Bring more people—i.e. women—into the labour market. We're doing this.
2) Improve the abilities of those in the market.
3) Bring new skills into the market.

However, the greatest means an employer has to restructure his organization is to use the people he's got.

Doesn't management do this?
Definitely not. What should be done is to link manpower planning with corporate planning. All too often management leaves manpower problems to the personnel department, which is generally not suited to the problems of today.

Why is this?
Because the personnel department is frequently living in the 1940s when its primary responsibility was hiring someone to fit a specific job. Very rarely is the personnel department kept abreast of corporate plans for expansion or diversification, and usually personnel has no idea of the needs or mobility structure of the various departments.

In your books, you discuss a concept called manpower information system. Is this related, and what does it mean?
In my estimation, it is the solution to most managements' manpower problems. It is designed to provide quick information about every phase of manpower in your organization so that you can make decisions. It gives a complete accounting of the internal work force. But you need very good information. Most companies are multi-plant operations. One of their greatest resources of manpower is within the companies themselves. However, the poorest mobility is also within the company. There's an old saying which is especially applicable to US industry: "When in doubt . . . go outside." The reason for this is that management usually has very poor information on the men in each division. Today when you're short of people it is wiser to go inside your own company, not outside where talent may not be available at all.

How do you go about setting up a manpower information system?
There are certain components that must be included. First, a record of utilization of manpower. Second, a record of the performance of people recruited. What has to be taken into consideration is the cost of training in-company personnel as opposed to the cost of recruiting from outside. Or is it cheaper simply to put in equipment that eliminates certain jobs that would otherwise have to be filled? This is simply a matter of applying a cost effectiveness notion to manpower.

Frank H. Cassell: "The job market is wide open"

Can the personnel department do this?
No. Personnel may have a great deal of knowledge about human behaviour but in many cases they have no knowledge of the machinery, the workings of the company or any means of putting it into action. They are aware of the options available to them for increasing the productivity of the work force; but they usually pick the wrong option because of lack of knowledge. This is when my clients call me in—because the option they've picked has not worked out.

It sounds like somewhat of a make or buy decision for employers.
That it is—should the company create the person for the job by training him and moving him up within the company, or buy him from outside and run the risk of having picked the wrong person? This is something that has never been done before, looking at it from this approach, that is.

Let's say a company agrees they need a manpower planning system, then what?
First, if they don't think they need a manpower system, then they are unwilling to face the realities of today's big business. Manpower planning is a sophisticated tool that is as important to management today as having available capital sources and proper engineering resources. However, assuming they are aware of this, then the next step is to establish a manpower administration —appoint someone whose total responsibility is manpower, and I don't mean from personnel either.

What kind of person do you mean then?
Well, if we are taking someone from within the company, which is generally the case, then we look for these characteristics—someone with the ability to organize a management information system; someone with a high administrative background, who is a good judge of people; perhaps someone with a heavy psychological or sociological background. It must be someone with a knowledge of how a company, particularly the one in question, operates. He must also be a person who has the ability to grow, adapt to growth and communicate. In almost every case the person we've found has had a background in planning, either research and development, marketing or finance. Again not personnel, because personnel executives rarely have much planning experience. In other words, he could come from anywhere in the company; there are no set restrictions.

Are most companies, in your view, able to adapt the manpower information system to their total corporate planning set-up?
There's no unqualified answer to this. Usually, we've found that once companies become aware of this area, they have no difficulty in deciding how it can fit in to most corporate decisions such as continued growth and acquisitions. They become aware that when they consider the question of manpower, it has great influence on their thoughts about the future.

When you are faced with a company with problems, where is the first place you look for answers?
I talk first with the executive officers, particularly the financial officer. His importance is in what he stands for. The typical finance officer up until now has generally been just an accountant. There's nothing wrong with that, except it shows that companies were merely concerned with records, books and accounting. Things have changed. What we need now are financial officers who look ahead; who are concerned with allocation of scarce monetary resources; who are concerned with internal and external available assets; someone who is searching for opportunity, aware of the possibilities for the future.

How did you first become involved in this whole manpower question?
I got interested in this whole thing back in 1954 at Princeton University. I did a paper comparing manpower utilizaton in a German and a US steel mill. We picked a mill at Dortmund in Germany and one in East Chicago, Indiana, each with 20,000 men working and comparable equipment. The East Chicago mill was producing 6.5 million tons, while the German mill produced 2.5 million tons in the same time period. I tried to figure out why there was a productivity gap. I discovered that the ratio of workers to supervisors in the US was about 1 to 10, and in the German mill, about 25 to 40. The US staff were more specialized, while the German mill had each man doing two or three different jobs. It seemed interesting that improper handling of the work force could result in this type of productivity differential.

Do you think the problems of manpower usage are universal?
Every company is facing the same crisis, all over the world. The job market, despite rumours, is wide open. It is simply a matter of insufficient training and usage of available talent. Manpower planning is the last bastion of ineffectiveness. It is lagging behind all other planning efforts. **End**

THE CHATTANOOGA COUNCIL FOR COOPERATIVE ACTION

433½ EAST NINTH STREET

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

Telephone 267-9955

H. J. TRAYLOR, PRESIDENT

M. J. JONES, RESEARCH COORDINATOR

February 18, 1964

VJ what do I do?

RECEIVED
FEB 19 1964
RECEIVED

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director of Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I wrote you some time ago concerning your participation in a regional Conference on Jobs and Freedom to be held in Chattanooga the fourteenth and fifteenth of April. I also solicited the sponsorship of the Council. The steering committee met and worked up a sponsorship budget in which they are asking, if possible, a contribution of Two Hundred ($200.00) Dollars.

I still hope that it will be possible for you to participate on both days or at least one day.

Very truly yours,

M. J. Jones

M. J. Jones

MJJ/lmp

THE CHATTANOOGA COUNCIL FOR COOPERATIVE ACTION

433½ EAST NINTH STREET

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

Telephone 267-9955

H. J. TRAYLOR, PRESIDENT

M. J. JONES, RESEARCH COORDINATOR

February 19, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

Just a note to bring to your attention a letter of November 4, 1963 in which you stated that the Southern Regional Council had appropriated Two Hundred ($200.00) Dollars for the sponsorship of our Conference on Jobs and Freedom.

This note is to get it in prospective and to say our plans have proceeded toward the days of the fourteenth and fifteenth of April. I have written Leslie to this effect and hope you both can find time to participate.

Please let me know as I would like to give you program responsibility.

Very truly yours,

Major

MJJ/lmp

November 4, 1963

Dr. M. J. Jones
Research Coordinator
Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action
433½ East Ninth Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Jones:

Your letter to Mr. Dunbar, of October 23, regarding the change of date for the Chattanooga Regional Conference on Jobs and Freedom, is acknowledged.

Please be advised that Mr. Dunbar is not in a position to accept a speaking engagement presently, for a date as far away as the 14th and 15th of April. We can assure you, however, that SRC can provide you with a speaker on one of those dates. We are not in a position, at this time, to say which of our staff or board members it will be. We will inform you as soon as practicably of a SRC speaker.

Prior to your letter of October 23, and in response to your letter of October 9, the Council decided to appropriate $200.00 for the general support of this conference. Although our 1964 budget has not been approved, it is our hope that we can support the April Conference in the same amount.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

October 29, 1963

Dr. M. J. Jones, Research Coordinator
Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action
4334 East Ninth Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

RE: TO CHANGE IN THE DATE FOR THE CHATTANOOGA REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON JOBS AND FREEDOM.

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The Steering Committee of the Chattanooga Conference on "Jobs and Freedom" has decided to change the date of the Conference from the scheduled date of November 12-13, 1963 to April 14-15, 1964 for the following reasons:

1. We were unable to commit a large enough percentage of the first choice speakers, at this time, to make the Conference a worthwhile endeavor.

2. We were not willing to accept support from national and local sponsors unless we could be sure that the project would justify their confidence in us and in those whom we would trust with the leadership.

As you were one of the first choice leaders for the Conference, would it be possible for you to accept program responsibility for the day of the 14th or 15th of April, 1964? This shift in time and possible change in the urgency of current social issues may well change the format of the Conference, but we are sure that the content which your presentation would give would make you still a first choice. If you accept, we will be sending you program information which will keep you well aware of all aspects of program developments.

Will you please let us hear from you as soon as it is convenient so as to facilitate our local plans. We do hope you can find the time to accept this invitation to share in what we hope will be a fruitful conference. Your leadership would help make it so.

Very truly yours,

M. J. Jones

MJJ/lmp

3.7. We are asking the same groups to sponsor the Conference, plus any others we might be able to acquire.

NATIONAL
CONFERENCE
BOARD
OF
CANADA
LIBRARY

VJ
dc with PA &
SB about speaker

October 9, 1963

Dr. M. J. Jones, Research Coordinator, CCA
433½ East Ninth Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I was in the office a few days ago to talk with you concerning a conference which the Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action is planning to hold on "Jobs and Freedom". The conference is set for the 12th and 13th of November here in Chattanooga. In order to hold such a conference on a regional basis, the committee felt that we should seek sponsorship from certain organizations that we felt would give such support. In talking with Mr. Paul Anthony, he thought that The Southern Regional Council would offer speakers, and a small amount of money to make the conference possible.

The committee authorized me to extend to you an invitation to give one of the lectures on the "Economic Status of The Negro Family at This Point in The Negro's Struggle for Freedom". This, we would hope, would combine the studies which we did, what Dr. Henderson did, and seek to let us see the plight of the Negro in the context of the national economy.

To give you somewhat of an idea who our sponsorers are, we have solicited the names of such organizations as: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, The Southern Office of the National Urban League, the local Mayor's By-racial Committee, The Tennessee Council on Human Relations and The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen plus many other local organizations and individuals.

$200

May I thank you for any help you might be able to give as a sponsorer, and say that I do hope that you can accept our invitation to speak on the day of the thirteenth.

Very truly yours,

M. J. Jones

MJJ/lmp

LWD ✓
PA ✓
PW ✓

March 10, 1964

Dear Fellow Citizen:

This note comes to bring to your attention a Call and to extend to you an invitation to attend an important Conference. It is our hope that you will be interested and can find the time and resources to attend such a meeting. The program is vital and we know you will benefit and make a contribution to such a gathering because of your interest and experience.

We have secured the sponsorship of such organizations as: The Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action, The Southern Regional Council, The National Urban League, The Board of Christian Social Concerns of The Methodist Church, The Committee of Southern Churchmen, The Tennessee Council on Human Relations, etc.

In addition to such national sponsorship, we have secured local sponsorship from some forty organizations and a score of interested individuals.

Our speakers include such persons as: Mr. M. T. Puryear, Director of The National Skills Bank of the National Urban League; Dr. John Hope, The Executive Vice President of The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities; Rev. Sam Dodson, Chairman of The Governor's Committee on Human Relations; Dr. Martin Luther King, President of The Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Mr. Will D. Campbell, Director of The Committee of Southern Church and Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell, Field Director of Voter Education Project.

Please return the enclosed card as soon as possible so that we will know how many people to plan for.

Very truly yours,

M. J. Jones

MJJ/lmp

file

THE CHATTANOOGA COUNCIL FOR COOPERATIVE ACTION

~~PRESENTS~~

Cr. ref New World Foundation "Contingency Fund"

A REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON JOBS, FREEDOM AND CITIZENSHIP RESPONSIBILITY

★ ★ ★

April 14 - 15, 1964

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

★ ★ ★

Sponsored By

The Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action
The Southern Regional Council
The Southern Christian Leadership Conference
The National Urban League (Southern Office)
The General Board of Christian Social Concern of the Methodist Church
The Tennessee Council on Human Relations
The Committee of Southern Churchmen
Etc.

THE CALL

Because our hearts yearn so much for a better climate in America and especially our Southland wherein each person shall have opportunity equal to his talent, skills and ability; and when for no reason shall a person be denied an equal chance for any job for which he is qualified; and

Because our work and actions, our thoughts and dedications, our prayers and our faith are aimed at the creation of a free climate, wherein every person, it matters not what race, creed or color may have the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and

Because we are responsible citizens of a great nation that has not yet reached its potential in a "realized dream," political maturity, or the democratic ideal, and;

Because we feel that still, even within us lies a facet of our nation's power to become; and

Because we know so well the agony, the strife, the struggle, the conflicts which any nation suffers as long as it is divided against itself; and

Because we feel that the time for freedom is far spent;

WE CALL YOU TO A REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON JOBS, FREEDOM AND CITIZENSHIP RESPONSIBILITY, to be held in Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 14 - 15, 1964.

THE PURPOSE

The purpose of the Conference is to focus on regional and community conditions as they relate to progress and lag in the area of Job Opportunities, Freedom, and Citizenship Responsibility. There will also be attempts to devise ways and means by which communities might develop strategy for the achievement of a better climate in Human Relations.

GENERAL INFORMATION

BEFORE APRIL FIRST, registration for the Conference will not be limited, and the general public will be invited to sit in on all of the sessions.

Those not registered may come for the two banquet meals provided they make reservations in time.

The first session of the Conference will be held at 2:00 on the day of the fourteenth, with the last session being the mass meeting of the night of the fifteenth.

Registration begins at 10:00 on the day of the fourteenth.

★ ★ ★

This folder is not designed to indicate program, as plans for the program have not been completed. When the program has been finalized, you will get a copy of the program with final instructions as to place of meeting, etc.

LODGING

HOTEL PATTEN.....1 East Eleventh Street

THE READ HOUSE.....West Ninth Street
(Hotel, Motel)

THE HOLIDAY INN.....2100 South Broad Street

THE ALBERT PICK.....3210 South Broad Street

THE DRAKE MOTEL.....3515 South Broad Street

THE ROSETTA MOTEL.....3610 Williams Street

★ ★ ★

PLEASE MAKE YOUR OWN RESERVATIONS!

WILSON PTG.

Stamp
Here

DR. M. J. JONES

433½ East Ninth Street

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

:——REGISTRATION CARD——:

Send registration fee of $2.00 by April 1, 1964, to Dr. M. J. Jones, 433½ East Ninth Street, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

NAME..... PHONE.....

ADDRESS.....

ORGANIZATION .....

SIGNATURE.....

I Plan To Attend Both Banquets..... ☐

I Will Not Be Able To Attend Both Banquets ..... ☐

Banquets $6.00
Registration Fee $2.00

File: Chatt. Council for Cooperative Action

LWD ✓
PA ✓
MJ — for you to file if you didn't file the last one —

April 6, 1964

Dear Fellow Citizens:

This comes to bring to your attention an advance copy of the proposed printed program for the Chattanooga Conference. We hope that it will give you some prior knowledge of what the Conference will be like and some added incentive to attend.

Don't forget to make your own hotel reservations.

Hotel Patten	1 East Eleventh Street
The Read House (Hotel, Motel)	West Ninth Street
The Holiday Inn	2100 South Broad Street
The Albert Pick	3210 South Broad Street
The Drake Motal	3515 South Broad Street
The Rosetta Motal	3610 Williams Street

Very truly yours,

M. J. Jones

MJJ/lmp

PROGRAM

FOR CONFERENCE ON JOBS, FREEDOM AND CITIZENSHIP RESPONSIBILITY

TUESDAY-APRIL 14, 1964

PLACE: YMCA (HENRY BRANCH) 915 PARK AVENUE CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

10:00 - 12:00 Registration
Orientation Period

12:00 - 1:00 Lunch (Buffet) $1.00

Presiding: Mr. Reginald Stagmaier, President of The Chattanooga Community Relation's Conference

Invocation: Rev. W. W. Morris, Pastor of Stanley Methodist Church, Chattanooga, Tennessee

Solo:

Introduction of Speaker: Attorney Bennie J. Harris, Practicing Attorney in Chattanooga and Member of The Governor's Commission on Human Relations.

Address: Rev. Sam Dodson, Pastor of Calvary Methodist Church - Nashville, Tennessee and Chairman of The Governor's Commission on Human Relations State of Tennessee

1:30 - 4:00 "Basic Issues In The Current Revolution"

Presiding: Rev. John Cooper, Pastor of New Monumental Baptist Church and President of Baptist Minister's Union - Chattanooga, Tennessee

Discussion Panel:
A. Dr. J. E. Lowery, Administrative Assistant to Bishop, Nashville-Birmingham Area, The Methodist Church and Consultant on Church and Race, Department of Christian Social Relations, Woman's Division of Christian Service, The Methodist Church.
B. Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Executive Director of Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
C. Mr. Matthew Lynch, President of Tennessee State Labor Council.
D. Mr. Robert L. Cole, Special Assistant to the Administrator of The Agency for International Development - State Department.
E. Rev. John Morris, Director of The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

Discussion Leader: Dr. Arthur Graham, Pastor of Unitarian Church, Oak Ridge, Tennessee

4:00 - 4:45

Presiding: Mr. Clarence Robinson, Principal of Davenport Elementary School and President of The Chattanooga Chapter of The Tennessee Voter's Council

Address: "Voter Registration in the South: Progress and Problems", Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell, Field Director of Voter Education Project - Southern Regional Council.

Discussion Leader: Attorney William T. Underwood, Jr., Practicing Attorney in Chattanooga and Campaign Director of Voter Registration Campaign in Chattanooga, Tennessee.

4:45 - 5:30 Reports from Citizenship Education Projects
A. Mrs. Dorothy Cotton, Director of Citizenship Education Projects for Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
B. Mr. Howard Sompayrac, Board Member of The Chattanooga Area Literacy Movement.
C. Mrs. Phillip Sottong, Area Enrichment Project, Community Relations Conference, Chattanooga, Tennessee

6:45 Conference Banquet: Y.M.C.A. (Henry Branch) 915 Park Avenue $2.00

Presiding: Dr. Luke Jackson, Practicing Dentist in Chattanooga and member of the Executive Committee of The Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action.

Words of Welcome:

Invocation: Rev. John Paul Jones, Pastor of St. James Baptist Church, Chatta.

Solo:

Introduction of Speaker: Mr. F. F. Pitts, Principal of Orchard Knob Elementary School and affiliate coordinator for The Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action.

Address: Mr. Adolph Holmes, Associate Director of The National Urban League and a specialist in Job Development and Employment in The National Skills Bank.

Solo:

Introduction of Speaker: Mrs. Rosalind F. Solomon, Recruiter-Consultant for The Agency for International Development.

Address: Mr. Robert L. Cole, The Agency for International Development

Discussion Moderator: Mr. Clarence D. Coleman, Director of The Southern Regional Office of The National Urban League.

WEDNESDAY-APRIL 15, 1964

9:30 - 10:45 "Basic Issues: Housing and Poverty"
Presiding: Rev. D. W. Browning, Pastor of Phillips Temple CME Church, Chatta.
A. Mr. Hubert M. Jackson, Specialist in Intergroup Relations, The Public Housing Administration, Atlanta, Georgia.
B. A Representative of The President's Poverty Program, Washington, D. C.
Discussion Leader: Dr. Arnold Slater, Pastor of Pilgrim Congregational Church, Chattanooga, Tennessee

10:45 - 11:15 Address: "The Role of Higher Education In The Achievement of Jobs, Freedom and Citizenship Responsibility", Dr. Jonathan Jackson, Professor of Philosophy, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia.
Discussion Leader: Rev. A. J. Eberhardt, Pastor of St. Elmo Baptist Church, Chattanooga, Tennessee
11:15 - 11:20 Coffee Break

11:20 - 12:15
Presiding: Rev. H. L. Parks, Pastor of Bethel AME Church, Chattanooga and President of The Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance.
Address: "An Analysis of The Civil Rights Bill and Its Implications for the Region", Mr. Paul Anthony, Director of Field Activities for The Southern Regional Council.
Discussion Leader: Rev. George Walker, Pastor of Wiley Methodist Church, Chatta.

12:15 - 1:15 Lunch (Buffet) $1.00

1:15 - 3:20 Reports from Tension Areas
Presiding: Rev. Ernest Howard, Pastor of Unitarian Church, Chattanooga, Tenn. and member of the Executive Committee of The Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action.
Discussion Leader: Rev. Andrew White, Nashville, Tennessee
Discussion Panel:
1. Mr. Hosea Williams, Savannah, Georgia
2. Mr. K. B. M. Crooks, Jr., Atlanta, Georgia
3. Dr. Leon Whitney, Jackson, Mississippi
4. Rev. A. D. King, Birmingham, Alabama
5. Dr. L. L. Haynes, Baton Rouge, Louisiana
6. Rev. William D. McClain, Anniston, Alabama
7. Mrs. Earnest G. Silver, Oak Ridge, Tennessee
8. Rev. William C. Dobbins, Pensacola, Florida
9. Mr. Melvin Robinson, Kentucky

3:20 - 3:30 Coffee Break

3:30 - 4:30 "The Role of The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities in The Negroes Struggle for Better Jobs". Mr. Percy H. Williams, Special Assistant to the Executive Vice Chairman of The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, Washington, D. C.
Discussion Leader: Rev. E. N. Bates, Pastor of Second Baptist Church, Chatta.

4:30 - 5:30 A Community Strategy Panel
1. Miss Kay Jones, Executive Director, Tennessee Council on Human Relations.
2. Mr. Gideon Fryer, School of Social Work, University of Tenn.
3. Miss Carole Hoover, Administrative Assistant, SCIC.
4. Rev. Milton Reid, Pastor of First Baptist Church, Petersburgh, Virginia.
5. Mrs. Ernest Silver, Board member of The Tennessee Council on Human Relations.
6. Dr. Arthur Graham, Pastor of Unitarian Church, Oak Ridge, Tennessee.
7. Dr. J. E. Lowery, Administrative Assistant to Bishop, Nashville-Birmingham Area, The Methodist Church.

8:00 Closing Session WILEY METHODIST CHURCH 504 Lookout Street
Presiding: Dr. H. J. Traylor, President of Zion College and President of The Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action.
Invocation: Rev. Charles Jenkins, Pastor of St. Paul AME Church, Chattanooga
Solo:
Introduction of Speaker: Rev. A. L. Jarrett, Pastor of Union Hill Baptist Church and Director of American Baptist Seminary Extension, Chattanooga, Tennessee
Address: Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, Pastor of Revelation Baptist Church, Cincinnati, Ohio and President of Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights.

WEDNESDAY-APRIL 15, 1964 (continued)

Offering: Rev. Maurice Kirby, Rev. B. S. Ransom, Rev. Robert Richards, Rev. W. H. Thompson, Mr. Randolph Martin and Rev. Millard Peace.

Solo:

Introduction of Speaker: Dr. M. J. Jones, District Superintendant of The Knoxville District of The Methodist Church and Program Coordinator for The Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action.

Address: Mr. Dick Gregory, Comedian, Civil Rights Philanthropher, Star of Television and Stage and Champion for Human Dignity and Freedom. "A Satire on Race Relations".

Benediction: Rev. J. W. Williams, Pastor of Carter Street Baptist Church, Chattanooga, Tennessee

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File
Chatt. Council for
cooperative action

April 10, 1964

Dear Fellow Citizen:

This is to bring to your attention the printed program of the Chattanooga Conference and to say how happy we are to have you as one of the participants. We look forward to this rich association.

Very truly yours,

M. J. Jones

MJJ/lmp

April 10, 1964

Dr. M. J. Jones
Research Coordinator
Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action
633½ East Ninth Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Major:

I am enclosing herewith our check in the amount of $200.00 (two hundred dollars), in support of the Chattanooga Conference on Jobs, Freedom, and Citizenship Responsibility.

It is our sincere hope that this will be a meaningful and successful conference. We are privileged to participate.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure
Ck. - $200

Make folder if one has not already been made on "Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action"

March 17, 1964

Dr. M. J. Jones
Research Coordinator
Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action
433½ East Ninth Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Major:

This is to re-confirm the Council's commitment to appropriate $200 to the Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action, for your conference on Jobs and Freedom. At such a time that your plans are definite and complete, and upon receipt of same here at the Council, we will gladly forward the $200.

I regret that neither Les Dunbar nor I will be able to actively participate in the conference. It is possible however, that a staff member will be in attendance. I notice that Mr. Blackwell of the Voter Education Project staff is one of the speakers, so maybe we will have to let him represent both VEP and SRC.

The Call, which we received last week, looks quite promising, and it appears that you are well on the way toward a successful conference.

Please let us know when you have finalized your plans.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

file

THE CHATTANOOGA COUNCIL FOR COOPERATIVE ACTION

433½ EAST NINTH STREET
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE
Telephone 267-9955

H. J. TRAYLOR, PRESIDENT
M. J. JONES, RESEARCH COORDINATOR

April 23, 1964

TAV
VJ

The Southern Regional Council
Executive Director, Dr. Leslie Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The members of The Executive Committee of The Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action and its affiliates join me in expressing our thanks to you for the advice, cooperation, leadership and finance which you made available to our Conference on Jobs, Freedom and Citizenship Responsibility.

Without your help, we would not have been able to see our way through. We are happy to report that everyone hailed the Conference as a success and that we were able to remain solvent financially.

May we again express our thanks to you for the support which you gave and we hope to furnish you later with a more extensive critique.

Very truly yours,

M. J. Jones

M. J. Jones

MJJ/lmp

CC Mr. Vernon E. Jordan
Assistant to Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PROGRAMM WORKSHEET
CONFERENCE ON JOBS, FREEDOM AND CITIZENSHIP RESPONSIBILITY

TUESDAY

10:00 A.M. until 12:00 Registration

12:00 until 1:00 Lunch with Guest Speaker
Rev. Sam Dodson, Pastor of Calvary Methodist Church, Nashville, Tennessee and Chairman of The Governor's Commission on Human Relations, State of Tennessee.

1:30 until 4:00 Orientation Period
Presiding: _____

Basic Issues in The Current Revolution
A. Dr. J. E. Lowery
B. Dr. Wyatt Tee Walker
C. Dr. William Campbell
D. Dr. James Sellers

General Discussion Leader: Dr. D. E. King

4:00 until 4:45 Address: "Voter Registration in The South: Progress and Problems", Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell, Field Director of Voter Education Project.

4:45 until 5:15 Report from Citizenship Education Projects
A. Mrs. Dorothy Cotton for SCLC
B. _____ for the Chattanooga Area Literacy Movement.

Discussion Leader: _____

6:45 Conference Banquet
Keynote Address: Mr. M. T. Puryear, Director of The National Skills Bank and Associate Director of The National Urban League

TUESDAY EVENING: Discussion Panel: Community Organization for Freedom, Jobs, and Citizenship Responsibility.
Mr. Clarence Coleman, Director of Southern Regional Office of The National Urban League.

Discussion and Question Leaders:
A.
B.

WEDNESDAY:

9:00 A.M. until 10:00 "Larger Aspects of The Revolution of 1963".
Presiding: _____
A. Miss Peggy Billings of The Methodist Office for The United Nations
B. Mr. Matthew Lynch, President of Tennessee Labor Council.
C. Rev. John Morris, Director of The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

10:00 until 11:00 Address: "The Role of Higher Education in The Achievement of Jobs, Freedom and Citizenship Responsibility".
Dr. E. A. Smith, President of Rust College

Discussion Leader: _____

11:00 until 11:10 Coffee Break

11:10 until 12:00 Address: "The Economic Status of The Negro: In the South and on The National Scene".
Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director of The Southern Regional Council.

Discussion Leader: _____

12:00 until 1:15 Lunch

1:15 until 3:20 Reports from Tension Areas
Panel Leader: Rev. Andrew White, Nashville, Tennessee

1. Mr. Hosea Williams, Savannah, Georgia
2. Mr. James Bevel, SCLC Field Activities, Atlanta, Georgia
3. Dr. Leon Whitney, Jackson, Mississippi
4. Rev. A. D. King, Birmingham, Alabama
5. Rev. W. Tolbert Handy, Louisiana
6. Rev. William B. McClain, On a Bi-Racial Committee, Anniston, Alabama
7. Mrs. Earnest G. Silver, Oak Ridge, Tennessee
8. Rev. William G. Dobbins, Pensacola, Florida
9. Mr. Ron Parker, Nashville, Tennessee

3:20 until 3:30 Coffee Break

3:30 until 4:30 "The Role of The President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Negroes Struggle for Better Jobs".
Dr. John Hope, II: Associate Director

Discussion Leader: _____

4:30 until 5:30 A Community Strategy Panel
1. Miss Kay Jones, Executive Director, Tennessee Council on Human Relations.
2. Mr. Gideon Fryer, School of Social Work, University of Tennessee.
3. Miss Carole Hoover, Administrative Assistant, SCLC
4. Rev. Milton Reid, Pastor of First Baptist Church, Petersburgh, Virginia.
5. James M. Lawson

5:30 Dinner Toastmaster: Dick Gregory

8:00 Closing Session
Presiding: _____

Address: Dr. Martin Luther King (City Auditorium)

Vernon —

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Major Jones

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when plans definite

2. I can't come — will

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some one else?

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LWD

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August 23, 1966

Stennis Would Halt Funds To CDGM

WASHINGTON (AP) — Sen. John Stennis, D - Miss., said Monday he has asked that further funds be withheld from the Child Development Group of Mississippi pending completion of a 3-way investigation into the group's affairs.

The group administers the Head Start program in Mississippi, a program which, Stennis charged last year, involved irregular handling of federal funds.

1

The investigation now under way, informed sources said, is being conducted by the Senate Appropriations Committee, the General Accounting Office and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

ASKS FOR INQUIRY

Stennis declined to comment on the investigation beyond conceding that he had asked the Appropriations Committee, of which he is a member, to make an inquiry and that a preliminary report has been made.

"It is premature to discuss it at this time," Stennis said, "since the investigation still is in progress."

Informed sources, however, said the preliminary report shows a "significant relationship" between the Child Development Group of Mississippi and the militant "Black Power" movement.

2

These sources said the report shows that one CDGM employe, R. Hunter Morey, has a business card listing two addresses —that of CDGM in Jackson and that of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) at Atlanta.

Morey, these sources said, has objected strongly to a suggestion by OEO that a management firm be hired to straighten out affairs of the group. He wrote a letter to CDGM staff members, these sources said, stating that all, CDGM was started to fulfill movement goals. We are not here merely to serve the new institution of CDGM."

3

These sources said the preliminary report also showed that the board of CDGM met with Stokey Carmichael, militant Negro leader, several times prior to the James Meredith March in Mississippi last June.

4

It was on the march that the phrase "Block Power" was used for the first time.

The Head Start program in Mississippi had its headquarters in Mt. Beulah, Miss., at the time Stennis last year charged irregularities. He contended some $500,000 of the Mt. Beulah allocation of $1.4 million was spent irregularly and unaccounted for.

1

After a hearing before the Senate Appropriations Committee, OEO Director Sargent Shriver promised a tightening up of procedures. However, Stennis said, the irregular expenditures were forgiven.

One result of the investigation was that the group's headquarters was moved to Jackson. However, informed sources said the same director, the same manager and virtually the same personnel were retained.

5

This year's allocation for the organization has been set at $5.6 million.

A spokesman for the OEO confirmed that it has received a list of charges from Stennis concerning operations of the Mississippi group. As a result, he said, an investigation is being conducted by OEO personnel in the state.

The spokesman also said that OEO had sent a telegram to officials of the CDGM last Friday authorizing it to continue its present Head Start programs until the opening of school next month. The telegram added, he said, that this was in no way to be considered an authorization for the funding of new programs by the CDGM.

The Mississippi program, he said, involves training for 10,000 young children in about 28 counties.

The Clarion-Ledger (Jackson, Miss) Aug. 24, 1966.

State CDG Gave Food To Marchers

14

WASHINGTON — Food for marchers in the voter demonstration march to Jackson last June was prepared on facilities maintained by the Child Development Group of Mississippi at various Head Start training centers along the route of the march, investigators of the state-wide $5.6 million pre-school training operation have revealed.

The investigators also said that two buses under contract with CDGM to transport children to and from training centers at Canton were used to haul some of the participants in the march which was started by James Meredith, but was taken over by various civil rights groups after Meredith was shot from ambush near Memphis, Tenn.

BOYCOTT LEADER

C. O. Chinn of Canton receives $4,000 a month for operating the school buses for CDGM, the investigators reported. They also said Chinn was one of the leaders in the Negro boycott of white merchants in Canton, and that other CDGM employees were active in the boycott.

According to the investigations, conducted by staff members of the Senate Appropriations Committee and by the General Accounting Office, several board members and other CDGM leaders worked closely with Stokely Carmichael, militant head of the Student nonviolent Coordinating Committee, in planning the continuation of the June march to Jackson.

Another investigation reportedly is underway by the Office of Economic Opportunity which authorized and funded the CDGM which operates 120 training centers for 10,000 children throughout the state.

STENNIS' ORDER

Senator John Stennis, a ranking member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, last year ordered a thorough investigation of CDGM activities which revealed irregularities in book-keeping and other operations which were never explained to the Senator's satisfaction. He urged against allocating funds to the same group for a similar Head Start program this year.

Stennis has asked any further funds for the current program be withheld, pending completion of the investigations. (Although the training activities were shedule to have ended last week, the OEO has authorized the group to use any left-over funds to continue the training for two additional weeks.)

CDGM reportedly has made application for a $41 million grant for an expanded program in 1967.

BOOKKEEPING

According to the current investigations, the CDGM this year attempted to centralize its bookkeeping system in Jackson, but at the same time established 120 separate bank accounts — one in each of the teaching centers — and gave the chairman of each center check-writing authority.

15

The investigators found that some of the centers are operated by one family, or by interrelated families, contrary to OEO regulations. They also reported that the check-writing authority, in some instances, had been delegated to second and third persons. They cited one case where the woman serving as chairman of a center delegated the authority to sign checks to an illiterate woman, who in turn delegated this authority to a 17-year-old girl.

12

All of the checks issued by that particular center were signed with the name of the woman initially authorized to sign, regardless of which of the three persons wrote the check, the investigators said.

They also reported finding "Black Power" signs prominently displayed in some of the Head Start centers.

16

August 24, 1966

PROBERS SAY U.S FIGURE $170

'Child Development' Project Cost $450 Per Child More

WASHINGTON (AP) — Congressional probers have found that the per child cost of a big Head Start project in Mississippi is more than $450 higher than the estimated national cost figure made by the Office of Economic Opportunity, it was learned Tuesday.

6 — Senate investigators learned that the average cost per child of the Child Development Group of Mississippi is $627.50, informed sources said.

$170 NATIONALLY

These sources said that the OEO estimated the per child cost of the Head Start program nationally would be $170. The figure was an April 1965 projection used by the anti-poverty agency in justifying the program to Congress.

CDGM runs one of the biggest Head Start projects in Mississippi and its activities are currently under investigation by the Senate Appropriations Committe, the General Accounting office and the OEO at the request of Sen. John C. Stennis, D-Miss.

Stennis, who also charged irregularities in the same program a year ago, has declined to comment on a preliminary report filed by Senate investigators into the current operations of the Mississippi project.

However, persons who have seen the report say it shows a "significant relationship" between the CDGM and the militant "black power" movement.

These sources say the investigation has uncovered:

CLAIM NEPOTISM

7 — That employes of the group's center at Tougaloo, Miss., known as the Richmond Center, circulated a petition alleging that two inerrelated families control and operate the center and are antagonistic to any "straightforward persons" employed.

8 — That a boycott of white merchant businessesses in Canton, Miss., was led by James F. McRee, chairman of the board of directors of the group, and by C. O. Chinn; that Chinn has a contract to transport Negro children to classes in his buses at $4,000 a month and that he used the buses to haul participants in the Meredith Freedom March last June.

9 — That the Mississippi Group organization has about 2,300 employes to operate its programs serving 10,000 children in 28 counties, an average of one employe to 3.9 children.

10 — That quarters for one center, a 4-room house, were rented to the group for $120 monthly by the owner who then turned around and rented better quarters for himself at $35 a month.

11 — That in one instance a local chairman delegated check writing authority to another person who in turn delegated the authority to a third person without the knowledge of the chairman.

12

SHRIVER PROMISED

Stennis last year said there were financial irregularities in the group's program and won from OEO Director Sargent Shriver a promise that the operation would be tightened.

He now says irregularities continue and that the same persons continue in charge of the project. Stennis has previously suggested that the program be placed in the hands of qualified Mississippians rather than be administered by "outsiders."

13

The Child Development Group is operating under a contract with Mary Holmes Junior College of Mississippi which received a $5.6 million grant from OEO this year.

Stennis has said "it is premature" to discuss the 1966 investigation, "since the investigation still is in progress."

CDGM

CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP of MISSISSIPPI

210 SOUTH LAMAR STREET 290 MILNER BUILDING
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39201
Telephone: (601) 948-6513

Rev. James F. McRee
Chairman
Board of Directors

John H. Mudd
Director

ACCUSATIONS AND ANSWERS

1. Charge - CDGM last year misspent $500,000 which was forgiven by OEO.

Reply - The allegation last fall that government investigations, initiated by,Senator Stennis, had uncovered $500,000 of mismanaged funds were proven wide of the mark by more than $485,000. The funds in dispute finally amounted to approximately $14,000 - or less than 1% of CDGM's budget - none of which involved the intentional misuse of funds, fraud, or payment for political activity. The $14,000 was not "forgiven," but was reimbursed to OEO through a privately raised escrow fund.

2. Charge - There is a "significant relationship" between CDGM and the militant "Black Power" movement.

Reply - The evidence presented is hardly sufficient to warrant let alone prove the charge. The charge is only possible by the strained use of guilt by association: the actions of a few individuals are tied to prominent events and then assumed to speak for the more than 30,000 citizens of Mississippi associated with CDGM. Evidence that would be inadmissable in court is being presented in our trial by the press.

3. Charge - R. Hunter Morey is the link between CDGM and SNCC, as his business card shows. He also opposed the hiring of an OEO suggested management consulting firm.

Reply - R. Hunter Morey, who incidentally is a white resident of Mississippi, is affiliated with SNCC, although he is not currently an active member of their staff. Morey discontinued using his SNCC-CDGM business card before the Meredith March, as a bill

in our files for a new business card (without the SNCC address) proves. He did not oppose the hiring of a "professional management firm" suggested by OEO, but rather assisted in finding a firm which would meet with OEO's approval. Morey, along with the Board of Directors and the entire central staff, object to the hiring of General Electric, which was first suggested and contacted by CDGM personnel not OEO. GE, which would have provided middle level personnel from a missile test facility (being phased out), was rejected because they lacked the experience and services immediately appropriate to the needs of a large poverty program. Instead, the highly respected firm of Klein and Saks,with prior service to government, other poverty agencies, numerous volunteer groups, was employed. Neither Morey's action in this matter nor his letter to the Board of Directors, which the article quotes, indicate a "close association" to the "Black Power" movement.

4. Charge - The CDGM board met with SNCC director Stokley Carmichael several times prior to the Meredith March.

Reply - The CDGM board has never met with Stokley Carmichael at any time. Several board members, as individuals on their own time, did meet with him and other march leaders while the march was in their community. This activity or any other which is legal should not be an issue of propriety or lawfullness subject to government inquiry, as Senator Stennis seems to make it. On this point, Sargent Shriver has been quite explicit. Testifying last fall before a Senate appropriations subcommittee hearing, at which Senator Stennis was present, Mr. Shriver said:

> The impression...has been created that something un-American has been going on here (in CDGM), because somebody, when they are not working in the child development center, has participated in some civil rights activity.... So far as I am concerned, I didn't know that there was something un-American or illegal about participating on your own time in activities

of that type. Frankly, I have done this on my own time...

5. Charge - The same director, manager, and virtually the same personnel have been retained by CDGM despite OEO's insistence that the headquarter"s office be moved from Mt. Beulah (headquarters for the Delta Ministry) to Jackson.

Reply - CDGM - in moving to Jackson - did not retain the same director and manager. Of its central staff, excluding secretaries and clerks, virtually everyone is a new employee who did not work during the summer program last year. This change of personnel had nothing to do with the move to Jackson, was not a part of that requirement, and was not done at the request of OEO.

6. Charge - CDGM's cost per child is $627.50, $450 more than OEO's estimated national cost figure of $170.

Reply - CDGM's cost per child is in fact lower than OEO's estimated national cost figure. On the basis of a 25 week $5,644,000 program for 12,000 children, CDGM's cost per child per week is actually $19. (It would be even less if the anticipated grant surplus at the end of the program were taken into account.)

The OEO estimate is for a seven week program and reduces to a cost per child per week figure of $24.

The allegation is in error on simple mathematical grounds: $627.50 and $170 are not immediately comparable figures because they refer to different time periods.

The $170 figure, which assumed that Head Start facilities would be donated by public school systems contrary to much later practice, was also estimated in April 1965 before any programs were operating. The figure has been revised upward twice since then.

7. A petition with more than 100 signatures of workers and community residents accused CDGM's Richmond Grove center of nepotistic control "by two inter-related families" opposed to "straight forward

persons."

Reply - The petition, on file in CDGM's central office, is a misleading document of doubtful validity. 20% of the signatures on the petition belong to children; 75% to persons outside the community being served. 50% of the names were signed by a total of eight persons. Four names occur twice on the petition and four persons, whose names appear, insist they never signed it.

The Richmond Grove center is operated by two inter-related families because virtually the entire population of Richmond Grove consists of those two families, who founded the community and, over the generations, intermarried and grew in number. CDGM's hiring policy in this regard, which is more stringent than OEO's regulations, requires that no more than one member of an operating household unit (as opposed to a family) be employed by the organization.

The petition was started and circulated by a nearby resident after her daughter was fired on legitimate grounds from the center's staff.

8. Charge - A boycott in Canton was led by CDGM's board chairman, Rev. James McRee and C.O. Chinn, who transports CDGM children to centers.

Reply - Rev. McRee and Mr. Chinn, who were not the only leaders of the boycott, were acting as individuals on their own time, not as representatives of CDGM. The boycott was neither conceived nor carried out in CDGM's name.

9. Charge - C.O. Chinn, who receives $4,000 a month for transporting children to CDGM centers, used his busses to haul some of the participants of the Meredith March.

Reply -Mr. Chinn transports more than 600 children to CDGM centers in the Canton area under a $4,000 a month contract which is based on OEO-approved guidelines. His cost per child is considerably under the $2 per week per child CDGM average which is comparable to transportation costs for the public school systems in the state. He must maintain and operate two busses, two station wagons,and several

autmobiles as well as pay the salaries of five hired drivers. Mr. Chinn's activities in the Canton boycott and on the Meredeth March have never conflicted with his contractual obligations to transport CDGM children. What he does with his busses having met that obligation is his own business.

10. Charge - CDGM has an average of one employee for each 3.9 children

Reply - On the basis of the given figures there is, in fact, one employee for every 4.3 children. Actually, CDGM runs centers for 12,000 children with full OEO approval. Thus there is one employee for every 5.2 children. Either figure is well under the bounds of student/employee ratios suggested by OEO.

11. Charge - Some persons have rented their own homes to CDGM for considerably more than the rent on better quarters into which they have subsequently moved.

Reply - There is no known case where such an arrangement involves fraud, dishonesty, or excessively high rents paid by CDGM. There are numerous reasons why such an arrangement would be perfectly justified and honestly based. Some of the more common reasons would be: the greater depreciation of a building used by school children than of a lived-in home: the generally higher rent structures for buildings put to commercial or public use as opposed to private or individual use: the understanding that a major portion of the rent payments would be spent on improvements such as landscaping or building additions to benefit the centers' operations.

In addition, some persons have rented their own homes for CDGM centers because other owners refused to rent their buildings out of fear of harrassment, or worse, by hostile whites. It was generosity tempered with courage, not the profit motive, which moved them.

12. Charge - Check-writing authority has been delegated by CDGM community chairmen to unauthorized second or third parties who have

in at least one instance, forged the signatures of the chairman.

Reply - There is no known case of checks having been forged or written by unauthorized persons with criminal intent. In the rare instance where such an act might be committed, it is the individual involved and not CDGM as an organization which should be indicted.

Every authorized check-signer in CDGM communities is not only bonded to the amount of the imprest account, from which he buys food for the centers, but must sign a signature card against which the bank compares the check signature. Most importantly, all funds reimbursed to the local bank accounts are pre-audited by the central business staff. This entire arrangement has met with the approval of bankers across the state.

13. Charge - CDGM is administered by "outsiders" according to Senator Stennis.

Reply - CDGM personnel files show that 98.9% of CDGM employees are native Mississippians. There are probably less "outsiders" working for CDGM than for any other poverty program in the state. In any case, there are numerous "outsiders" in business firms, colleges, and resorts across the state.

14. Charge - Cooking facilities in CDGM centers were used to prepare food for participants in the Meredith March.

Reply - Of the one case where this occured, CDGM classes were neither halted or disrupted. In no instance was food, intended for CDGM children or purchased with CDGM funds, used to feed marchers. CDGM does not own classroom facilities or cooking equipment but rents them. How their owner uses them beyond any contractual obligations to CDGM is his own business.

It is no more improper that church facilities in Canton, which CDGM rents for part of the day, were used to feed marchers, than that a Catholic school, which houses STAR (basic education) class part of the day, was opned for march meetings.

15. Charge - Although CDGM's accounting system was supposedly centralized, 120 separate bank accounts were established around the state.

Reply CDGM s accounty system and fiscal controls were devised by the Jackson branch of Ernst and Ernst, an internationally respected auditing firm, and commended by OEO officials as a model for poverty agencies. The 120 separate bank accounts are imprest accounts, subject to rigorous centralized controls by the business manager and Ernst and Ernst-supplied comptroller. Any knowledgeable businessman would not see a contradiction between centralizing fiscal operations and decentralizing the otherwise immensely difficult task of food purchasing for 12,000 children.

16. Charge - "Black Power" signs are prominently displayed in some CDGM centers.

Reply - Some buildings used by CDGM during the day serve as community centers which host a number of different activities during the evening, ranging from political meetings to teen dances. It would in no way reflect on CDGM for "black power" signs to be displayed in such a building in connection with the other organizations in the community the building serves.

CLASS OF SERVICE
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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

618P EST SEP 11 66 AA291 CTA379
WE037 WW RBA027 LONG NL PD RB WASHINGTON DC 11
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
INC
FIVE FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA
AS YOU MAY KNOW, SINCE THE INCEPTION OF HEAD START PROGRAMS
UNDER THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT, THE THE CHILD DEVELOPMENT
GROUP OF MISSISSIPPI (CDGM) HAS OPERATED HEAD START PROGRAMS
FOR APPROXIMATELY 12,000 CHILDREN FROM POOR FAMILIES IN MISSISSIPPI.
PREVIOUSLY, CDGM'S WORK HAS RECEIVED NATIONAL ATTENTION, AND
HAS BEEN THE SUBJECT OF EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION AND DEBATE. LAST
YEAR THE CITIZENS CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY SUCCESSFULLY SUPPORTED
CDGM'S EFFORTS TO RECEIVE FUNDS FOR A YEAR ROUND HEAD START
PROGRAM. AGAIN THIS YEAR CDGM IS THE CENTER OF ATTENTION, WITH
ITS PROGRAM BOTH APPLAUNDED AND CRITICIZED, AND WITH ITS FUTURE
IN JEAPORDY. WE BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT THAT CONCERNED CITIZENS

CLASS OF SERVICE
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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
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AND GROUPS KNOW ALL THE FACTS ABOUT THIS PROGRAM. CDGM ITSELF
HAS ASKED US TO MAKE AN OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS OF ITS PROGRAM,
COMPARE ITS PROGRAM WITH OTHER ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS IN MISSISSIPPPI,
AND ANALYSE THE CHARGES WHICH ARE BEING MADE AGAINST IT. CONSEQUENTLY
, I AM ASKING YOU TO SERVE ON A CITIZENS COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY
TO EXAMINE FULLY AND OBJECTIVELY ALL ASPECTS OF THIS MATTER
AND REPORT ITS FINDS TO THE PUBLIC.

PLEASE REPLY BY RETURN WIRE : WALTER REUTHER CITIZENS
CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY, 2027 MASS AVE N.W. WASHINGTON, DC.

WALTER REUTHER CHAIRMAN CITIZENS CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY.

Washington DC

522-3900

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	X
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

1207 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
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FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
	X		Southern Regional Council	10:10 A.M.

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To Mr. Walter Reuther, Chairman Sept. 12 1966

Street and No. Citizens Crusade Against Poverty

Care of or Apt. No. 2027 Massachusetts Ave, N.W. Destination Washington, D. C.

Will be happy to serve on the Citizens Committee of Inquiry.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

mailed to this only

cc: Mr. Randolph Blackwell
~~Citizens Crusade Against Poverty~~
50 Whitchall Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Senders's name and address (For reference) 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Sender's telephone number
522-8764

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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

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file Citizens Bd. of Inquiry

ES

MJ

124A EST OCT 14 66 AA081 CTA041
CT RBY136 RBZ5 RBZ5 NL PD RB WASHINGTON DC 13
PAUL ANTOHONY, EXEC. DIR. SOUTHERN REGIONAL COANCIL
5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA
THANK YOU FOR YOUR SERVICE AS A MEMBER OF THE CITIZENS' BOARD OF INQIRY ON CDGM. ON MONDAY, OCTOBER 10 THE BOARD'S REPORT WAS APPROVED AND ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CITIZENS' CRUSADE. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AUTHORIZED THE CHAIRMAN TO ASK SELECT MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO MEET WITH MR. SHRIVER TO REPORT THE FINDINGS OF THE BOARD OF INQUIRY AND TO OFFER THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE CRUSADE IN AN EFFORT TO WORK ON THE CURRENT PROBLEMS AROUND THE REFUNDING OF CDGM. ON THURSDAY A.M., OCTOBER 13, WALTER REUTHER ANNOUNCED CANCELLATION OF THE MEETING WITH MR. SHRIVER WHICH HAD BEEN SET FOR THURSDAY AFTERNOON. ON MONDAY, OCTOBER 10, THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CRUSADE URGED OEO TO MAKE NO FURTHER HEAD

SF1201(R2-65)

CLASS OF SERVICE
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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

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CT RBY136 RBZ5-2

START GRANTS IN MISSISSIPPI PENDING RESOLUTION OF THE MATTER. ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 11, OEO ANNOUNCED A $3.5 MILLION GRANT TO A GROUP ORGANIZED TO TAKE OVER PART OF THE CDGM PROGRAM. IN VIEW OF THAT ACTION, IT WAS THE CONSIDERED JUDGMENT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE THAT THE MEETING SCHEDULED FOR OCTOBER 13 WITH MR. SHRIVER COULD SERVE NO USEFUL PURPOSE. INSTEAD CCAP IS URGING OEO TO NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY WITH CDGM, AND AT THE SAME TIME CALLS ON CONCERNED ORGANIZATIONS TO WORK TO INSURE JUSTICE IN THIS MATTER. INFORMATION TO FOLLOW.
RICHARD W. BOONE,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CCAP

CDGM. 10 CDGM AM 13 10 OEO 11 OEO $3.5 CDGM 13 CCAP OEO CDGM

SF1201(R2-65)

9 [redacted] 10

"On a Collision Course"

Larry Schnell
Jack Nelson
Bob Spike
Phil Bernstein
Reg Clarke
Ely Cabeen
Palmer
Bob Benny
Harold Rosenfeld

DRAFT:

Confidential Report on Board of Inquiry

To: Walter Reuther

File CDGM

INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 1965 a program was launched in Mississippi to address the vast need for pre-school education among disadvantaged children. This program, the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM), began with the planning of a few community nursery schools in the poverty-stricken Delta and grew into a massive pre-school program reaching more than 12,000 children in 121 communities. From the beginning the program has involved the poor in every level of the program's operation. CDGM is a prime example of the profound willingness and ability of poor people to operate stimulating and useful programs for their children. Whole communities have responded with courage, dedication and hard work to the CDGM program. Thousands of poor people feel that for the first time there is a program that is their own. There is an involvement in an education process seldom matched in any American community. Operating under grants from the Office of Economic Opportunity, CDGM has begun to restore the faith of the poor in government responsive to the needs of the people. Despite this, the Office of Economic Opportunity has now announced that because of violations of OEO regulations that it will not refund the Child Development Group program.

Quote from Mingo
Huge financial support

Last month, at the request of the Child Development Group of Mississippi, the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty put together a Board of Inquiry to look into the CDGM program, evaluate the charges against it and compare it to other anti-poverty programs in Mississippi. The Board of Inquiry made an extensive on site visit in Mississippi during its inquiry into the program of the Child Development Group of Mississippi. Seven of the eighteen board members and three staff members made on site visits of the program. Four others had taken advantage of opportunities to evaluate the program's effectiveness on previous trips to Mississippi. The Board spoke with dozens of persons while in Mississippi ranging from community residents and Head Start Children themselves to Martin Fraley, Director of the Mississippi State Office of Economic Opportunity, and directors of local community action programs organized by the white community. In addition, the Board spoke with leading members of the religious community, the State Director of the AFL-CIO, government Accounting Office auditors, the director of the management firm of Klein and Saks, the senior partner of Ernst and Ernst, with dozens of CDGM staff members, members of the CDGM board, a Special Task Force of the Office of Economic Opportunity, OEO staff members in Washington, and leading laymen from the religious community. In addition, members of the Board of Inquiry attended community meetings in several parts of the state to talk with residents affected by the program. They met at length with the Directors of Project STAR, a large state-wide program for

literacy and job training operated by the Catholic Church, as well as pouring over more than 300 pages of reports on CDGM and its operations, the evaluation reports of nationally known pre-school experts, testimony and hearings given by Mr. Shriver and others before the U.S.Senate. We have also looked into the formation of the New Board and have talked individually with a number of its key leaders. Staff members assigned to the Commission have made an extensive analysis of this board, the manner in which it was convened, its composition, and the extent that it is involved in politics. Also, the Board has interviewed Sargent Shriver personally. It requested but did not receive a meeting with members of the Senate Appropriations Committee. It has taken cognizance of the results of a state-wide meeting in Jackson on the fate of CDGM. In addition to making site visits to specific CDGM projects to ascertain the effectiveness of the program, Board members viewed a Teacher Training film prepared by CDGM (and approved by OEO), and made an extensive review of the educational materials used in the Project. The board members met as a group on Saturday October 8, 1966 to review its findings and prepare its final report. In brief, this has been the sequence of CDGM's development, from its birth; its first summer of operation, the attacks brought against the program, and the Office of Economic Opportunity's current refusal to refund the program.

First Grant: The Delta Ministry and a few other concerned people had, in the winter of 1965, decided to run a limited number of day care programs for poor children in Mississippi. Shortly thereafter, the President announced the launching of its national

Head Start program. At the urging of high OEO officials these plans were greatly expanded and changed to include a large Head Start program designed to reach the poorest people in the state.

On May 18, 1965, the first OEO grant was made. Mary Holmes Junior College, a predominantly Negro institution in West Point, Mississippi, as grantee, and CDGM as delegate agency, received a $1,400,000 OEO grant to operate 84 Head Start centers for 6,000 Negro poor children in 20 Mississippi counties. A large share of responsibility was placed at the community level. The recruitment of children and teachers and the location and improvement of facilities rested with community people. Each CDGM community organized a committee to oversee its center's operation. Despite hostility from the white community the established institutions, schools and local governments, the committees persisted and operated their centers. People previously denied the opportunity to participate and make decisions about a governmental or private program responded with dedication and imagination to this rigorous challenge. Due to the demands of quick organization, responsibility for major policy decisions and fiscal operations were placed in the central staff. And as a result of ad hoc administrative procedures some inefficiency resulted. Despite these structural and administrative weaknesses in eight short weeks, thousands of ppor children received food and medical care beyond their normal means, learned to face new people and experiences without fear, stretched their imaginations with a variety of new experiences and saw their parents in a new productive role.

<u>Between the Grants</u> The next phase of CDGM growth and trial was the six month period of unfunded operation. Federal funds expired on August 27, 1965, and, though requested and anticipated, a new grant was not approved until February 23, 1966. The response of the people in CDGM communities during this period of crisis was nothing short of phenomenal. The enthusiasm and dedication of the poor was proven as, for varying lengths of time, communities operated 50 centers for more than 3,000 of their children. This volunteer effort was one of the largest functioning Head Starts in the nation. To retain the programs, communities took on nearly insurmountable burdens. Individuals went deeply into debt and the price of many sacrifices remains to be paid. Clearly the programs had become fundamentally important in the eyes of the poor. CDGM had provided them with the first chance to work with meaning and productivity in their own communities, the first chance to participate in their children's education. People struggled for something that had become theirs: the beginnings of dignity and responsibility, a grip on the future, and the promise of financial resources to provide for their families. The development of improved teaching methods was made possible by grants from the Field Foundation which has shown a continuing interest and confidence in the Child Development Group Program. CDGM has given birth to other relevant efforts in the war on poverty in Mississippi as well; a grant from the Merrill Foundation is making possible the development of a Training Institute to develop new careers for poor people in the human service field. Conversations are currently being carried on with other foundations to expand and carry on this pioneering work.

<u>The Second Grant</u> When the hoped-for six-month OEO refunding was announced February 23, 1966 CDGM was ready to implement the expanded operation. The amount of $5,600,000 was allotted for 9,135 children in 121 centers across the state. In the second growth period changes were made to improve the CDGM operation. These changes have been made in the hope that CDGM can continue to be a part of each community without being a power over it. An Area Organization plan has been worked out grouping the 121 centers into 15 geographical areas. Local people now handle broader program and administrative responsibilities through the new structure. Operations in teacher guidance, personnel and administrative procedure have been facilitated at this intermediate level. L. G. Olson and Associates, management consultants and trainers for CDGM, comment on the operation in the following way:

> "Judging by the responses of the trainees (in administration) themselves, the program produced a satisfactory level of participation.... To anyone unfamiliar with CDGM and the pressures under which its employees operate, the work load on the area administrators would seem excessive. Yet they managed to find significant amounts of energy to devote to training...The area administrators expressed an extremely strong desire for training and demonstrated a substantial capacity for learning. Such motivation and capacity clearly offset their previous educational deficiencies...The strength of this motivation and capacity can be harnessed in future CDGM training programs and should bring

about marked improvement in the administration of Head Start centers."

This positive perspective is shared by another management consultant firm, Klein and Saks, Inc., whose president, Richard Davies has stated:

> "Our firm has served for the last thirty years in helping to improve the administration of governments, industrial and financial corporations, and voluntary agencies. On our arrival at CDGM we were happily surprised that remarkabel progress in administration had been made, and since the opportunity of working with the project we have witnessed additional improvement. We are most impressed that the program's administration is, for the most part, being carried out by local Mississippians and that CDGM has offered these people the opportunity to gain valuable administrative training in the process of their work. We feel assured that the project will continue to be administered in a successful way in the future."

CDGM has also tightened up its accounting system and has a very well administered budget. In a statement of CDGM from Ernst and Ernst who devised CDGM's accounting system and provided auditing services, A.N. Morgan, partner in the firm said:

> "As you know, various persons from the Office of Economic Opportunity and from the General Accounting Office have had occasion to visit your operation in Jackson, Mississippi and the one in West Point, Mississippi, and it is believed that those who have visited and inspected the accounting system and the system established for internal control

and check have found it acceptable and for the most part praiseworthy."

It becomes clear to anyone who takes a close look at the operation and results of the CDGM that it is a significant and well run Head Start program. The educational philosophy focuses on the free development of each child's potential in an active setting. CDGM illustrates this point in its description of the teacher's role, which is "to lead each child into the fullest exploration of every corner of his abilities, interest, and character so that nothing God gave him is wasted or stunted or twisted or unrecognized." CDGM wants to give the child evidence that the world, and particularly the world of school, is possible to cope with and to grow in and enjoy.*

With its fiscally and administratively workable system, CDGM has reached a secure footing. It is capable of justifying its existence by accomplishing its purpose: to secure a continually improving pre-school program and to foster dynamic community development. And now, as CDGM reaches what is potentially the most creative and constructive period of its development it would seem that the political opponents of change threaten its very existence.

*Attached in appendix the evaluation reports from pre-school experts

Comparison of CDGM with other Anti-Poverty Programs in Mississippi

Part of the charge of the Commission of Inquiry was to look into the operation of other anti-poverty efforts in the State of Mississippi. While CDGM was the first program to operate on a large scale in the state there have been others since. Project STAR, a two year, $8,000,000 program funded through the Catholic Diocese of Mississippi is running a statewide adult literacy and job training program.* Project HELP, an emergency food distribution program, has passed out more than $24,000,000 worth of surplus food to needy Mississippians. While this program has obviously helped families tide themselves over through the winter, it has done nothing to lift them out of their poverty by offering them new opportunities. In fact, one of the chief beneficiaries has been the Department of Welfare which has been able to greatly increase its own staff and influence throughout the state. The big push in Mississippi, however, in recent months has been to set up a series of Community Action Programs. While OEO has made some efforts to involve the poor, these programs have remained largely under the control of politicians, both in Washington and at the county level.

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*While STAR and CDGM both operate statewide programs, there has been no effort on the part of OEO to force STAR to merge prematurely with Community Action Programs. Exactly the opposite is true of the CDGM.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has endorsed the organization of Community Action Programs, despite the fact that the concept of community action is almost completely foregn to Mississippi. It is true that OEO has made efforts to establish bi-racial boards, and this should be oommended. But they have consistently mistaken numerical representation with true participation. They have paid too little attention to the substance and what might be described as the prerequisite for meaningful participation -- quality education, community organization, and the right to full legal entitlements including the right to vote and the right to counsel in both civil and criminal cases. Until these prerequisites are guaranteed there can be no meaningful participation for the Negro poor in Mississippi --no matter if Negroes have 50 per cent of the members on a board of directors, The Office of Economic Opportunity has consistently missed this point, and as a result has organized a number of community action agencies which serve only to bolster the status quo system which has perpetuated poverty in Mississippi for more than a century.

Even now the OEO has a 16 man Task Force in Mississippi whose prime job is to reinforce CAP's--and drive competing programs out of existence. The Task Force ostensively has as its mission the task of building bridges between the white and Negro communities. This approach, however, does not take into consideration the dangers of the inflexible administration which are endemic to such an

arrangement. During the Task Force's trip to Mississippi OEO Task Force staff talked of their efforts to join CDGM programs to CAPs in areas where they both operate. There did not appear to be any realization, nowever, that so far only one footing of the bridge has any money or resources, tradition and leadership in the community. The commission felt that if true cooperation was going to exist the Negro side of the community needed similar supports. To some measure it was felt that CDGM was helping to fill this gap.

The commission felt that an analysis of CAP programs showed a marked difference between the quality and method of operation of CDGM and the local CAPs which OEO is intent on bolstering as the prime vehicles of anti-poverty programs in Mississippi."

ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS IN MISSISSIPPI

The Office of Economic Opportunity was, prior to the announcement that CDGM would not be refunded, making a priority effort to join CDGM programs with local Community Action Programs in areas where the two were operating. The OEO task force stated that its purpose was to "build bridges within the community", and to assure that CDGM met the special conditions of their 1966 grants. These conditions directed the grantee to make all efforts to establish working relationships with Community Action Agencies, working towards combining its activities with those of the CAA's.

The news that OEO has decided not to refund the Child Development Group Program, however, causes the commission to have some doubt as to the real nature of the OEO Task Force in Mississippi. Obviously, OEO did not intend to join the CDGM programs with CAA's as Task Force director Robert Moore informed the Committee of Inquiry on September 28. Rather it appears to the Committee that the Task Force was a smokescreen for the OEO's true agenda--the organization of the Action for Progress in Mississippi group. It appears that OEO was not interested in joining programs of CDGM with Community Action Agencies--- but instead had designed the Task Force for the purpose of reforming Community Action Programs to the point where they could take over CDGM programs after the organization was killed.

It seems logical to the Committee that an examination of the Community Action is in order to determine the fitness of these Community Action Atencies to administer OEO programs.

The Board has consemed itself with four major areas in its inquiries on the nature of the CAA's operating in the same area as CDGM centers: 1) process of selection; 2) composition of Boards; 3)Nature of programs; 4) Hiring Policy; 5) process of reform; 6) Election Process Growing out of Reform; and 7) Publicity Given to Elections. The Child Development

Group is operating programs in the following counties which are covered by CAPs: Walthall County (Pearl River Valley Opportunities, Inc.); Jackson County (Jackson County Civic Action Committee); Clay County (Prarie Opportunities, Inc.); (Pike, Amite, Southwest Mississippi Opportunites, Inc.) ; Holmes County (Central Mississippi Opportunites, Inc.); Forrest County (Forest-Stone Opportunites, Inc.); and Hinds County (Community Services Association). In general, the Board concluded the following:

Process of Selection. In all instances the boards of the CAPS were initially selected by the county board of supervisors. Negroes have no significant voice in the selection of these county boards since until very recently they have been systematically deprived of the vote. In almost all cases the selection of the members and the composition of the Boards was done in secret. The communities generally did not know of the existence of such boards until after they were already picked. In general the representatives of the Negro community were originally selected by the same political groups who founded the boards. In no instance, did the commission find any evidence that there had been any grass roots participation in the selection of any of the boards.

Composition of Boards. The Community Action Boards are most heavily representative of elected political officials and established white goups within the community. Four out of the seven boards are controlled by heavy membership of Governors "colonels" on the boards. In one case, it appears obvious that the presence of "colonels" on the board became a tacit if not stated prerequisit for the governor granting the goup a charter (several other groups had applied without the proper representation and had been refused a charter. In most cases the Boards have had insufficent representation of the poor...especially from the poor white community. As a rule, any Negro on the board was considered a "representative of the poor," whether or not he was poor. These political and non-poor representa-

tives on the board in general lack qualifications which indicate a prior interest or concern with the problems of poverty. Board composition reflects 50-50 white and Negro, however, the executive committees which control the brunt of the business of the community action program.

Process of Reform. A frequent complaint has been that Negro members of Community Action Boards have not been given the same information as whites. This has been especially true of executive committees. The problem is highlighted by the fact that OEO has undertaken to reform the boards of five of the seven Community Action Agencies that operate in the same areas with CAPS. However, these reforms have generally been preceeded by strong and vocal protests from the poor in the areas. In some cases OEO? it appears that OEO has funded boards boards and then acted to reform them later. The Board found the fact that OEO had dispatched an 18-man task force to Mississippi, prime evidence of the poor quality of the CAPS there.

Election Process Growing Out of Reform. The prime reform instituted by the Office of Ecomic Opportunity has been the holding of elections to choose representatives of the poor on anti-poverty boards. These elections have left something to be desired.

In some cases they have only taken place after long delay and procrastination on the part of the existing board. The elections have generally been poorly publicized with inadequate explanation of qualifications for candidates and inadequate explanations of voting procedures. Pearl River Valley Opportunities Inc., is an example of this. There, 138 people out of 12,000 qualified to vote, elected 20 men to the board. In Jackson County the CAP has yet to be an election. Nor has Prairie Opportunities, Inc. held one. Southwest Mississippi Opportunities, Inc. (Pike, Amite, Wilkinson counties) reportedly held a highly confused election whereby a tiny minority of people eclected 15 people to the CAP board, whereas a larger election meeting was disqualified because it was held at an improper polling place.

Other irregularities have taken place. In Peakl River, for example, the Negroes were all required to be elected to the board, whereas only a single white member was subject to election. In some CAPs, it is stated in the by-laws that whites elect whites and the Negroes elect Negroes. Most blatant of these is Southwest Mississippi Opportunity Inc., where by-laws approved by the Office of Economic Opportunity stipulate that 50 percent of the total representation on the board of directors whall be white and shall be selected by persons of the white race, and 50 percent of the members of the board of directors whall be non-white and selected by persons of the non-white races.

Publicity. In general boards have been lax in publicizing either meeting dates, minutes of meetings, or election. Forest-Stone Opportunities, Inc., covering Governor Johnson's home town of Hattiesburg, put an ad in the newspaper to publicize a meeting several days after it had happened. Generally, CAPs have given a minimun of publicity about elections and have done absolutely none of the canvassing or pre-election community organization that are prerequisites for any meaningful participation of the poor.

Hiring Policy. Although in every community action boards have hired in staff positions there has been no corresponding integration of responsibilities. In Jackson County, for example, a white deputy director was hired over three qualified Negroes. The director had previously been indicted for misappropriation of school board funds. The Negroes on the board objected to this but were overruled by a 12-4 vote. Critics charge that here has been virtually no hiring of sub-professionals in any substantitive positions. They also point out that instead of developing sub-professionals and equiping them with professional skills, they have drained the already weak public schools and health departments.

The general policy on the part of CAPs has been to insist on the hiring of persons with college degrees to fill all teaching jobs. The Community Action Programs in Mississippi do not appear to have taken OEO Memorandum 23 to heart. This memo states in Article I that:

"while the attainment of a high level of education and prior experience may be essentail for perfomance of a certain capacity, every consideration should be given to providing the opportunities for persons who have been denied the benefit of formal education and who are willing to learn and perform new functions. Each grantee and delegate agency shall make sure that its recruiting procedured afford adequate opportunity for the hiring and advancement of people to be served by the community action program. Educational qualifications unless required by state or lacal law or regulation shall not be made a condition of employment..." There is no state requirement for pre-school teachers.

We might add that there is one area where there are a great many people with experience, namely in neighborhood development and community organizations. It is practically impossible for anyone in Mississippi who has ever worked with a civil rights organization to get a job with a community action program. The discrimination in hiring in this area is particularly flagrant despite OEO regulations that civil rights activitities can in no way be a bar to employment in a community action program.

Nature of Programs . In many instances, CDGM proceded the organization of community action programs in areas where they are jointly operating. Most of the CAPs have restricted themselves selves to Head Start Programs--where CDGM has proven competency--and have not explored the wide possibile variety of other CAP programs. A majority of the CAPs are still in the program development stage. And in almost no case has the poor been involved in program development.

Withdrawal of Support

Rumors of withdrawal of support from the Child Development Group of Mississippi have haunted the program from its beginning. Despite glowing evaluation reports of the 1965 summer program, the considerable financial and management problems experienced by the organization during its genesis--added to strong political opposition from Senator Stennis, Governor Johnson and the white power structure--delayed funding of the program for some six months. It was only after considerable support for the program was rallied by the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty and a dramatic demonstration in Washington where the Head Start children gave a demonstration class to members of Congress that funds were released.

Senator Stennis, it would not be unfair to say, has sought to eradicate the program since it was refunded in February 1966. In March, the General Accounting Office, at the request of the Senate Appropriations Committee, set up a permanent office in Jackson with anywhere between three and eight full-time auditors. This operation has concentrated on investigation of the 1965 summer program, examining program and procedures that have been long ago replaced and superseded. A minimal 5 percent of their time has been spent in this current program.

The Office of Economic has devoted an unprecedented amount of time investigating the CDGM program. By any estimate the Federal Government has spent over $100,000 investigating CDGM. All summer Staffers from the Office of Inspection in OEO, as well as OEO auditors have surveyed the program. Law students were even recruited and sent South with instructions to "dress in their

movement clothes" and to blend into the scenery to get derogatory evidence against CDGM. Dean Furgeson has filed a statement on the incident to the Board of Inquiry which is attached in the Appendix.*

By late August there were persitent rumors that the Office of Economic Opportunity was intent on building a negative case against the Child Development Group. On August 27, Mr. William Phillipa, Congressional Liaison man for the Office of Economic Opportunity met with Aaron Henry in Biloxi. Mr. Phillips made clear to Mr. Henry that there was no chance that the CDGM program would be refunded. Mr. Henry was then persuaded to take the lead in the formation of a new board to replace CDGM. (The attached newpaper stories document the pre-arranged nature of the decision. It indicates that the grounds on which the CDGM program was Allegedly terminated was designed to fit the decision. With the poverty program being congronted by a hostile Congress, OEO was understandable wary of the political power of Senator Stennis. The Agency feared the Mississippi Senator, who had voted against every section of the anti-poverty bill, might secceed in defeating the 1967 OEO appropriation entirely. During this period, there was little formal contact between the Office of Economic Opportunity and the CDGM board. Despite the allegedly negative results of OEO audits they were not officially shared with CDGM until October 2, when Mr. Shriver sent a letter and copy of the audit report to all CDGM Board Members informing them that the grant would be terminated. In its summary, which has been rebutted point-by-point by CDGM, OEO concluded that the program could not be legally refunded under its present Board and Administrative structure.

*To be supplied

Charges Against the Child Development Group of Mississippi

The charges against the Child Development Group of Mississippi were not fully revealed by OEO until October 2 when the decision was made not to refund CDGM. Before that, they were chiefly made public in the form of newspaper leaks to the Jackson papers from Senator John Stennis' office. Basically the charges are divided into four main areas:

1. Fiscal mismanagement
2. Administrative mismanagement
3. Failure to adhere to OEO special grant conditions
4. Too close involvement with Civil Rights movement
5. Involvement in scandals.
6. Programatic Deficiencies.

This Board will not concern itself with charges against the program stemming from the 1965.program. While they have been rehashed in the Jackson newspapers they were answered sufficiently to permit OEO to refund CDGM in February 1966 for a second Grant period.

CDGM has rebutted the bulk of charges against the 1966 program to the satisfaction of the Committee of Inquiry. We feel that the remainder are of the usual nature one would expect to encounter in a program of CDGM's scope and magnitude. The OEO charges included no mention of fraud or criminal action. The Board was unanimous in believing that these defects could be remedied within the present structure of the program. There is also considerable evidence that the management of the 1966 program is much improved over 1965. The nationally known accounting firm of Ernst and Ernst has vouched for the financial system which provides for a pre-audit of every check

written by CDGM. The nationally known management firm of Klein and Saks has devised a revised management system to give central staff a cost-benefit control system that will give management a center-by-center breakdown of expenditures for a weekly basis. (CDGM's rebuttal is attached as evidence).

In announcing the decision not to refund the Child Development Group Program, the Office of Economic Opportunity justified its decision in part on the allegation that CDGM program was not a good Head Start Program. An opinion offered by General Counsel, Donald Baker, charged that, "the program as conducted in most centers by CDGM has not been Head Start as we conceive it. In most centers it amounts at best to custodial day care by persons untrained and unskilled, under conditions of inadequate facilities."

Mr. Baker's letter is in direct contradiction with OEO's own evaluation reports. As recently as October 3, Mr. Frank Garfunkel, Director of the Heas Start Evaluation program, School of Education, Boston University, evaluated CDGM programs as part of an official OEO evaluation program. In a letter to Director John Mudd, Mr. Garfunkel concluded:

> "I would like to thank you and your staff for both discussing with me and telling me certain aspect of your program. I join those who are committed to the continuation of that program both privately as well as professionally...
> In spite of some of the drawbacks in not having 'qualified' staff, your program is a unique and creative one having a profound effect upon the communities in which it exists..."

Revelation of the Dummy Corporation

On Friday, September 30, the Jackson Daily News carried a page one story which announced that the Child Development Group of Mississippi was to be replaced next month by a 12-man board of "white and Negro leaders set up recently under the ppersonal supervision of anti-poverty director Sargent Shriver." According to the story in the Jackson paper, the new board was designed to take over the programs being operated by the Child Development Group and to expand into 60 other Mississippi counties presently without Community Action programs.

From Washington, Senators John Stennis and James Eastland, issued statements which said that they had letters from Sargent Shriver agreeing to withhold funds from CDGM. This was later denied by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The new board, Action for Progress in Mississippi, was formed in secrecy. It had planned to have a secret meeting in Memphis on October 2 to firm up arrangements for taking the CDGM program over after the OEO officials had had time to give the coup de grace to CDGM officials in Jackson. However, the story reached the papers prematurely and the meeting was cancelled. At no time

during the formation of the Board was there the slightest consultation with any of the members of the Child Development Group's Board or with the more than 100 democratically elected community councils which govern the local Head Start centers. The new group that is scheduled to take over the CDGM program on Octover 15 has never had a full meeting. It has yet to submit a proposal. Its charter has no provision for the election or replacement of members in a democratic fashion. Three of its members are also members of the politically powerful President's Club having contributed more than $1,000 to the Johnson Administration. One member of the board's wife is employed by a community action program on which her husband also serves on the board. (Documentation attached.)

This group was set up with complete disregard for the OEO's own guidelines. Its formatim violates OEO's own policy regarding the involvement of the poor--not a single member of the board is poor--let alone providing for even token participation of the poor in its operations. (Appendix list of CDGM and new Board Members). In addition, there is not a single representative of organized labor nor a single professional person on the board or anybody with any significant qualifications to govern a preshcool program for small children. OEO referred to the new organization as "an outstanding bi-racial group."

This board feels that the formation of the Action for Progress in Mississisippi (no matter what the administrative problems CDGM has) is a paradox in light of Sargent Shriver's statement of September 9 in which he stated in an OEO memorandum whose purpose was "to reaffirm...the necessity of including the poor in all our acitvities"...that: " It has become clearer than ever in the past months that the poverty program must stake its existence on that same ideal upon which our nation gambled from the outset. Democracy...the word must go out...and it must go out unmistakeably ...that token participation (of the poor) is unacceptable."

Conclusion

During the past month, the Citizens' Board of Inquiry of the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty has made a thorough study of the program of the Child Development Group of Mississippi. It has made a careful examination of all known allegations lodged against the program and staff. We find that in light of all the evidence--and taking into account CDGM's management problems--that the OEO's decision not to refund CDGM is not supported by the evidence. Further, all indications are that CDGM has run an outstanding Head Start Program which probably comes as near to satisfying the intent of the Economic Opportunity Act as any poverty program in the nation. When the history of this generation is written we have no doubt that CDGM will be judged one of the most significant and successful social action programs of our time. We are unanimous in believing that the Office of Economic Opportunity should support CDGM strongly. Any other action would betray the principles upon which our entire nation's anti-poverty effort is based.

All this had been accomplished under the most difficult conditions, in a hostile country and under constant threats and harassment.

We have found the CDGM program to be excellent.* It was the opinion of those Board Members who visited Mississippi, that it probably comes closer to any other in the nation in achieving what Congress desired when it decreed that programs should be set up with the maximum feasible participation of the poor. The Child

*This was one point on which the board found a unanimity of opinion, even among critics of the CDGM operation.

A member of the Board of Inquiry, Mrs. Frances Coe of Memphis, a pre-school expert, a member of the Board of Education in that city, and former program director of the Memphis CAP commented after viewing the CDGM program:

> "From the CDGM materials and my visit, I am impressed with the basic understanding of good child development principles and the amazing achievements under the most adverse circumstances, and I do not mind being quoted on that. I also believe that it is an almost unique achievement in the involvement of parents and the 'poor' which is one of the emphasis of the whole OEO program."

Attached in the report are the comments of other pre-school experts who have attested to the worth of the program.

The OEO attach on the CDGM program seems doubly questionable in light of OEO's glowing testimonials on the CDGM program in last year's testimony before the House Appropriations Committee. In his own testimony, Sargent Shriver concluded that, "The Child Development and the Educational authorities who investigated this program claim it was a success in fulfilling the purpose of the program, which is what Congress asked us to do."

This was accomplished in the midst of great hostility and considerable administrative chaos. It would seem logical that this year's program, with a year's training of staff, improved administration, facilities and supplies would be much superior to last

year's operation. The health program is a good example. Last year, the CDGM health program was inadequate, though understandable so considering the haste with which the program was put together. This year's program was set up under the supervision of a medical doctor who organized the administrative systems and procedures. It is administered by a registered nurse and a medical doctor and dentist who serve as consultants. Approximately 100 local doctors throughout Mississippi participate in the program. More than 12,000 medical examinations have been given in the program. To date--more examinations than are given by the entire State Health Department in Mississippi to pre-school children--10,000 children have received dental checks, 9,000 have received eye examination; innoculations have been provided for those who lacked them. Approximately 200-300 referrals have been made to specialists and pediatricians, while others have been referred back to the examining doctors. A pediatrician, Dr. Margaret Batson, serves on the Board of CDGM.

Finally we wish to comment on the charge that CDGM has been unduly influenced by civil rights groups and has used grant funds to further these ends. We do not go into any detail in regard to these charges. The is convinced that the Board of Directors of CDGM is attempting to steer its own course and is not influenced by pressures brought on them by various civil rights organizations. We believe that the Board of CDGM and its entire staff fully understand the objectives of the Economic Opportunity Act, and its program has been set up within the framework of this legislation.

There is no question but that some people working within the project have been identified in one way or another with the civil rights movement in Mississippi. It would indeed surprise us if this had not happened. This involvement, however, does not alter the course of the project nor affect it in any way as far as its purpose is concerned. It has, however, furnished opportunities for its critics. In this context we are almost involved in an argument of semantics.

We would expect, as we are sure the OEO officials would expect, that each and every person involved in any poverty program should be concerned with "equal" rights. Unfortunately, the concept of "civil" rights in the South is an odorous term.

For responsible people to criticise the program because of the minimal involvement of some of its staff in movements that attempts to create equal rights in a community is indeed a tragedy.

Development Group Program is of sufficient size and scope to strike at the roots of poverty, and provides the opportunities for whole families to break out of poverty and live in dignity and decency. CDGM has done all this and importantly it has done it in a democratic way that has enlisted the interest and support of thousands and thousands of people of humble means in the state.

It is clear to the members of this board that while CDGM, like all organizations, still has room for improvement in the administration of its program that the real issues in the case have nothing to do with the charges that have been made against the organization by the Federal Government. This is only a ruse. The central issue in the CDGM case revolves around Senator Stennis' influence over the Senate appropriation committee. There, the administration understands and fears Senator Stennis' power to torpedo the entire anti-poverty legislation--and he has threatened to do so if CDGM is funded again over his protests. Too, and perhaps more curcial to the present controversy is Stennis' power over the armed forces appropriations for the War in Vietnam. CDGM--and a hundred thousand poor people--have become a pawn in a power struggle. The poor of Mississippi are caught between a bloody war abroad and the terrible personal prejudice of a Se[illegible]r at home.

A second major issue in the decision not to refund also appears to be political. Newspaper accounts and an analysis of the formation of the new Mississippi Action For Progress group can only lead to the conclusion that the new group is part and parcel of a larger scheme designed to re-build the national democratic party in Mississippi. Attached is n analysis of the new group prepared by the staff of CDGM at the request of the commission.

Yet if CDGM was just an ordinary Head Start program this committee would feel no particular compulsion or urge its refunding. But it is not. It is the only vehicle in Mississippi that can work to bridge the gap between the races. If CDGM is removed or replaced without the consent of the people it serves, the Federal Government will have abandoned the Negro as shamelessly as it did after Reconstruction

In Summary, The Board wishes to emphasize that in a very short time and under extreme pressure, they have developed a program that has morale and excellence. Moreover, they have fulfilled the most elemental hopes of the poverty program, namely, the accomplishments have been made with the maximum participation of the people involved.

It is their program. They have built the centers, they work in them, they are learning how to guide their children, they are learning the relationships between a strong training and community participation. This does not mean that they have had a program without problems and occasional mismanagement. Over all, one is impressed with the unbelievable selflessness of the leaders in this program. As we pointed out earlier, during the long interim between last year's funding and this one, the central staff and many centers operated voluntarily. They did this without any money except the most simple contributions; they often did not have the money to buy food, and sometimes did not know if they were going to have eight cents a day to buy children's milk.

Another indication of the morale symbol that CDGM is, is indicated by the fact that between 40 and 60 non-funded centers, calling themselves CDGM, have sprung up across the state and have operated even though they were not part of the CDGM program.

The Child Development Group of Mississippi is in actuality a pioneer model and beyond that, a powerful symbol to the Negro people of Mississippi in terms of what they can do if they are entrusted with responsibility. This program has done more than anything possible to restore partial trust in the good faith of the Federal

Government. Over these long years of harassment and beating in Mississippi, the Federal Government has often seemed to stand by helpless, with FBI men taking notes while people were beaten over the head. The Federal Government has been active in law suits, but this has never been fully understood by the most humble people in Mississippi, whose lives have been endangered because they simply wanted to be first-class citizens like everyone else. This program began to substantiate trust in the Federal Government. If Senator Stennis is able to so intimidate Sargent Shriver and the President that they feel compelled to axe CDGM in order to save other appropriations, then the cynicism among the poor, not only of Mississippi but of the country, will be overwhelming. It is not a sufficient reply to justify the cutting of CDGM in order to save the rest of OEO appropriations. The fundamental principle of the Economic Opportunity Act will have been so compromised by this act of political expediency that the entire reputation of the program, we believe, will be hopelessly tarnished.

File
Citizens' Bd. of Inquiry

File

FINAL REPORT

ON

THE CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP

OF

MISSISSIPPI

Submitted to the Executive Committee of the
Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty by the following
Members of a Citizens' Board of Inquiry

Co-Chairmen: A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Dr. Robert W. Spike, Professor of Ministry
Divinity School, University of Chicago

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Philip Bernstein, Director
Council of Jewish Federations
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Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, Professor of
Psychology, City College of New York, N.Y.

Frances Coe, Board of Education
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Eli E. Cohen, Executive Secretary
National Committee on Employment
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Clarence Coleman, Director
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Robert Coles, Research Psychiatrist
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Dr. Vivian W. Henderson
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John P. Nelson, Jr.
Attorney
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Judge Justine Wise Polier
Family Court
New York City

REPORT OF CITIZENS' BOARD OF INQUIRY

ON CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP OF MISSISSIPPI

Background Information

In May, 1965 the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM) (as subcontractor to Mary Holmes Junior College) received its first grant of 1.4 million dollars to operate 84 Head Start centers for 6,000 poor children throughout Mississippi. This summer program for four and five year olds terminated at the end of August, 1965. Between August 27, 1965 and February 23, 1966, no further funds were available for the operations of centers for a year round program. During this time, 50 centers were kept in operation for over 3,000 children through volunteer efforts, personal contributions and unrecompensed professional staff.

The program was severely criticized during this period by Senator Stennis and vigorously defended by Sargent Shriver at Appropriations Hearings. Subsequently, on February 23, 1966 CDGM (still as subcontractor to Mary Holmes Junior College) received a $5.6 million grant to operate a Head Start project for 9,135 children in 121 centers. This program was scheduled to terminate on August 31, 1966 but was extended for one month. Application was made to OEO for a grant of $20.3 million to operate 170 centers for 13,500 children in 37 counties throughout the state. On October 2, OEO announced that it would not refund CDGM and communicated that fact on October 2 to the Board of CDGM.

In the meantime, and as a result of prior negotiations, a new corporation, the Mississippi Action for Progress Corporation was incorporated for the announced purpose of administering Head Start programs in lieu of CDGM. On Friday, October 7, OEO announced grants to Rust College, and Southwest Mississippi Opportunity, Inc., to administer programs previously run under the direction of CDGM.

Structure of CDGM

CDGM has three levels of organization: community, area and state. At each level, there are policy making boards with elected representation from parents and the poor. At the community level, each center is governed by a committee composed entirely of parents and representatives of the poor and charged with full responsibility for management and policy making.

98.9 per cent of the staff are local Mississippians. Intensive training and a merit promotion system has resulted in local persons holding the vast preponderance of administrative and professional positions. Over 1,000 persons serve actively on policy making boards, either in the community, or on an area or statewide level.

Staff at the community level includes a coordinator, teacher trainees, resource teachers, together with part-time support personnel. At the area level, staff includes an Area Administrator, teacher guide and social service and community coordinator.

Statewide, the central staff, consisting of 60 persons is responsible for overall administration, program planning, teacher training, curriculum development, field operations and community services.

The Issues

OEO claims to have based its decision on charges which break down into four broad categories:

-programmatic deficiencies

-fiscal mismanagement

-administrative mismanagement

-deviation from Head Start program goals and policies

The Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty, a coalition of over one hundred organizations and individuals asked individuals drawn from a variety of professional and organizational backgrounds to consititute a Board of Inquiry which would investigate these charges and examine the evidence in order to provide an independent source of information and judgment. Following are the findings of fact, the conclusions and the recommendations reached by the Board after numerous site visits, interviews and correspondence.

Findings of Fact

As a result of extensive investigation, and on-the-scene visits by ten members of the Board of Inquiry, the Board has reached findings of fact with respect to CDGM's program quality, organizational structure, the social and economic conditions within which CDGM operated and the conduct of the Office of Economic Opportunity with regard to CDGM.

Program Quality

The Board of Inquiry finds that the CDGM program reached over 13,000 children and involved thousands of parents in staff and policy making capacities at an average cost per child of $22 per week.

With respect to the children, the Board concludes, on the basis of its own observation and that of numerous consultants and experts, that the program was of the highest calibre and must be considered a striking success -- whether judged in terms of nutrition, medical care, cognitive development, socialization and psychological well-being.

Similarly, with respect to the parents, the poor, and the wider community, the Board found a program which realized the fullest potential of Head Start as a program for educating the child, strengthening the family and enabling the poor to participate in lifting themselves and their children out of poverty.

Last year, commenting on the summer 1965 program, Mr. Sargent Shriver stated to the House Appropriations Committee that "The Child Development and Educational Authorities who investigated this program claim it was a success in fulfilling the purpose of the program."

Members of the Board of Inquiry with background in juvenile delinquency, child psychiatry, education, race relations and early childhood development also attest to the program's success based on their own site visits and firsthand observations:

A member of the Board of Inquiry, Mrs. Laurence Coe of Memphis, a preschool expert, a member of the Board of Education in that city, and former program director of the Memphis CAP commented after viewing the CDGM program:

> "From the CDGM materials and my visit, I am impressed with the basic understanding of good child development principles and the amazing achievements under the most adverse circumstances, and I do not mind being quoted on that. I also believe that it is an almost unique achievement in the involvement of parents and the "poor" which is one of the emphases of the whole OEO program."

New York State Family Court Judge, Justine Wise Polier, member of the Board of Inquiry:

> "To see children at work and at play in a CDGM center is to understand the promise where teachers and parents together create a world in which children are made to feel wanted and loved. To observe their joy in learning and achieving is proof of what has gone into this program. To meet with parents who have had so little and with staff as they plan for the next day and for the future is to know that their work and purpose is to achieve opportunities for educations, work and full participation in the community for parents and their children. Children of poverty and utter deprivation are learning to stand straight, to sing, to laugh, and to want to learn."

Child Psychiatrist, Dr. Robert Coles, member of the Board of Inquiry:

> "In ten years of work in Child Psychiatry I have yet to see a program like this one, in the sense that against almost impossible odds children have been taught and also receive the benefits of medical care in a manner and with a thoroughness that is truly extraordinary. If we are fighting a War Against Poverty then this program is actually reaching poor children and doing so in a way that makes any doctor feel truly impressed."

The reactions of the Board of Inquiry are corroborated by that of other experts including one of OEO's own consultant evaluators.

Dr. Frank Garfunkel, Director of the Head Start Evaluation program, School of Education, Boston University, one week ago, after making an official inspection tour of CDGM, wrote:

> "In spite of some of the drawbacks in not having 'qualified staff' your program is a unique and creative one having a profound effect upon the communities in which it exists...I join those who are committed to the continuation of that program both privately as well as professionally."

Members of the OEO National Head Start Advisory Committee report that until recently, CDGM was cited by OEO staff as a model program and noted particularly for the features: the extent and intensity of parent involvement and the creative use of sub-professionals.

Mr. Eli Cohen, Executive Secretary of the National Committee of Employment of Youth, and an expert on the employment of sub-professionals, visited the CDGM program as a member of the Board of Inquiry. He commented:

> "From visiting centers and talking with staff and community people involved in the program it was obvious that CDGM had done an extraordinary job - a job involving both parents and children in a constructive learning process that had given them a new found pride, self-reliance and the skills necessary to work towards equal citizenship; particularly impressive was CDGM's creative and innovative use of sub-professional teachers. In this respect CDGM's program is one of the most sophisticated and successful in the nation realizing the vast potential which lies in people who have lacked the opportunity for traditional and "formal" education. Under CDGM program they have been afforded good training opportunities and the chance for promotion on merit which has made it possible for many of them to advance towards professional status."

These features, together with an overall evaluation of the program are reflected by other experts of which the following are merely illustrative:

> "....impressed by the motivation and amazing ingenuity shown by persons who work in these centers....great accomplishment and great potential in terms of improving the educability of the extremely deprived rural children..."
>
> (Dr. Susan W. Gray, Director, Demonstration and Research Center for Early Education, George Peabody College for Teachers)

> "....have worked in education in forty countries....move to find the competence shown by these women (and a few men) in handling challenges which could easily defeat many a qualified teacher working in cities....I have had to revise my ideas about who should work with the children at the Head Start centers. I am now convinced that, rather than college education and scholarship, what is needed is innocence, open-mindedness, love, and patience, and belief in the natural goodness of children and in their natural powers....I found the children in your centers relaxed busy, well behaved, accepting of each other, sharing with each other and looked after with love and understanding."
>
> (Dr. Caleb Gattegno, Director, Schools for the Future)

"...without a doubt one of the most creative and progressive I have seen in my many years of early childhood education experience....From my personal observations CDGM is doing an excellent job. Its program could stand comparison with any in the country - and remember, they are working under difficult circumstances."

(Mrs. Lena Gitter, educational consultant, American Montessori Society)

"....You have established a beachhead against ignorance and for knowledge both with our youngest and with some of our older citizens....The children I worked with in all centers were responding with excitement and intelligence."

(Mrs. Frances Hawkins, Elementary Science Advisory Center, University of Colorado)

"....your teachers (at a Head Start training course), had many strengths and fine personal qualities. We were and continue to be impressed with their strong desire to make a better life for children. We enjoyed their eagerness to learn and....(take back) procedures and techniques they thought they could use. They were excellent, as a number of our consultants noted, in participating in group discussions."

(Mrs. Millicent Savery, University Training Director, University of Nebraska.)

Based on its own personal observations and the testimony of experts and consultants, the Board finds it must reject the charge by the General Counsel of OEO that CDGM is running merely a custodial program for children. Nor can it accept, as a relevant criticism that CDGM concentrates on the parent and the home as well as the child. The Director and staff of OEO have consistently insisted that the concern of Head Start must go beyond mere formal education and "reading readiness" for small children.

The Board does not find that the CDGM program is perfect. But we do not find the charge of inadequate supervision supported in fact. We note as a matter of common knowledge that there is a nationwide shortage of qualified experts in child development. For Mississippi that shortage is even more acute having no "preschool" classes at all in its public school system. We note

that CDGM has responded to that shortage by an intensive training program of local persons rather than by attempting to buy such scarce talent from other parts of the country. In this, CDGM has made a major contribution to the obtainment of goals of the Head Start program. That approach is yielding a new and adequate supply of very highcalibre trained persons. With respect to the charge of inadequate health programs, we note that in this past year's program, CDGM provided approximately 12,000 medical examinations, 10,000 dental checks, 9,000 eye examinations 200-300 referrals to specialists, and innoculations to all in need, in a continuing medical program. We note that these constitute more medical examinations than are given by the entire State Health Department of Mississippi to children of that age in a year. Dr. Margaret Batson, a pediatrician at the University of Mississippi Medical School, serves on the Board of CDGM. Approximately 100 local doctors--both white and Negro--participated in the CDGM medical program.

Organizational Structure

The Board finds that CDGM's organization and administration has been characterized by sound management, careful fiscal control, and maximum feasible involvement of the poor in the administration, management and day-to-day operational decisions of the program.

The OEO situation report states some of the measures taken to insure effective management and fiscal procedures:

> "A year ago, steps were taken, on OEO's recommendation, to improve internal operation. The measures included appointments of a new Deputy Director, Business Manager, anc Counsel. The grantee agency, Mary Holmes Junior College, retained the local offices of Ernst and Ernst, a leading nationwide accounting firm, as Mississippi auditors for the CDGM program. CDGM also was to adopt a financial and accounting manual in order to tighten internal controls."

A member of the Board of Inquiry, John Nelson, an attorney and former Assistant District Attorney of the City of New Orleans, reports his conversation with the firm of Ernst and Ernst, CDGM's accountants in these words:

> "....I had a rather lengthy session with Mr. A. N. Morgan, senior partner of Ernst and Ernst, Certified Public Accountants Jackson, Mississippi, during which time we went into detail over the accounting procedure used in order to bring about the best control possible over the distribution of funds under the present grant. Mr. Morgan told me, and he will so testify under oath if needed, that CDGM accounting procedure is a model for poverty programs throughout the United States and has been recognized by OEO representatives as the most efficient and best run program in the country. Mr. Morgan is ....a professional dedicated to the highest standards of his chosen profession and in this context he unhesitatingly states that the charge of financial irresponsibility is "irresponsible", insofar as the control and auditing of the funds is concerned. I went through the accounting procedure in detail. I determined that each and every expenditure is audited - an unheard of procedure in American industry. Reports are submitted by his office bi-weekly, which reports include in detail the expenditure of funds, etc. I was informed by Mr. Morgan that he is extremely satisfied with the way the staff of CDGM is cooperating with him and there has never been an instance in which he has had the slightest inkling of the misuse of funds....Mr. Davies had devised a procedure under which a weekly report is submitted to the Director, in which report

"there is a detailed breakdown of unit costs for the preceding week. Management procedures at present are tied in closely with the accounting procedures. It is efficiently run, well organized and adheres to the highest standards of management control....I....can say without fear of contradiction that the management procedures followed by CDGM meet the highest standards of management control."

This year, a management consultant firm of Klein and Saks, of Washington, D.C., which specializes in providing management advice and administrative systems for non-profit institutions, was retained by CDGM to insure orderly administration. The following are excerpts from leading experts in fiscal and administrative management who have advised CDGM:

"Judging by the responses of the trainees (in administration) themselves, the program produced a satisfactory level of participation....To anyone unfamiliar with CDGM and the pressures under which its employees operate, the work load on the area administrators would seem excessive. Yet they managed to find significant amounts of energy to devote to training....The area administrators expressed an extremely strong desire for training and demonstrated a substantial capacity for learning. Such motivation and capacity clearly offset their previous educational deficiencies....The strength of this motivation and capacity can be harnessed in future CDGM training programs and should bring about marked improvement in the administration of Head Start centers"

(L.G. Olson and Associates, management consultants and trainers for CDGM)

This positive perspective is shared by another management consultant firm, Klein and Saks, Inc., whose president, Richard Davies has stated:

"Our firm has served for the last thirty years in helping to improve the administration of governments, industrial and financial corporations, and voluntary agencies. On our arrival at CDGM we were happily surprised that remarkable progress in administration had been made, and since the opportunity of working with the project we have witnessed additional improvement. ....We feel assured that the project will continue to be administered in a successful way in the future."

In a statement of CDGM from Ernst and Ernst who devised CDGM's accounting system and provided auditing services, A.N. Morgan, partner in the firm said:

> "As you know, various persons from the Office of Economic Opportunity and from the General Accounting Office have had occasion to visit your operation in Jackson, Mississippi and the one in West Point, Mississippi, and it is believed that those who have visited and inspected the accounting system and the system established for internal control and check have found it acceptable and for the most part praiseworthy."

In a letter to Mr. Jule Sugarman, Associate Director, Head Start, Mr. Morgan described the CDGM system as follows:

> "....financial statements are prepared under the supervision of Ernst and Ernst for the CDGM operation on a bi-monthly basis, with copies of these financial statement being supplied to officials of Mary Holmes Junior College, officials of CDGM, and officials of OEO in the Atlanta Regional Office. These financial statements prepared on an IBM 402 accounting machine are in such form as to afford a current accounting for the entire Grant broken down as between the various categories of the budget and also by each Center and Area Administrator's office. These financial statements are prepared in such a way that the management of Mary Holmes Junior College, and the management of CDGM, and OEO personnel can readily determine at each date the total amount authorized by each budget category, in total and by Centers, and also the amount that has been expended in carrying out the Program by budget categories summarized in total and particularized as to each Center.... part of the information obtained from the various Centers and Area Administrator's offices....includes, but is not limited to
>
> 1. Number of children in attendance in each Center.
> 2. Time and attendance reports for all employed personnel
> 3. Vehicle usage reports
> 4. Activity sheets of Area and Central staff personnel
>
> "It is believed that the foregoing clearly indicates that in the instance of this particular Grant there has been designed and maintained an adequate accounting system which would not only afford a detailed particularization for all expenditures made from the funds of the Grant, but would present financial records to management on a timely basis so that the management of Mary Holmes Junior College and CDGM could factually evaluate the Program and its effectiveness and take remedial and corrective action in any areas of operation needing same.

"As you know, this Grant was not funded until February 23, 1966. Its area of operation embraces 28 of the 82 counties widely scattered over the State. Many of the Centers (121 in number and 15 Area Administrator Offices) are in remote areas of the State. It is my belief that that which has been accomplished in this period of time commencing with the design of the accounting system, the acquisition of needed machinery and equipment therefor, the attaining of furniture, finding qualified personnel or training same and developing lines of communication in order to assure a steady flow of the required data for the proper maintenance of the accounts and records of the Program, is indeed a favorable attest to the effort that has been put forth in trying to develop adequate and accurate records and financial responsibility under this Program."

Morgan also stated that while:

"....errors have occurred, but it is believed that these have been minimal when judged in terms of the size of this Grant and the rapidity with which the funds have been expended."

Based on interviews and observations, we find that the procedures employed by CDGM were not only satisfactory but were also explicitly approved by OEO. Further, we find that OEO management consultants and an employee of the OEO Management Division were almost continuously present in Jackson during the first half of thecurrent grant and that OEO's involvement was so extensive that if there were omissions, its own employees must accept responsibility.

All payments were made under a system of procedures designed jointly by CDGM, OEO and Ernst and Ernst and incorporated accounting procedures, and operating routines for financial transactions, into an accounting manual, approved by OEO. All payments - including those questioned - were made in accordance with this system. In addition, every expenditure of Federal funds had the express prior approval of the Comptroller who was an employee of Ernst and Ernst, and thus independent of CDGM's management authority.

There may well have been instances where mistakes slipped through such an extraordinarily thorough system. We note that CDGM has on its own initiative developed further procedures to increase the efficiency of financial management.

The record before us - in terms of acts, procedures, organization - does not substantiate the charge of inadequate administration or fiscal mismanagement. We note that the system resulted in actual costs falling below the OEO approved grant. Thus actual costs per child per week for facilities was 49 cents

per child (or 13 per cent below the OEO estimate) and $1.50 per child per week for transportation (50 cents below the OEO estimate.)

We note that the procedure adopted and approved by OEO also had the unique advantage of providing education, training and responsibility for the poor in mastering the arts and science of administration and fiscal management. Mr. Richard Davies President, Klein and Saks, Inc., management consultants, states:

> "We are most impressed that the program's administration is, for the most part, being carried out by local Mississippians, and that CDGM has offered these people the opportunity to gain valuable administrative training in the process of their work."

We note also that the major portion of the amounts called into question by OEO were arrived at by questioning every expenditure in a given category if even one expenditure in that category was questioned. Thus, for instance over $400 thousand of that called into question is composed of all expenditures for renting classroom facilities and all transportation contracts when it is clear from the OEO release that their evidence even at this tentative stage has bearing on only a small portion of that aggregate. Similarly, an additional $104,000 is questioned by aggregating all consultant contracts on the basis that contracts did not contain a sufficient description of work actually done. We note that the contracts used, are based upon the model contract form supplied by OEO and any deficiency present would appear to be directly attributable to the model. We note further that CDGM was never informed of any of these deficiences so that it might supply lacking evidence or documentation.

Social and Economic Context of CDGM Program

CDGM operated its preschool program in a state beset by severe racial problems and tensions, where patterns of private and official conduct, created unusual difficulties in launching and administering a bi-racial program designed to provide equal educational opportunities for the poor. Several CDGM centers experienced violence or the threat of violence. During the 1965 grant period, several staff members were arrested by the highway patrol in obvious cases of harassment. The Director of the program's car was run off the road at night. A CDGM Board Member was fired from his job immediately upon return from a trip to Washington where he helped CDGM secure its second grant.

During the 1966 grant period two centers burned to the ground. A white resource teacher reported she was threatened in a cafe while eating lunch, by three white men who asked her what she "was doing down here 'fooling around with all them niggers.'" They threatened her with "trouble" if she did not leave town. A shotgun blast was fired into the automobile of the Director of the Head Start Center in Philadelphia, Mississippi. The CDGM committee at the Pilgrim Rest Center in Holmes County described their difficulties in involving whites in their center as follows:

> "Before we could really make any definite efforts to involve the white people in our center, we were harassed by many of the white citizens of our town. They tried to burn our church down where we first started, until we had our center built. After the center was built, while having a staff meeting, some of them rode by and fired shots at us. We even had ads in the newspaper trying to involve them. Despite this, they burned crosses at our homes and threatened a great number of people. We were afraid most of the time and didn't know what to expect from them any of the time."

The CDGM program has been opposed by both Mississippi Congressmen and Senators (all six of whom voted against the 1967 anti-poverty bill). The administrative competence of its staff has been attacked consistently in the press through stories released from the office of one Senator. John P. Nelson, Jr., a native Mississippian and a member of the Board of Inquiry

explained that the animosity to CDGM had "its roots deep in emotional and sociological differences."

The fact that many persons serving on the Boards of community action programs in the State have had past or present connections with either the Ku Klux Klan or White Citizens' Council has made it difficult for many persons associated with CDGM to cooperate with them easily. At one CAP meeting in Sunflower County, for instance, Negroes were chased from a CAP meeting--which they had been invited to--by helmeted police. Subsequent attempts by local Negroes to obtain a public hearing on the CAP program as prescribed by OEO regulations have not met with success.

That CDGM operated in other counties in "competition" with CAPs is in no way contradictory to the spirit of the Economic Opportunity Act. A report of the House Committee on Education and Labor (428, pp. 7-9) states that:

> "The Congress has contemplated the existence of independent single-purpose agencies in the same community that (sic) a community-wide structure has been created. Such competitiveness and experimentation is appropriate in an area in which conclusive remedies have not yet been established."

Conduct of OEO with Regard to CDGM

The Board finds that the Office of Economic Opportunity has been subjected to repeated attacks on CDGM by Senators Stennis and Eastland and that such attacks have coincided with Senate consideration of the legislation and the fiscal appropriation.

Recent dealings between OEO and CDGM have been examined and prove that CDGM never received any notice of the charges or alleged deficiencies until after a decision not to refund had already been reached and steps taken to find and fund alternate sponsors.

Thus, the OEO report acknowledges that the results of OEO's investigations and audits became available to OEO on September 15. As stated in the OEO situation report, those charges were not communicated to CDGM until October 2 and then only in summary form.

Yet, on September 13 at 9:00 a.m., in Yazoo City (before the audit was received on which the decision was allegedly based), three men, Owen Cooper, LeRoy Percy and Hodding Carter III, met to sign the papers of incorporation for the Mississippi Action for Progress Corporation. Governor Johnson signed that charter the very same day, a charter that provided that one of the purposes of the corporation was:

> "To consult with and coordinate its activities with the Governor of the State of Mississippi or his designee or such Commission which may be subsequently established by the Governor or the Legislature of Mississippi..."

and further provided that:

> "This corporation shall not be required to make publication of its charter...".

The Board has no representation of the poor, labor, or professional persons with experience in early childhood education. And none of the three incorporators was Negro.

On September 30 a news report in the Jackson Daily News broke the story of this corporation and contained statements by Senator Stennis, later reaffirmed by both Senators Stennis and Eastland that they had unconditional and authoritative assurances from the Administration that CDGM would not be funded and that this new corporation was a development in accordance with an understanding that CDGM programs would be turned over to "responsible local leadership."

On Friday, October 7, while affirming to members of the Board a willingness to negotiate and to give a full hearing to CDGM, OEO announced a grant of over $1 million to Rust College of Mississippi to operate an extensive Head Start program in communities where CDGM had previously been active. A spokesman for Rust College subsequently admitted that it had never submitted a "formal" proposal that had been funded. The College had been previously turned down by OEO on past applications for funds.

The same day, a grant was made to the Southwest Mississippi Opportunity, Inc. That community action agency had not previously administered a Head Start program.

The Board notes that as a mathematical proposition, continuous grants at this rate will leave no funds available for the CDGM proposal, even if CDGM is able to obtain a hearing from OEO and secure a reversal of the judgment on its capability.

The Board further notes a newspaper report that funds to an independent Head Start program in Biloxi were announced to have been suspended by the Atlanta Regional Office but that 30 days were provided for rebuttal and a response to charges before any final action was taken.

The Board further notes that at least $100,000 have been spent in investigating CDGM by the OEO Office of Inspection and the General Accounting Office. Public statements by Dean Clyde Ferguson of Howard University--reported in the New York Times and in an interview on television indicate that Howard law students were instructed by the Office of Economic Opportunity to dress in clothes typically worn by civil rights workers in the South, to win acceptance and confidence of the persons in CDGM and on this basis to secure whatever inside information could be obtained with regard to accumulating a list of charges against CDGM. The Board notes that at no time does there seem to have been an attempt to make an objective balanced assessment of CDGM's performance.

The Board further finds that a staff team from OEO has been sent into Mississippi to stimulate Head Start applications from local community action programs in communities where CDGM had been operating programs.

We find further that the National Advisory Board of Head Start was never informed of the charges being mounted against CDGM until after the decision was made--and that none of its members was used to make a site visit to CDGM or to give guidance to OEO even though they are constantly used in that capacity with other programs. In fact, the CDGM situation was put on the last agenda only because of the efforts of one board member and the only presentation made to the Advisory Board was a recapitulation of the charges already contained in the public release. There appears to be no inclination on the part of OEO to encourage the active involvement of the Advisory Board in this decision involving a major Head Start program which, some Board members report, has long been cited to them as a shining example of success.

Conclusions

1. The child development program mounted by CDGM has been a highly successful and significant program, combining quality preschool experiences for a large number of children with massive involvement of the community, extensive experimentation with new sub-professionals all within the context and spirit of democratic participation and democratic decision making.

2. The CDGM is a well administered, carefully organized, creatively run organization demonstrating integrity, fiscal responsibility, and managerial competence. There is evident also a sincere and continuing desire and willingness to respond to suggestions and to improve further their administrative, fiscal and organizational structure.

3. Where circumstances permitted, we found a consistent record of concerted and wholehearted attempts to cooperate with and enlist all segments of the broader community including explicit endeavors to cooperate with local community action programs.

4. There is now under way a thorough-going attempt by OEO to dismember CDGM to turn its programs over to other groups, and to insure that a hearing on the merits, if held, will be nothing more than an exercise in futility. We do not find that dismemberment of CDGM's program and organization is a satisfactory substitute for refunding and continuation. The whole is more than simply the sum of its parts. CDGM is not simply a collection of isolated child care centers. It is an organization that belongs to the people of Mississippi. It is a program that makes child development the symbol and the point of embarkation for a life of dignity for children and parents and community. The valiant efforts to keep CDGM centers open after funds were exhausted--both last year and once again, now, is ample testimony to this commitment. If further testimony was needed, it is only necessary to point to the 49 center that have sprung up all over Mississippi with no organizational nexus to CDGM and no Federal funding which have nonetheless been christened "CDGM Centers" by the community.

5. OEO has violated the most fundamental principles of due process and has disregarded its own procedures and standard modes of operation. It gave neither notice, nor hearing, nor numeration of charges, nor opportunity to defend itself to CDGM.

in regard to the charges which were the alleged reason for the discontinuation of the grant. And it set about covertly to create alternate funding groups in Mississippi long before it made its announcement not to refund and at a time when it was still proclaiming that no final decision on CDGM had been reached. It has rushed pell mell to fund individual organizations and groups which have not demonstrated their competence, which lack representation of the poor and which in one case had not even submitted an official application, in an apparent attempt to insure that the decision not to refund CDGM was irreversible. It was not even willing to share this decision with the Head Start National Advisory Board or utilize its services.

6. The charges made--even if true--do not in the Board's opinion constitute grave enough defects to support a judgment to terminate the program. All of the charges taken together do not dictate termination if weighed against CDGM's record of achievement and continuous improvement. A differential standard with regard to what defects mandate termination appears to have been applied to CDGM.

7. We are unable to avoid the conclusion that the charges levied are a thin mask for a politically dictated decision--a decision which is all the more tragic in that it represents a yielding to those forces which have stood in historical opposition to progress for the poor and underprivileged in Mississippi--including Senators Stennis and Eastland who have opposed all civil rights, labor and anti-poverty legislation. We view this as a symbolic instance--not simply of yielding to political pressures--but of yielding to pressures which are direct and irreconcilable opposition to the goals of the program and the intended beneficiaries of the program. We cannot account for this decision on the basis of charges which are so insubstantial, so trivial, so unsupported in fact, so exaggerated and inflated and not supported by objective inquiry.

UNANIMOUS ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY
ON OCTOBER 10, 1966

1. Approved and adopted the report submitted by the Citizens' Board of Inquiry.

2. Expressed its full support for the work of the Child Development Group of Mississippi and recommended that the program should be continued and strengthened.

3. Called for an immediate 30-day continuation of funding for CDGM while this matter is being resolved.

4. Called for a moratorium on any new Head Start grants in Mississippi pending resolution of this matter.

5. Recommended that the Crusade offer its good offices in order to work toward a solution of this issue. To this end, designated Mr. Reuther to ask four members of the Executive Committee to serve with him on a special committee to contact Mr. Shriver for an immediate meeting in order (a) to apprise him of the contents of the report and (b) to facilitate progress toward a solution of this problem. Members of the Executive Committee asked to serve were:

Dr. Jon L. Regier
Associate General Secretary
Division of Christian Life and Mission
National Council of Churches

Philip Bernstein, Director
Council of Jewish Federations and
Welfare Funds

Most Reverend Raymond J. Gallagher
Bishop of the Diocese of
Lafayette-in-Indiana

A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

6. Authorized a public release of the report following a review of its contents with Mr. Shriver.

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS

1. The special committee's meeting with Mr. Shriver, set for Thursday, October 13, was cancelled.

2. The text of the Board of Inquiry report was released.

   These actions were taken because it was learned on the day prior to the scheduled meeting with Mr. Shriver that the Office of Economic Opportunity had just set aside a total of $10 million and made an initial grant of $3 million to the Mississippi Action for Progress, a corporation established for the avowed purpose of supplanting CDGM. It was felt that this action, taken together with other indications of bad faith--including the funding of two other new Head Start programs in Mississippi--constituted a rejection of the Executive Committee's offer to work in a spirit of mutual trust and operated to deny to CDGM any meaningful hearing on the issue of refunding.

Reuther - chm. c c AP

D C —

will be happy to serve on the citizens Committee for Inquiry

P. A —

Sy. Ala —

S - R - C —

cc typed
Randolph Blackwell
c c AP
Atl. Ga.

CDGM
CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP of MISSISSIPPI
210 SOUTH LAMAR STREET 290 MILNER BUILDING
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39201
Telephone: (601) 948-6513

ges F. McRee
hairman
f Directors

John H. Mudd
Director

WHAT THE EXPERTS SAY *

- Program for Children -

We have all been amazed at what your group has been able to ac-
omplish in terms of bringing a large group of Child Development
enters into reality. We've also been impressed by the motivation
nd amazing ingenuity shown by persons who work in these centers.
o our way of thinking, the Child Development Group of Mississippi
as shown great accomplishment and great potential in terms of im-
roving the educability of the extremely deprived rural children
f Mississippi." (Dr. Susan W. Gray, Director, Demonstration and
esearch Center for Early Education, George Peabody College for
eachers)

...I have worked with people engaged in education in forty coun-
ries.... Both my visits to the Child Development Group of Missis-
ippi centers and my intensive workshop with 36 of your resource
eachers and trainees have filled me with the hope that I have met
most inspiring situation down there.... I had been moved to find
uch by the competence shown by these women (and a few men) in han-
ling challenges which could easily defeat many a qualified teacher
orking in cities.... Since I have had the first contacts with CDGM
nd the work it has done in Mississippi, I have had to revise my
deas about who should work with the children at the Head Start cen-
ers. I am now convinced that, rather than college education and
cholarship, what is needed is innocence, open-mindedness, love,
nd patience, and belief in the natural goodness of children and in
heir natural powers. Many of the women I met at the (CDGM) cen-
ers and the workshop appeared to me to possess some of these qual-
ties....I found the children in your centers relaxed, busy, well
ehaved, accepting of each other, sharing with each other and looked
fter with love and understanding." (Dr. Caleb Gattegno, Director,
chools for the Future)

"...The Child Development program in Moss Point and the other CDGM centers which I visited is without a doubt one of the most creative and progressive I have seen in my many years of early childhood education experience.... From my personal observation CDGM is doing an excellent job. Its program could stand comparison with any in the country - and remember, they are working under difficult circumstances." (Mrs. Lena Gitter, educational consultant, American Montessori Society)

"You have established a beachhead against ignorance and for knowledge both with our youngest and with some of our older citizens. This is no small accomplishment, and considering the enormous group of humans you are hopefully planning with and for -- I salute you.... The children I worked with in all centers were responding with excitement and intelligence. These Mississippi children of yours are ready for learning and your schools are providing it..." (Mrs. Frances Hawkins, Elementary Science Advisory Center, University of Colorado)

"We soon learned, as we became acquainted with your teachers (at a Head Start training course), that they had many strengths and fine personal qualities. We were and continue to be impressed with their strong desire to make a better life for children. We enjoyed their eagnerness to learn and...(take back) procedures and techniques they thought they could use. They were excellent, as a number of our consultants noted, in participating in group discussions." (Mrs. Millicent Savery, University Training Director, University of Nebraska)

- Administration -

(from a statement by Richard Davies, President, Klein and Saks, Inc., management consultants) "Our firm has served for the last thirty years in helping to improve the administration of governments, industrial and financial corporations, and voluntary agencies. On our arrival at CDGM we were happily surprised that remarkable progress in administration had been made, and since the opportunity of working with the project we have witnessed additional improvement. We are most impressed that the program's administration is, for the most part, being carried out by local Missis-

sippians and that CDGM has offered these people the opportunity to gain valuable administrative training in the process of their work. We feel assured that the project will continue to be adminstered in a successful way in the future."

(from a statement by A.N. Morgan,partner, Ernst and Ernst, who devised CDGM's accounting system and provide auditing services) "As you know, various persons from the Office of Economic Opportunity and from the General Accounting Office have had occasion to visit your operation in Jackson, Mississippi, and the one in West Point, Mississippi, and it is believed that those who have visited and inspected the accounting system and the system established for internal control and check have found it acceptable and for the most part praiseworthy."

(from a report by Transolve,inc., who trained CDGM area staff in systematic problem solving techniques) "The trainees ...in the opinion of the Transolve Instructors, worked harder than the usual group encountered in business or higher education... The group saw that what it had learned was a way to realize the ultimate objective of the Head Start program.... Transolve believes that at least two-thirds of the group demonstrated superior competence in conducting...(their own) systematic problem solving training programs, and all trainees will become more competent with more practice."

(from a report by K.G. Olson and Associates, management consultants and trainers for CDGM) "Judging by the responses of the trainees (in administration) themselves, the program produced a satisfactory level of participation....To anyone unfamiliar with CDGM and the pressures under which its employees operate, the work load on the area administrators would seem excessive. Yet they managed to find significant amounts of energy to devote to training....The area administrators expressed an extremely strong desire for training and demonstrated a substantial capacity for learning. Such motivation and capacity clearly offset their previous educational deficiencies.... The strength of this motivation and capacity can be harnessed in future CDGM training programs and should bring about marked improvement in the administration of Head Start centers.

(from a report by Ashley Incorporated, management consultants) "The Child Development Group of Mississippi is not a conventional project. Few organizations have every been created under the objectives, restrictions, and complex concepts of CDGM. In three months, a state-wide organization with a $5.6 million budget was devised, staffed and made operational to involve 10,000 people and children....To accomplish the relatively successful status of the present, ...unusual but efficient multiple organizational structures were used..."

(from a report on personnel administration by Oscar Lott, Manpower Evaluation and Development Institute) "CDGM salary rates do not appear in general to be higher than salaries being paid for similar work in Jackson, or in the state."

*Taken from reports, letters, and statements to CDGM by consultants contracted to provide services under the current grant period.

PRELIMINARY LIST OF ~~XXXXX~~ FINDINGS OF

FACT (Incomplete, overlapping, etc.)

I. implemented the statutory mandate of maximum feasible participation

II. Not given dueprocess by OEO on notification of charges

III. to the extent possible sought to cooperate with local community action programs

IV. Adequate management capability and performance

V. An extensive strategy to destroy CDGM on thepart of OEO by

harassment

investigative procedures

fostering community ction programs as rivals

establishing Miss. Action for Progress in clandestine fashion

a prearranged plan to subvert, undermine and destroy CDGM

VI. Decision with regard to CDGM arrived at in most unusual way by marked departures from OEO's normal operating procedure

VII. CDGM previously praised highly by OEO, staff, and advisory committee

VIII. Adequate accounting procedures

IX. CDGM has made very reasonableeffort to encourage white support and participation

X. Civil rightsinvolvement ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxx~~ by staff has been minimal, has been by staff in their private capacity and has not impaired the qualty of theprogram or involved a~~s~~ misuse of governmental funds.

XI. Original use of non-professionals - devising new roles and using non-professionals m~~ØS~~/~~ØX~~ extensively

XII. succeeded in Headstart objective of training parents to avail selves of local resources and agencies

XIII. Operating under mitigating circumstances of great hardship

Klan

hostility

plantation psychology

rural economy

XIV. A quality programwith respect to children judged in terms of

medical tratment

psychological development

cognitive development

socializaton

readiness for school

XV. Marked improvement over past year

XVI. Willingness to improve further, responsive to suggestions and taking the initiative in going beyond OEO requirements

XVII. Democratic structureof organization

XVIII. achievement in developing willingness to do it for themselves if no one would do it for them or assist them. A self help effort

XIX. Significant white involvement from the beginning

XX. Differential response by OEO to findings of mistakes orpossible errors. A punitive attitude rather than a recognition that trial and error is a central learning process and that onemustnot penalize persons formakingmistakes

XXI. Central staff being penalized for mistakesin judgment by local regional offices. (OEO is not similarly responsible for mistakes by local community actionprograms tothe extent thatit has installed proper procedures and done what it can tonxx prevent recurrences.)

XXII. Consistent correlation - throughout CDGM's history - between political attacks and refusal to extend program or grant funds.

XXIII. Intensive investigation and harrassment compares with wilful refusal to look into and remedy other situations in Mississippi CAPS when puton notice

Make file (Citizens Board of Inquiry) (Clear) Check Monday AM
Katherine — + file there

Tell Jane to let you know what 2 days he'll be in Miss next week. Anita Curtis would prefer to know Sunday night + would appreciate a call at the Heidelberg Hotel - Jackson, Miss.

No: 352 - 6571

Area Code 601

Mr. Anthony called Monday morning. Keep + next meeting

Published as a supplement to the COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM GUIDE by the Office of Economic Opportunity

COMMUNITY ACTION Memo

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM • OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

MEMORANDUM NO. 9

DATE : November 1, 1965

SUBJECT : Procedure to be followed by an independent agency which believes it to be impossible or infeasible to combine its efforts with those of an existing community action agency.

Purpose and scope of this memorandum

The Office of Economic Opportunity encourages communities to mobilize all available public and private resources in local attacks on poverty. Such mobilization generally includes the development of a broadly-based community action agency to coordinate local efforts. Through this instrument, OEO believes a variety of resources can be mobilized most effectively for a coordinated attack on poverty. OEO policies on the desirability of coordinating community action efforts through a single community-wide organization are stated in PART B, Section 6 of the CAP Guide.

However, in some instances it may appear impossible or infeasible for a local organization to unite its efforts with those of an existing broadly-based community action agency. PART B, Section 7 of the CAP Guide states the conditions under which OEO will accept applications for grants under Sections 204 and 205 of Title II-A from individual (or single-purpose) agencies.

This memorandum sets forth the procedure to be followed when an individual agency desires to undertake one or more components of a community action program but has found by applying to the existing community action agency that it is impossible or infeasible to combine its efforts with those of an existing community action agency.

This procedure accords with the intent of Congress as expressed in the House and Senate Committee Reports and in the following Amendment to Title II-A of the Economic Opportunity Act.

> When the Director receives an application from a private non-profit agency for a community action program to be carried on in a community in which there is a community action agency, carrying on a number of component programs, he shall, within five days give notice to such community action agency and the Governor of the State in which the

community is located of the receipt of such application. When the Director determines that a separate contract or grant is desirable and practical and that good cause has been shown, he is authorized to make a grant directly to, or to contract directly with, such agency. (Title II, Section 209(d), Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965).

The Report of the House Committee on Education and Labor in discussing the Community Action Program makes the following statement:

> The Committee has been concerned with the potentiality of the community-wide structure for monopoly on efforts to eradicate poverty in each community. It was clearly the intent of Congress that grants to such community-wide structures should not prevent grants from being made in the same community to groups with novel and imaginative ideas for dealing with the problems of poverty. . . . /P/ublic or private nonprofit agencies will have free access to the Office of Economic Opportunity after reasonable attempts have been made to operate through the local, broadly representative, community-wide structure where one exists. Such single-purpose agencies should, in all cases, first submit their plan to the existing community-wide agency in order to determine whether its plan is compatible with that of the community-wide structure. Although efforts should be made to interrelate all resources in the community directed towards the eradication of poverty, single-purpose independent groups having no relationship to a community-wide structure are eligible for funding under Section 205 of the Act. That these single-purpose agencies have no chance of developing into a community-wide structure is not a condition for receiving such grants. The Congress has contemplated the existence of independent single-purpose agencies in the same community that a community-wide structure has been created. Such competitiveness and experimentation is appropriate in an area in which conclusive remedies have not yet been established.
> (House Report No. 428, p.7-9, 89th Congress, 1st Session, 1965).

Copies of this Memo are available to all organizations and individuals who request information on the subject of independent funding.

Procedure for submission of separate application

When the individual agency is dissatisfied with the community action agency action or inaction on its application, the individual agency may submit its application to the appropriate OEO-CAP Regional Office, following all pertinent instructions in Volume I of the CAP Guide. All decisions will be made finally in OEO Headquarters; consequently a copy should be sent directly to the Director of the Community Action Program, Washington, D. C. for his advance information. The application filed with the Regional Office shall be accompanied by a request for review of the application and a statement explaining why the applicant believes it to be impossible or infeasible to combine its efforts with those of the existing community action agency. The explanatory statement shall include:

1. A description of the efforts made, if any, to combine the applicant's proposed activities with those of the existing community action agency.

2. A description of the response to such efforts on the part of the existing community action agency.

3. In the event that OEO agrees to fund the applicant's proposal separately, a description of what coordination, if contemplated, there will be with CAP activities.

4. An explanation of the reasons why the applicant considers it necessary or desirable to provide funding directly. This should include a statement which distinguishes the proposed program from other funded and planned local CAP Programs and a statement of any considerations which make funding urgent.

OEO staff may be consulted in the development of these materials.

Such applications and supporting statements will be reviewed by OEO to determine whether the activities proposed therein warrant consideration for funding by OEO. If so, the OEO will communicate with the existing community action agency to determine if the individual agency's proposal can appropriately be included as a component in the community-wide program. When appropriate, a meeting will be arranged between the applicant and the existing community action agency to negotiate a solution of the issue.

Basis for approving applications

If it is determined by OEO that it is impossible or infeasible for the individual agency's proposal to be combined with the community-wide program, the CAP Director will review the application to determine its acceptability for independent funding. A favorable decision will depend upon a case-by-case consideration of each of the following factors:

1. Evidence that the approval of the program will make a tangible and specific contribution to the achievement of the statutory objectives of the program, with particular emphasis upon the effective participation of the members of the groups and residents of the areas to be served by the program.

2. Eligibility of the proposed activities (See CAP GUIDE, PART C, Section 2)

3. Eligibility of the applicant agency (See CAP GUIDE, PART B)

4. Availability of grant funds under OEO policies /on equitable distribution of grant funds among states and communities/ (See CAP GUIDE, PART A, Sections 6 and 7) and the merits of the subject program relative to alternative program proposals.

5. The failure of the existing community action agency to establish good cause for withholding or denying approval.

Theodore M. Berry
Director
Community Action Program

CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP OF MISSISSIPPI

Cost of Program Through August 31, 1966,
For Average of 9,567 Children
For Average of 20.29 Weeks *

Cost Category	Total Cost	Actual Cost Per Child Per Week
Center Services	$3,537,843	$18.23
Area Services	343,071	1.77
Central Staff Services	456,438	2.35
Mary Holmes Junior College Services	101,633	.52
Total	$4,438,985	$22.87

* The figure of 20.29 was determined by reducing by 1 the actual number of weeks each Center was operated and averaging the reduced number of weeks. This was done because of the lag between the time the Centers were in operation and the reporting of costs for such Centers.

September 8, 1966

JESSE PARIS
SEP 27 1966

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

I am a college sophomore this Fall -- thanks to CDGM. I am an eighteen year old and, perhaps my opinion is not as highly valued as would an older's person's be; but here it is:

At the beginning of this summer I began looking for a job. I knew that it would be almost impossible for me to return to college unless I found some form of employment. The middle of June I found a job at a hamburger stand. The pay was so poor that it was hardly worth my effort to work.

On July 5th, 1966, I began work at the Kinston Center, Laurel, Mississippi. There were, of course, some problems (as with every new job); but, as a member of the white race I can say: I've never been treated any nicer by anyone, I've never enjoyed anything any more, and I've never learned so much.

However, CDGM has not only helped me. I can truthfully say that it is the most wonderful thing for children that I've ever seen. It has really helped them in many ways. CDGM has helped the parents of these children as well as the teachers.

When I was unable to obtain a suitable summer job (after one year of college), I found CDGM very willing to help me. Therefore, I feel it my duty to tell everyone how much this program is needed.

It seems to me that the negro race is eager to accept this help. But I've found that my race does not fully realize that this can be their program too. This program is for all people and more white people need to accept the help being offered. I'd like to say "Thank You" and I'm looking forward to the next grant.

Very truly yours,

Victoria L. Cohen

Victoria L. Cohen

(VICTORIA COHEN IS A WHITE MISSISSIPPIAN.)

THE KINGSTON CENTER

Before my report can be fully appreciated, I must first tell a few things about myself and my purpose for taking this job as resource teacher. I am a student at Jones Junior College where I'm majoring in psychology. I will enter college this Fall as a sophomore. My junior and senior years I hope will be spent at Southeastern Louisiana College in Hammond, Louisiana.

As everyone knows, any type of education is expensive. Therefore, I knew that I must find some type of employment for the summer. I read of the CDGM Program on the bulletin board at school. Not knowing exactly what the program was didn't keep me from writing an application and mailing it to Jackson. Several weeks later I received an envelope containing many interesting booklets and letters. A month passed without my hearing from CDGM. Then I received a letter from Miss Polly Greenberg saying that CDGM had an over supply of teachers but the address of the area office in Laurel was given. I was then faced with the decision whether to contact the area office or not. Many people tried to discourage me and at one time had me convinced that I should not work in the program. I got a job at a local hamburger stand. The work was hard and the pay was very low. There were no rewards from this job except material and even the material reward was small. I knew right away this was not the job for me. However, it was better than no job at all.

After a long talk with a person whose opinion I value highly, I decided to contact the Area Office. After I did this, I visited one of the centers, and I talked with several people who were connected with the CDGM Program.

A short time later I was contacted by the Chairman of the Committee and they asked me to meet with the committee. On July 5, 1966, I began work at the Kingston Center. Now on August 29th, I can honestly say this short time has been very meaningful to me in many ways.

At the Kingston Center I have two units which are supervised by four trainees, all of whom are very wonderful people. One of my reasons for being interested in this type work was the close contact with children. This relationship with them will help me in my study of psychology and in my career as a psychiatric social worker. Therefore, I started my job with the individual children in mind. A relationship with individuals was hard to build up with so many children. This had to be worked in with the class schedule.

For example: From 8:00 - 9:00 o'clock the children are arriving. During this time I made it a point to talk with the children. Once I tried small experiments with a difficult child. I tried giving him extra attention and at the same time teaching him discipline. It seemed he liked doing the right thing for me.

From 9:00 - 9:30 o'clock is the devotional period. We enjoyed singing and playing musical games. During this time I observed the quiet children. They seemed somewhat reserved in their singing; but the more outgoing the child was the better leader he seemed to make. When the real outgoing children would lead in the devotional, the others soon would join in, singing louder, jumping higher and clapping more. After they saw their friends singing, it looked as if it might be fun.

From 9:30 - 10:00 o'clock refreshments (juice or fruit) were served. Bathroom time following. From 10:00 - 10:30 o'clock we have art and craft. The children's personalities really showed through their work and their reactions to praise or failure. From 10:30 - 11:00 o'clock we have recess and free play. At 11:00 the children come in, get washed up and listen to a story or perhaps tell a story. From 12:00 - 1:00, we eat lunch and enjoy pleasant conversation.

After lunch we have number and reading readiness. The children take a short rest and began going home. The day is not over, however, in the afternoon we plan our next day's activities and have staff meetings. Neither is the job over after eight hours. No, after spending a day with children, a person does not go home and forget about them and their activities. Many of my spare moments at home are spent in thinking of the children, their problems and their activities. Children's problems cannot be solved by work alone; it takes a good deal of thinking and planning.

This job has taught me so much that I would be unable to tell anyone everything. I have learned so much about children. But not only that, I have learned much about getting along with people and meeting all kinds of situations. I faced problems which anyone who starts a new job faces, but because I am white I faced a few more problems. However, because of the friendliness and cooperativeness of the people at the center, all of these problems were solved.

Yes, I think I've learned more in the past two months than I would have had I been in school. Therefore, I'd like to thank each and everyone connected with the Kingston Center for the privilege of working for and with them this summer. To these people I owe a great deal. My heart is filled with gratitude but words are limited so all I can say is "Thank you".

Victoria L. Cohen

Victoria L. Cohen

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State of Mississippi

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

JACKSON

The within and foregoing Charter of Incorporation of

MISSISSIPPI ACTION FOR PROGRESS, INC.

is hereby approved.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of Mississippi to be affixed this SEPTEMBER 13, A. D., 1966.

Governor

By the Governor

Secretary of State

EXTRACT OF MINUTES OF MEETING OF MISSISSIPPI ACTION FOR PROGRESS

A meeting of the members of MISSISSIPPI ACTION for PROGRESS was held at 9:00 o'clock A.M., September 13, 1966, in Yazoo City, Mississippi, wherein the following proceedings were had and done and action taken among others:

* * * * * * *

On motion duly made and seconded and unanimously carried, the following resolution was adopted:

"RESOLVED, that this association secure a non-profit charter of incorporation from the State of Mississippi and Owen Cooper, LeRoy Percy and Hodding Carter, III, be designated as incorporators and authorized and empowered to secure a non-profit corporation charter from the State of Mississippi, and further authorized and empowered generally to do any and all things that may be necessary or convenient to secure issuance of such corporation charter and incorporation of the association."

* * * * * * *

The undersigned, being the duly appointed, qualified and acting secretary of MISSISSIPPI ACTION for PROGRESS, an unincorporated association of Yazoo City, Mississippi, does hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of extract of minutes of meeting of said association held on September 13, 1966.

Witness my hand this 13th day of September, 1966.

Owen Cooper

Owen Cooper, Secretary

CHARTER OF INCORPORATION OF MISSISSIPPI ACTION FOR PROGRESS, INC.

ARTICLE I.

The name of this corporation shall be MISSISSIPPI ACTION for PROGRESS, INC.

ARTICLE II.

The names of the incorporators are:

Owen Cooper, 1826 Grand Avenue, Yazoo City, Mississippi;
LeRoy Percy, The Bayou Road, Greenville, Mississippi;
Hodding Carter, III, 1203 Kirk Circle, Greenville, Mississippi;

all of whom are adult resident citizens of the State of Mississippi.

ARTICLE III.

The domicile is Jackson, Hinds County, Mississippi.

ARTICLE IV.

The corporation is non-profit and no shares of stock shall be issued. The management of the corporation shall be vested in a board of directors consisting of not less than three and not more than eighteen members, which board shall have all of the powers of directors. The incorporators shall constitute the original board of directors. Said directors are further authorized and empowered to name additional directors as they, in their discretion, may determine, but the total number of directors shall not exceed eighteen as hereinabove set forth. Thereafter, directors shall be elected in the manner prescribed by the bylaws of the corporation.

ARTICLE V.

Period of existence of corporation shall be perpetual.

ARTICLE VI.

The purposes for which this corporation is created are:

(1) To eliminate the paradox of poverty in certain counties in Mississippi if it desires to do so by opening to everyone opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity as envisioned under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the same being Public Law 88-452, 88th Congress of the United States of America, S. 2642, August 20, 1964, by developing a "Community Action Program" and any action needed. The association is empowered and authorized to take advantage of Titles I through VII of said Act and such other portions of this Act and/or financial benefits which might become available thereunder or otherwise and any other similar legislation involved in carrying out the purposes of the Economic Opportunity Act.

(2) To either itself make provisions for implementing, operating, and/or administering such programs as it may consider desirable in order to accomplish its purposes as defined herein; and/or to otherwise delegate authority to, or contract with, or make provisions whereby such programs, services, and activities may be activated, operated, administered, or supervised by other local governmental or quasi-governmental departments, voluntary organizations, and others as it deems advisable; making such financial arrangements for allocation of funds for this purpose to same as it considers desirable.

(3) To support any benevolent or charitable undertaking.

(4) To support any literary or scientific undertaking.

(5) To support and encourage agriculture, horticulture, mechanic arts, public highways, parks and any other public undertaking.

(6) To establish Technical Advisory Committees consisting of such officers or other representatives of local or district governmental departments, voluntary or charitable organizations, and persons from low income groups.

(7) To make application for, receive, expend, or otherwise dispose of such funds and property (real or personal) as may be available from Federal, State, County, Municipal or other governmental authority of same, including such funds and properties which might be contributed or made available by foundations, business concerns, individuals or others; so long as the expenditure and/or the disposal of such funds or properties are for the purposes which the association is established to perform.

(8) To employ and/or discharge under such terms and conditions as they consider desirable an Executive Director and other staff required for its proper operation. The association will be empowered and authorized to contract with such other organizations, business concerns or governmental departments to perform such functions and services as may be required.

(9) To consult with and coordinate its activities with the Governor of the State of Mississippi or his designee or such Commission which may be subsequently established by the Governor or the Legislature of Mississippi to accomplish the purposes and goals for which this corporation is established.

(10) To cooperate with the various departments of government of the State of Mississippi, including but not confined to the Department of Public Welfare, the State Health Department and the State Department of Public Education.

(11) To have and exercise all powers necessary or convenient to affect any or all of the purposes for which the corporation is organized, but subject to the limitation in all events that the corporation shall not engage, otherwise than as an insubstantial part of its activities, in activities which in themselves are not in furtherance of one or more of the above stated purposes of the corporation.

(12) The rights and powers that may be exercised by this corporation as a nonprofit nonshare corporation are those conferred by Chapter 4, Title 21, Code of Mississippi of 1942, and amendments thereto.

ARTICLE VII.

This corporation shall not be required to make publication of its charter, shall issue no shares of stock, shall divide no dividends or profits among its members, shall vest in each member the right to one vote in the election of all officers, shall make the loss of membership, by death or otherwise, the termination of all interest of such members in the corporate assets, and there shall be no individual liabilities against the members for corporate debts, but the entire corporate property shall be liable for the claims of creditors.

Signatures: Owen Cooper
LeRoy Percy
Hodding Carter III

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

COUNTY OF YAZOO

This day personally appeared before me, the undersigned authority in and for the above county and state, Owen Cooper, LeRoy Percy and Hodding Carter, III, incorporators of the corporation known as MISSISSIPPI ACTION for PROGRESS, INC., who acknowledged that they each signed and executed the above and foregoing three and one-half pages of typewritten articles of incorporation as their act and deed on this, the 13th day of September, 1966.

Notary Public in and for Yazoo County, Mississippi

My Commission Expires: My Commission Expires Feb. 25, 1970

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Received at the office of the Secretary of State, this 13th day of September, 1966, together with the sum of $20.00 deposited to cover the recording fee, and referred to the Attorney General for his opinion.

Secretary of State

Jackson, Mississippi,

September 13, 1966

I have examined this foregoing Charter of Incorporation, and am of the opinion that it is not violative of the Constitution and laws of this State, nor of the United States.

Joe T. Patterson
Attorney General

by
Assistant Attorney General

PA
file CDGM

CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036
Telephone 202 / 234-3645

Walter P. Reuther
Chairman
Rabbi Richard Hirsch
Secretary
Robert S. Benjamin
Treasurer

Richard W. Boone
Executive Director

SAVE THE CHILDREN OF MISSISSIPPI

Dear Friend of the Crusade:

Enclosed is information on the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM). We hope that this information will be of interest to you.

We feel that the public will be served by a full disclosure of all the facts. If you have an opinion or any information bearing on this situation, please contact us.

HISTORY OF CDGM

The Child Development Group of Mississippi is a state-wide Head Start program that was organized in the summer of 1965. It is governed by the poor for the poor. Last February, the Office of Economic Opportunity granted CDGM over $5.6 million for a six-month program for over 12,000 children in 121 centers spread over 28 counties across the state. CDGM's cost per child per week is $19, considerably under OEO guidelines and other Head Start programs in the state. Over 98 per cent of CDGM's 2,000 employees in local centers are local Mississippians, mostly the poorest Negroes in the poorest state in the Nation.

Most of the parents now actively involved in pre-school centers never before had any voice in how their children were educated. Many had never even set foot in their children's schools, because they were encouraged not to or because they refused to submit to the humiliating treatment of school authorities. This is the first opportunity they have had to work to give their own children the Head Start of which they were deprived in a society which has offered them little more than degradation and fear. Because they feel that the centers are really "their own," they have faced the challenge of providing a better education for their children with an extraordinary dedication, hard work, and willingness to learn.

Poor people have proven willing and able to operate stimulating and useful programs for their children which will help them to build a better life. Mistakes have been made, many of them, but as one community committee member said, "I'm 59 years old and I've been making mistakes for 53 of them. Some have hurt, but most of them made me grow." Parents living in poverty-stricken Mississippi communities want that chance to grow.

Recently, CDGM submitted a proposal to OEO for a 12-month program to serve 13,500 children in 170 centers in 37 Mississippi counties. More than 16,500 children who applied for enrollment were reluctantly turned away when the Federal Government rejected CDGM's original request for an expanded program. The current program and the continued existence of the Child Development Group of Mississippi is now in great danger.

I prefer CDGM to any other organization because it sees a person not as what he is, but what he can be.

Not only do the children have a chance, but the parents have a chance to wake up to the fact that they are individuals with rights to think, act, and choose for themselves.

Mrs. Esther M. Holmes
St. John Center

Many years ago I became aware of a great need in our community our state and our Nation. I saw in the faces and lives of poor people the disease of poverty. I saw the hopelessness, the longing for, the wanting, the feeling of uselessness. It left as a result, hate, crime, and a dejected-feeling people.

. . .most of all Head Start brought hope to an almost forgotten or forsaken people. I think it is an essential program. It must not die. It must continue to uplift a race. Out of the Head Start and the War on Poverty will come a generation of self-supporting, self-confident people.

Mrs. N. A. Theodore
Gulfport, Mississippi

The child development experts and the educational authorities who investigated this program claim that it was a success in fulfilling the purpose of the program, which is what Congress asked us to do.

Sargent Shriver, Director
of the Office of Economic
Opportunity, testifying
before Senate subcommittee,
October 14, 1965

The New York Times.

September 14, 1966

GROUP ACTS TO AID HEAD START FUND

Reuther Picks Panel to Study Charges in Mississippi

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 13 — The Citizens Crusade Against Poverty intervened today to try to save Mississippi's Head Start project from prospective curtailment or extinction.

Walter P. Reuther, chairman of the crusade and president of the United Automobile Workers, said the Child Development Group of Mississippi, which conducts classes in 28 counties, "has asked us to make an objective analysis of its program" and to look into charges made by Mississippi leaders that it was closely allied with the civil rights and black power movements and was maladministered.

The Office of Economic Opportunity, faced with the Mississippi charges, might kill the project outright or make some accommodation with the state's political leaders.

The Federal agency must make some decision soon because the time has nearly come for it to replenish the project's funds.

Mr. Reuther said the following had agreed to serve on a citizens board of inquiry and would go to Mississippi soon:

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH of New York City.

The Most Rev. RAYMOND J. GALLAGHER of Lafayette, Ind.

RALPH HELSTEIN, president of the United Packinghouse Workers.

PAUL ANTHONY of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

JUSTINE WISE POLIER of New York.

Mrs. FRANCES COE, Board of Education, Memphis.

Dr. ROBERT COLES, research psychiatrist, Harvard University.

Dr. KENNETH B. CLARK, professor of psychology, City College of New York.

JOHN P. NELSON Jr., New Orleans lawyer.

ELI E. COHEN, Nataional Committee on Employment of Youth.

PHILIP BERNSTEIN, director, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.

ROBERT SPIKE, School of Divinity, University of Chicago.

JUNE SHAGALOFF, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York City.

Added to the board of inquiry were:

Dr. Sam Cook, Chairman
Department of Political Science
Atlanta University

Dr. Vivian Henderson, President
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

AUGUST 20-21, 1966

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

People Speak At CDGM Meeting

BY PATRICIA JAMES

JACKSON, Miss.--More than 1,500 people showed up last Saturday at the Masonic Temple in Jackson to say they wanted to keep Head Start in Mississippi.

The old grant for the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM), which runs Head Start, will end on the last of August. CDGM has already asked for a new grant of $41,000,000 for 30,000 children in Head Start. The federal Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) said that was too much money, and offered CDGM $11,500,000.

But $11,500,000 would only be enough for centers that are operating now. And it would be given on the condition that there could not be any centers in counties with Community Action Program (CAP) boards.

Saturday's meeting was called so all interested persons could give their ideas on a new proposal before it is sent to OEO.

At first, people didn't have any suggestions--they all had questions they wanted to ask. For example:

Cecil Hale of Heidelberg wanted to know how Community Action Programs were organized. Miss Carolyn Stevens answered that a CAP would not be organized unless there was a public meeting called to elect board members.

Mrs. Jimana Sumrall of Quitman asked, "If CAP comes to our county, will CDGM be run by it?" The Rev. John McRee, chairman of the board of directors of CDGM, told her that the government says the CAP must run any

continued on reverse

SEPTEMBER 3, 1966

THE NEW REPUBLIC

How Do You Fight It?

Older readers may remember the War on Poverty, which was fought briefly and sporadically on several fronts during the mid-1960's. One of the most furious battles was also one of the last: the campaign to save the Child Development Group of Mississippi from politics, parsimony, racism, and bureaucracy.

CDGM was created in the summer of 1965 as a combination Head Start preschool system and community action program in 20 Mississippi counties. From the very beginning it was clear that CDGM was serious about "involvement of the poor" – so much so, in fact, that it began to worry the Office of Economic Opportunity. OEO knows the difference between rhetoric and reality: the "maximum feasible" extent that the poor may participate is far short of the point that they can cause trouble for the local power structure.

All summer long, an energetic but amateur CDGM staff struggled under intolerable conditions: the hostility of local politicians, threats from Mississippi whites, bureaucratic blockheadedness in Washington, makeshift facilities, and utterly untrained employees. At one point (*NR*, August 21, 1965), the OEO tried to emasculate the program, but somehow CDGM lasted out the month. An application for refunding in the fall was not greeted with much enthusiasm in Washington, but after six months of lobbying – culminating in demonstrations by busloads of poor Mississippi Negroes roaming the streets and buildings of the capital – CDGM got a six-months' grant of $5.6 million.

This summer's program was bigger and better. In all, 9,135 children attended 121 preschools in 28 counties. But the real genius of the program – which may prove to be its downfall – is that CDGM has provided much more than preschooling. It has brought rural Negro sharecroppers and town-dwellers into effective organizations; for the first time in their lives, they are doing things themselves – running schools, handling sizable sums of money, administering offices, and training others. For most of them, it has been the first opportunity to be in *control*, and the experience has made all the difference in the world. They have begun to act like political animals. Such men are dangerous.

Head Start program in its area.

"How do you go about fighting CAP?" was asked over and over by many different people.

They were told to demand public hearings from the CAP's, and to demand to see public documents and financial reports so they could prove their complaints.

Then McRee put an end to the questions: "The board wants to know from you what should be in the new proposal. OEO has returned our request for $41,000,000."

"What do you think we should leave out of our new proposal?" McRee asked. Nobody wanted to leave out anything. "I think all the children are the most important," said a man from Holly Springs.

"I'm in sympathy with the centers that are still struggling. Why stop at the ones that are already funded?" Hale asked.

"That's what OEO wants to find out," said Mrs. Sumrall. "If you can get along with a little, then they going to give you a little. They give you what THEY want you to have. . . .

"I'm asking for the whole thing. It's nothing but taxes you've paid over the years and ain't got nothing back for. If they can spend $2 billion a day to fight a war in Viet Nam, surely they can give you $41,000,000 to run schools for a year."

The audience roared agreement, but McRee reminded them that the $41,000,000 proposal had already been turned down, and that negotiations for more than $11,500,000 might take a long time.

Another speaker was Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer from Ruleville. "I'm sick and tired of people using our lives and our little kids as political footballs," said Mrs. Hamer. She said she plans to go to Washington in the near future, to demonstrate for money for CDGM.

Mrs. Anne Albany suggested that three-year-old children be dropped from the proposed Head Start program. That would cut the proposal down to $29,000,000, without leaving out any centers, she said.

Finally, the meeting passed a resolution to leave three-year-old children out of the program.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

The danger was seen first by Mississippi politicians. Senator Stennis and Rep. John Bell Williams were early antagonists. Senator Eastland, now running for reelection against the rather strong Republican challenge of Rep. Prentiss Walker, soon joined the attack. Gov. Paul Johnson, in his own eyes (perhaps uniquely) a "moderate," wants to control the rate of speed at which Negroes attain political power, and anything beyond a slow crawl is obviously excessive.

Now all those men are powerful in different ways. Stennis has a hammer lock on OEO funds from his position on the appropriations subcommittee; Eastland has access to the White House; Paul Johnson is Lyndon Johnson's vehicle for bringing Mississippi into the "national" Democratic Party.

Their attacks on CDGM have shaken the OEO. Several months ago, Stennis sent his own "investigators" to Mississippi. They dug up the usual dirt on CDGM: one employee had ties to SNCC, a school kitchen had prepared food for the Meredith marchers, staff cars may or may not have transported civil rights workers, and there was nepotism in one of the centers. Compared to the way the powerful whites manipulate their own county "community action agencies," CDGM centers were paragons of democracy and honesty, but that didn't seem to be the point. The Jackson papers are full of CDGM misdeeds, and Stennis and Eastland have carried their charges north.

The OEO responded, predictably, with panic. The Office of Inspection recruited college students from Harvard, Yale and Howard universities and sent them to Mississippi, disguised as civil rights workers, to bring back alive any embryonic black panthers they might find on CDGM territory. The OEO congressional lobbyist reported to his chiefs that CDGM might have to go to save the upcoming appropriation. The Atlanta regional OEO director, a South Carolina lawyer named Frank Sloan (a White House appointee), was eager to axe CDGM, and Inspector General Ed May joined the wrecking crew. Further ammunition has been supplied by the General Accounting Office, which has its own set of investigators poring over CDGM's accounts, and has decided the program is not run the way Washington bookkeepers would like.

CDGM's grant ran out Wednesday, but OEO has allowed it to keep going (on surplus funds) for another few weeks. The big fight is over next year's funding. An original request for $41 million was returned by OEO in disbelief. Now, CDGM is asking for $20.5 million for the full year – for 13,500 children at 170 centers in 37 counties. On August 19, OEO officials met in Washington to discuss the program's fate, and it was clear that the "anti's" were in the ascendancy. The feeling that many had afterward was that CDGM could not last another two months. The attacks had simply overwhelmed the poverty warriors. No matter that CDGM was – in the words of a former OEO high-up – "the only thing worth a damn in Mississippi, and the best program we've got in the country."

Sargent Shriver has apparently retired for the moment to consider the possibilities of surrender. His aides recommend total restructure: "Safe" new Negro and white directors, elimination of community action functions, and a tightly controlled new management. A few people inside and outside OEO are planning to fight for CDGM, but the situation at this point is bleak. "What can you do," the ex-OEO staffer asked, "when practically the whole mechanism of government has gone into getting the goods on CDGM, and killing it?" By way of an answer, a present poverty program official said, "Shriver has apparently made a basic decision not to refund, and we have to accept it. They have all the cards and we don't have any. How do you fight it?"

ANDREW KOPKIND

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

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INSTITUTE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

EDWARD CHACE TOLMAN HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

September 22, 1966

Mr. John Mudd, Director
Child Development Group of Mississippi
210 South Lamar 290 Milner Building
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

Dear Mr. Mudd:

Thank you for sending me the copy of your Head Start proposal. I have been following the exciting developments in your program as best I could from a distance. So I am particularly grateful to have the detailed materials, for myself and to share with my colleagues. But I am saddened at the confirmation given that the program is in such serious jeopardy.

From this document and from the information that has previously reached me, I believe that the program of the Child Development Group of Mississippi is among the most significant achievements, if not the most significant achievement, of the Head Start program and of the War Against Poverty generally. It will be a major tragedy if federal funding is cut off for what can only be interpreted as reasons of petty traditional racial politics. For a program such as this to be cut off because of its success (and this interpretation also cannot be avoided) can only discredit the OEO and the Poverty program. I hope you are successful in regaining the federal support that is presently being denied. I can think of no better investment of taxpayers money within the poverty program.

From a professional standpoint, the premisses of your approach seem to me entirely correct. The causes of poverty in general and of Southern Negro poverty in particular cannot be overcome without the meaningful participation of the poor. You have been remarkably successful thus far in gaining this participation. Only if poor people are given responsibility ("responsibility" is a less frightening word than "power", but it comes to the same thing) can they become responsible. The

present proposal continues to move in this direction, and provides for training resources to help the non-professional people live up to the responsibility that is given them.

In terms of need, of strategic opportunity, and of demonstrated competence to do the job, this proposal deserves support. I can believe that certain vested local interests feel threatened. In the national interest, this cannot be allowed to decide the issue. You may quote me if it will help you.

Please keep me in touch with further developments.

Sincerely yours,

M. Brewster Smith

M. Brewster Smith
Professor of Psychology
and Director

MBS:vm

Lorenzi
Holmes County
9/24/66

General Comments on C.A.P.

The main problem with the Holmes County Community action Program has been that the white power structure planned and decided to enter into it at their own pace and for their own various reasons with as little community action and participation of the poor as possible. From this flowed the other two major problems -(1) information has been controlled and (2) none of the programs so far instituted through CAP are really CAP programs.

In planning to enter CAP at their own pace and in their own way, the power structure sought to use it as a tool to stop Negro progress and curtail participation. This is backed up by the fact that (1) the civil rights movement in this county has been one of the better organized in the state and the nine CDGM centers serving this area attest to the Negroes interest and ability to participate successfully without the power structure and (2) the poor poor-whites have been totally left out of the power structure's plans for CAP.

From the beginning the structure was determined to enter into the five-county C.M.I. program and they cared little to have anything slow them along this course. Because the Movement Negroes are so organized and actively concerned about what the structure was trying to do, they have been in the position of trying to slow down the action of the structure, allow community discussion and examination of what was being done and what could be done (i.e. possibilities other than CMI).

The Movement is really the epitome of community action - and for the most part with the poor. The position of the Movement Negroes has not been against CAP categorically, but only against a CAP that did not try to foster as much real community action as possible. Given the above statements, this immediately puts the Movement at odds with the structure's CAP and CMI. As can be seen in the notes given in the Calendar following, most of the acrivity surrounding CAP is the Movement attempting to force greater participation. It is ironic that the greatest amount of activity and even structure encouraged action (such as, community elections) preceded the setting up of our CAP and the entrance into CMI; now that we have CAP even extra advisory committee meetings are discouraged.

Information has always been very hard to come by. Of course, before getting into CMI, the people were reacting to the structure's moves. Once into CMI, the information from the Winona office and staff is very controlled with no effort being made to get it out to the "people" or to encourage community planning or discussion of programs. Only a minimal amount of information gets to Advisory members and the peoples' representative on the Board of Directors. The whites and only certain key Negroes have access to what is going on or being planned.

Of the programs so far instituted through CAP, none are solely CAP; all either have been had or could have been had without a CAP in the county. All have been instituted with practically no action on the part of the County Advisory Committee and none <u>really</u> come to grips with bettering the lot of the poor. One clearly did not need a CAP to get surplus food

through the Welfare Department of S.B.A. loans or the F.H.A. Feeder Pig Program or the Headstart. Neighborhood Youth Corps was a segregated program which can hardly be thought of as a program to alleviate the problems of the impoverished, jobless heads of families. The CAP Adult Education program as being planned by Winona provides no stipends for students.

These brief comments leave out the numerous examples which could be given of specific frustrations generated by the Holmes County CAP program. Hopefully the Calendar of CAP events with notes added will clarify the CAP situation in Holmes County.

Lorenzi
Holmes County
9/24/66

Calendar Of CAP Events

March 1965 - Meeting of CMDC (now CMI-Central Mississippi Inc.) at that time a five-county program (did not include Holmes). Holmes Co. legislator Hooker attended.

April 1965 - Another CMDC meeting which the Holmes legislator and also Holmes County supervisors attended. Harden Ervin, a "Hooker man", supposedly attends every subsequent meeting of the five-county CAP group.

November 1965 - Holmes Co. Movement Negro Earven Gibson first hears rumors that Charlie Wade, the Negro County Agent, and Robert Clark, a Negro schoolteacher, are on a Holmes County CAP Board.

Ralthus Hayes, then chairman of the Holmes County Freedom Democratic Party, tries to get information from Wade about CAP. Wade says, "That someone had told him he was on a committee but he knows notheing about anything."

March 3, 1966 - First public notice given about CAP. Newspaper announces a public meeting at the courthouse called by a supervisor-appointed six-man Holmes Co. CAP committee (composed of four whites and Wade and Clark). No report had ever been made about the appointment of such a committee. The announcement precedes the meeting date by only four days.

March 4 through March 7, 1966 - Holmes County Movement (FDP and community center) hold at least three different meetings on OEO, CAP and what should be done at the courthouse meeting, A draft proposal to serve as a base for community workshops is written and Mrs. Lewis is selected to present the proposal at the courhouse meeting in the name of the community center.

March 7, 1966 - Public meeting at the courthouse. (See the Kenney-Burton letter of March 23, 1966)

March 17, 1966 - Announcement made in newspapers that Community Elections will be held on March 31. Ervin made this announcement independently and without any prior meeting with the 12-man committee whose job was to discouss and plan elections.

The whites had decided even before the first courthouse meeting that they would give the Negroes (not poor whites, though) some elected representatives. They seem to have turned over the job of setting up election districts to Clark and Wade, who because of lack of knowledge set up bery unequal representation (for example, nn representation for plantation people who are probably one-third of the population). Some of this was later straightened out.

The Movement Negroes hoped to have the 12-man temporary borad really spend effort working on setting up districts and also preparing (through several meetings in each district) the people for carrying out the elections.

After discussion, three specific suggestions are made - (1) One Man-One Vote principle should guide the community elections to the Advisory Committee (not only Negro districts corrected by poor whites should be represented), (2) As much time as necessary should be taken to study CAP and the five-county CAP plan before elections are held, and (3) the 12-man board should set up workshops with the people in the districts to study CAP.

Throughout this period the Movement Negroes are holding regular community and county meetings and special meetings. Their concern is expressed over what they felt was being forced upon them too quickly; they discussed and attempted to plan strategy which would force CAP to be a program geared to the poor and requiring participation by the poor in planning.

March 21, 1966 - Twelve-man temporary board holds first meeting. It was held in a room to small to accomodate interested citizens, of whom there are many seeking entrance. Dr. Mallory, prominent Negro college president, respected by the whites, and one who managed to get single-purpose OEO funds for programs at her school, is the only non-member Negro who is allowed to attend. Only one, and that only partially, of the three March 20th suggestions were agreed to.

Later, the 12-man board meets with the spearheads and directs them to hold elections on March 31. Little real direction and obviously little attempt for community participation were discussed or encouraged. The meeting was closed with the Sheriff keeping all but the spearheads, the committee members and Dr. Mallory out.

March 31, 1966 - Community Elections held; thirty one representatives chosen. No whites showed up at election meetings. (except in Goodman and Pickens where a few white "big-shots" - non-poor- came and in some sense dominated the meetings.) In about 15 of the communities where the Movement is organized. (Movement organization means community action in many senses) reasonably strong Negroes were elected as representatives.

April 7, 1966 - Advisory Board of elected representatives meets. At the direction of Ervin, categories for getting 20 more representatives (such as; Mayors, Dept. of Education, Business, etc.) were agreed upon. In some vague way, several others are added to the board.

Spril 20, 1966 - Another of the continuing Movement meetings is held. The elected we shouldn't rush into CMI until the people have a chance for meetings and talking on what possivilities are open. Most elected Advisory members agree that they themselves need more information.

April 2. 1966 - Full Advisory Committee meets. Officers are elected. Mr. Robinson, a Negro from the Mississippi state OEO office (a Governor Johnson man), is present. He assures the many disgruntled representatives that going into CMI will not hinder 100% freedom of Holmes

County to run its CAP. Also dire predictions are made about how difficult it will be to get OEO funds without CMI. The vote is taken (and due, I believe, in a great extent to Rovinson's assurances) it is agreed to go into CMI. The four Board of Directors are elected (already the effects of going into CMI are felt as, according to CMI by-laws (which by the way were many times requested but never obtained by the Advisory members), the Advisory Board can only elect four of the six Directors. The County Supervisors appoint the other two. They are required to elect only three Negroes and one white since by the same by-laws the Board must be 50-50 racially (Holmes is 72% Negro). It is rightly assumed that the Supervisors will appoint two whites.

May 5,1966 - Board of Directors meets. Officers elected. The directors of Neighborhood Youth Corps (one Negro and one white---whose decision was that?) are selected from applications present --- even though the first public notice of a NYC directors job being open and applications being requested is made in the newspaper of that very same day. The one strong Movement person who is on the Board, Mrs. Montgomery, did not know until the meeting time about the NYC applications. It is obvious that only a few people have access to information.

One white application (on ly one was needed?) and nine Negro applications are gone over at the meeting. It is still a mystery how those few (mainly Negro schoolteachers) got the word on when, where, and to whom application were to go. This information control and mysterious way the favored (rarely the poor) get hired has characterized all CAP hiring in all programs.

June - First Monday of every month at 4:00 p.m. is the regular Holmes County Board of Directors meeting. These progress pretty regularly from that time until this.

Last Tuesday of every month at 7:00 p.m. is the regular Advisory Committee meeting. These also have continued regularly up to this time. Few of the whites ever attend the meetings. Little action is ever taken as direction of the programs are Winona controlled. The questions that do come up by the elected representatives are rarely answered satisfactorily by the Winona representatives or the Board of the Directors or the CAP staff whom they are directed. Part of this may be the "fault" of the Negroes through lack of information and inexperience. Mainly, howerer, it is the frustration of being part of a sham or paper organization (after all, Winona really has the control and the Headstart program, for example, needed little more than Advisory Committee okay at the beginning and then it ran along smoothly (that's questionable!) amd mysteriously by itself.).

In late summer OEO sent a representative who tried to correct, through suggestions at Advisory Committee meetings, the CMI and the powerlessness of the Advisory Committee. Commmnity spirit was revived. The majority of the elected representatives seemed to agree with and be encouraged that change was a-coming. We're all still waiting...

CITIZENS'BOARD OF INQUIRY ON CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP OF MISSISSIPPI

September 26, 1966

Memorandum to Board Members

I deeply appreciate your willingness to give time to this important task.

It is becoming apparent that there is a complexity of forces woven around the issue of refunding the CDGM project in Mississippi. OEO faces the threat that Senator Stennis will oppose the whole anti-poverty appropriation if CDGM is not killed. Therefore, it is understandable that they should try to avoid this catastrophe by promising to continue the program in the centers by changing the sponsoring agent, board and staff--in effect, all that has produced and sustained the program.

There is also apprehension in the White House not only about Senator Stennis' power over OEO appropriation but about his critical role in Viet Nam war appropriations. There is thus the possibility that all those who are concerned about maintaining a continuity in the Headstart program in Mississippi--including of course members of this Board of Inquiry--will be under some pressure from high administration sources. I wanted to alert you to this.

The stance that the co-chairmen of the Board of Inquiry have taken thus far, has been that we believe the CDGM program to be so important that it must succeed. It has been hailed as a model of the way in which local people can operate a community serving agency with imagination and excitement. In a very short span of time, people who have been living in almost medieval serfdom have come to positions of community leadership. This seems to be of the essence of the original hope of the Economic Opportunity Act. If this program founders or if it is sabotaged by those who do not want Negro people in Mississippi to move forward, then it weakens, if not destroys, the whole OEO program premises.

Therefore, we must look both at the strengths of the program, and at the charges of failure. The central question is: Are these charges true, and if they are true, are they severe enough flaws so as to be fatal to the program.

The charges in brief are: financial irresponsibility, inefficient attention to OEO management procedures, insufficient rapport with the white community, too close identification with civil rights movements.

It is our responsibility as Inquirers to see documentation of these charges if it exists, and also to isolate other factors that are involved, which may underly the charges.

We are working under real time pressure. We must assemble a final report by October 8--the only meeting date scheduled for our Committee. Therefore in order to facilitate orderly procedure, I am asking all Board members visiting Mississippi to use a standard report sheet on interviews. In addition, I would like from each member of the Board some written expression of their interim opinion of the matter, before October 8. These should be sent to me c/o Swift Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Please feel free to call me at any time. I can be reached in Chicago, Area Code 312, Mi. 3-0800, extension 4042 or 288-2487.

Dr. Robert Spike
Co-Chairman
Citizens' Board of Inquiry on CDGM

WESTERN UNION
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W. A. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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=DR KENNETH NEIGH ROOM 1108

475 RIVERSIDE DR NYK =

=DEAR SIR: = =AT THE REQUEST OF EDGAR CARROLL, MARY HOLMES JUNIOR COLLEGE, =THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS FURNISHED RELATIVE TO THE ACCOUNTING =SYSTEM AND FINANCIAL STATUS OF CDGM, HEAD START PROGRAM, MISSISSIPPI =CAP 66-3211. = =IN OUR OPINION, AS INDEPENDENT ACCOUNTANTS, THE ACCOUNTING = SYSTEM DESIGNED FOR AND EMPLOYED BY MARY HOLMES JUNIOR COLLEGE =AND CDGM IN ADMINISTERING AND MAKING AN ACCOUNTING FOR FUNDS =USED IN CONNECTION WITH THE ABOVE IDENTIFIED HEAD START PROGRAM =IS SUFFICIENTLY ADEQUATE AND COMPLETE AS TO COMPLY WITH USUAL =AND NORMAL STANDARDS OF BUSINESS AND FINANCIAL CONTROL AND =ACCOUNTABILITY EXPECTED OF AN ACCOUNTING SYSTEM IN ACCORDANCE =WITH GENERALLY ACCEPTED BUSINESS AND FINANCIAL STANARDS. = =IT IS OUR FURTHER BELIEF THAT THE SYSTEM AS USED AND MAINTAINED =THROUGHOUT THE COURSE OF THIS PROGRAM DOES AFFORD A COMPLETE =AND ACCURATE ACCOUNTING OF ALL FUNDS ENTRUSTED TO THE GRANTEE =FOR USE IN THE ABOVE IDENTIFIED PROGRAM. = =THE ACCOUNTING SYSTEM CANNOT PURPORT TO ATTEST TO THE SUBSEQUENT =OR ULTIMATE USE MADE OF SERVICES OR FACILITIES PURCHASED BEYOND =THE REPRESENTATIONS AND DOCUMENTATION SUPPLIED BY MANAGEMENT =AND OPERATING PERSONNEL. IT HAS NOT BEEN THE FUNCTION OF THE =ACCOUNTING

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

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SYSTEM TO QUESTION OR DICTATE MANAGEMENT'S JUDGEMENT =
=DECISIONS AND OPERATING ROUTINES OTHER THAN TO INSURE
THAT =EXPENDITURES HAVE BEEN FOR A CATEGORY AUTHORIZED
UNDER THE =CAP GUIDELINES AND IN AMOUNTS AUTHORIZED
UNDER THE BUDGET. =ANY DEVIATIONS OR IRREGULARITIES FROM
THE ABOVE, DISCOVERED =BY THE ACCOUNTING DEPARTMENT, HAVE
BEEN REPORTED, IN WRITING, =TO MANAGEMENT AND THE OEO.
= =IT IS OUR FURTHER BELIEF THAT THE ACCOUNTING SYSTEM
TOGETHER =WITH OTHER DOCUMENTARY ROUTINES AND GUIDELINE
STANDARDS ARE =SUFFICIENT AS TO INSURE THAT ALL
EXPENDITURES MADE UNDER THE =PROGRAM AND ENTERED IN THE

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ACCOUNTS AND RECORDS ARE PROPERLY =DOCUMENTED AND ARE IN
ACCORD WITH THE CAP GUIDELINES AND THE =BUDGE AS
AUTHORIZED FOR THIS GRANT EXCEPT AND UNLESS SUCH
=PRESCRIBED PROCEDURES ARE DELIBERATELY OR INADVERTENTLY
CIRCUMVENTED =BY MANAGEMENT. =IT IS OUR FURTHER BELIEF
THAT PERIODIC FINANCIAL STATEMENTS =PREPARED BY THOSE
RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ACCOUNTING SYSTEM AND =FURNISHED TO
MANAGEMENT ON A RECURRING PERIODIC BASIS HAVE =BEEN AND
ARE SUFFICIENT AS TO CURRENTLY AND ADEQUATELY APPRAISE =
MANAGEMENT AND INTERESTED GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AND OFFICIALS
=OF THE TRUE FINANCIAL STATUS OF THIS GRANT AND THE

WU1201 (R2-65) THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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PROGRAM =BEING ADMINISTERED THEREUNDER AT ALL TIMES. = =
=IT IS OUR FURTHER BELIEF THAT ALL EXPENDITURES TO DTE AND
THOSE =PROJECTED FOR THE FUTURE IN CONNECTION WITH THE
EXECUTION OF =THIS PROGRAM HAVE BEEN AND WILL BE IN
AMOUNTS NOT IN EXCESS =OF THOSE AUTHORI=ED UNDER THE BUDGET
FOR THIS GRANT, AND SUPPORTED =BY DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE IN
SUPPORT OF SAID EXPENDITURE. YOURS VERY TRULY = =
ERNST & ERNST A N MORGAN PARTNER :

AO
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Rabbi Richard Hirsch, Secretary
~~Clyde Ellis, Treasurer~~

Richard W. Boone
Executive Director

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Yesterday, the Office of Economic Opportunity stated publicly what Senators Stennis and Eastland had announced on Friday--that the Child Development Group of Mississippi which serves some 13,000 poor children in the State would not be refunded.

Richard W. Boone, Executive Director of the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty today issued this statement:

> "I am shocked but not surprised by the announcement of the Office of Economic Opportunity that the Child Development Group would not be refunded. It has been apparent for some time now that the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Administration have joined with Senators Stennis and Eastland to launch a "New Plantation Policy" of which the poor of Mississippi are the chief victims.

"The Administration and the Office of Economic Opportunity must take full responsibility for what can only be considered a crass political sell out of the poor to the very forces which have fought to keep them in bondage for so long.

"The news that a new 12-man group-- Action for Progress in Mississippi--will take over the CDGM program fits into this policy completely.

"The new group was formed in secret. It was formed without a single representative of the poor. It was announced before it has held a single meeting, and without the slightest consultation with the Child Development Group of Mississippi's democratically elected board of directors and more than 100 democratically elected community committees. Moreover, there is no representative of organized labor and no professional representative with the slightest experience in running pre-school programs for poor children.

"While the Child Development Group of Mississippi program has had its growing pains, its administration has been vouched for by both the distinguished accounting firm of Ernst and Ernst and the management firm of Klein and Saks. The accounting system was developed in close cooperation with OEO. Of course no program run by poor people can be expected to run perfectly. But the distorted nature of the charges against CDGM only underscore the cynically political nature of the decision. OEO officials approved the spending of $35,000 for a film about CDGM which is being distributed nationally as a teacher training film for developing more pre-school programs.

"As part and parcel of the 'New Plantation Policy' of the OEO in Mississippi has been an unparalleled Federal investigation of the CDGM programs. Thousands upon thousands of taxpayers' dollars have been spent looking into a program that has won the plaudits of experts around the Nation, and which was described by Sargent Shriver himself as 'a success in fulfilling the purpose of the program, which is what Congress asked us to do'. These investigatory methods have often been extremely questionable.

"There has been no corresponding investigation of community action programs in Mississippi which by any fair standard must be judged some of the worst in the Nation.

"The people of Mississippi are deeply disturbed by this 'poor be damned' policy, and they will be coming together in Jackson next Saturday at a mass meeting to let their feelings be known. At this meeting the people of Mississippi will decide what action they will take to preserve this vital program. At the same time, a distinguished citizens' board of inquiry has been in Mississippi for the past two weeks looking into the Child Development Group program and comparing it with other anti-poverty programs in Mississippi. Its impartial report will be made public and should be fully weighed and assessed by all Americans who are fighting to eliminate poverty in this Nation.

"The Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty wishes to reiterate its four-point program on CDGM:

1) The Federal Government should refund the Child Development Group of Mississippi;

2) That OEO can work with the present CDGM board to improve the program;

3) That the CDGM should consider expanding its Board to include other segments of the community which could contribute to the program.

4) OEO must reform local community action programs in Mississippi so that they will gain the confidence of the thousands of poor people in the State. Only then should there by any move to merge CDGM groups with CAP programs."

October 4, 1966

KLEIN & SAKS, INC.
MANAGEMENT CONSULTANTS
1001 CONNECTICUT AVENUE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

TELEPHONE: (202) 393-0227 CABLE ADDRESS: KLEINSAKS

September 23, 1966

Mr. Richard Boone
Executive Director
Citizens Crusade Against Poverty
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Boone:

In response to your inquiry, we are happy to give you our appraisal of the administration of the Child Development Group of Mississippi Head Start Project.

The administrative system beginning in 1965 was beset by the deficiencies common to the start-up period of any substantial new industrial, governmental or voluntary enterprise. This was especially true in this project because, by definition, it is operated by the people of the communities involved, and in addition to providing kindergartens and pre-school training for children, it trains teachers, food buyers, cooks, health aides, secretaries, transporters of children, providers of facilities, and administrators.

Its organizational structure is fundamentally based on the Community Committee which is truly and democratically elected by the people of the community. In the phase of the program just being completed, there are 121 such Community Committees in 28 counties of the State of Mississippi. The members of the Committees serve without pay. Through their Chairmen, they recruit and nominate the employees for operating the Head Start Centers, subject to confirmation by the Central Staff and Board of the Child Development Group of Mississippi.

A majority of this Board are elected from the communities, with a minority of co-opted members from various professions and sectors of the economy.

The Board operates in accord with the authorizations of Mary Holmes Junior College, the grantee, the regulations of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the grantor, and the law enacted by the Congress establishing the Anti-Poverty Program.

The Board considers carefully and acts on all important matters of policy and operation. Its decisions are carried out through a Director and Central and Area Staff. The Board is very fortunate in having as its Director Mr. John Mudd, who has been extraordinarily effective in organizing and administering this large, complex, and important program.

Beginning in February 1966, significant advances were made by the CDGM management in the administration system, profiting from the experience of the 1965 activities. Among these was the system of financial controls which the distinguished public accounting firm of Ernst & Ernst assisted the CDGM administration in developing and installing. Ernst & Ernst provided the Controller to carry out the pre-audit functions on all disbursements, and this system assured that no dollar has been spent in any segment of the program beyond the budget authorized for that segment, and assured that the proper documentation was present and that the expenditures were made according to the system of financial controls approved by the Office of Economic Opportunity. This financial control system was and continues to be a major factor in the continuing improvement of the administration of CDGM.

The work of Klein & Saks has been to further the progress of CDGM development by providing a system in which performance and financial information are brought together for the use of management. This system represents a logical and substantial step forward in the development of CDGM. It does not constitute a revolutionary change; it is rather a further step forward in the development of the over-all administration of CDGM.

Through this system, the management of CDGM knows what is being done and how much it is costing, by Centers, by Areas, and in total. The information is presented on a weekly basis for all aspects of the program except payroll, which is presented every two weeks, and facilities leasing, which is presented every four weeks. The expenditures are available as totals and in terms of cost per child for the various functions, both for the week or weeks just ended, and cumulatively.

The system is simple and direct, and will produce timely and accurate data on performance and cost as tools for the effective management of CDGM.

Although our task has been concerned primarily with the administrative rather than the substantive aspects of the program, we must record our very favorable impression of it,

evident in the children in the Centers and in the training and development of the adults involved in all aspects of the program at all the levels.

In our opinion this enterprise is making a great and valuable contribution to the people and to the economy of Mississippi and the United States.

Faithfully yours,

Richard L. Davies

President

RLDavies:rt

JACKSON DAILY NEWS

Mississippi's Greatest Newspaper

74th YEAR VOL. 74 NO. 223 ASSOCIATED PRESS JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1966

12 Man Board Replaces CDGM

Made Up Of White And Negro Leaders

By BILLY RAINEY
Daily News Staff Writer

The controversial Child Development Group of Mississippi — chief recipient of federal antipoverty funds in this state — will be replaced next month by a 12-man board of white and Negro leaders set up recently under the personal supervision of antipoverty director Sargent Shriver, a reliable source said today.

The new board, headed by industrialist Owen Cooper of Yazoo City and Negro leader Aaron Henry of Clarksdale, is scheduled to take oved the programs now operated by CDGM and expand into 60 other Mississippi counties presently without "community action" programs, an informed source said today.

Meanwhile from Washington, Sen. John C. Stennis, D-Miss., a CDGM critic said:

"I have been working toward turning this project over to local responsible people where it should be and should have been all the time. Progress at this time is satisfactory and I have been assured that a very significant announcement will be made very shortly.

"I fully expect the CDGM group to be replaced. I shall continue to follow this matter closely and will be ready to move in any appropriate way to see that the funds are properly spent and that the program is conducted in the way that it should be conducted."

The new group, called Action for Progress in Mississippi, was chartered last Saturday by Gov. Paul B. Johnson, the source said.

In addition to Cooper an Henry, the new board includes

—Hodding Carter III o Greenville, newspaper publisher.

—Leroy Percy of Greenville, prominent landowner.

—The Rev. R. L. T. Smith of Jackson, Negro minister and prosperous businessman.

—Dr. W. P. Davis of Jackson, white Baptist minister who serves as president of the Mississippi Baptist Seminary for Negroes.

—Oliver Emmerich of McComb, newspaper publisher.

—Charles Young of Meridian, Negro businessman and president of the Mississippi Democratic Conference.

—Oscar Carro of Clarksdale, plantation owner.

—George Owen, Negro president of Tougaloo College.

—The Rev. M. W. Lindsey of West Point, a Negro minister.

—James Gilliam of Clarksdale, Negro Masonic leader.

The source said that the 12-man board would eventually be expanded to include 18 members.

It was also revealed that the CDGM funds have been extended until Oct. 15 to give the new board time to set up its operation.

CDGM received $5.6 million in poverty funds during the current fiscal year and has asked for $20.3 million for the next fiscal year. It has operated 121 Head Start programs in 28 counties.

The source said tha a national review board from the Office of Economic Opportunity is presently in Mississippi examining the CDGM operation and that it is to file its report next week.

The new board was apparently formed without the knowledge of CDGM officials and is already under attack from some civil rights groups around the state because it does not include any poor people.

CDGM has been under attack from Sen. John C. Stennis, D-Miss., who has charged that the group took part in civil rights activities and that there was considerable misuse of federal funds by the organization.

One of the main criticism of CDGM has been that it has among its personnel a number of members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which has recently been under attack throughout the nation because of the "black power" movement advocated by its leader, Stokely Carmichael.

The source said also, that the new board is predominately protestant in an effort to counteract criticism within the state that the STAR program, another phase of the antipoverty program, is predominately Catholic. The STAR program is operated by the Natchez-Jackson Diocese of the Catholic Church.

Washington STAR — Oct 4, Page 1

OEO Charged With Spying On Poverty Project in South

By ROBERT WALTERS
Star Staff Writer

The Office of Economic Opportunity has been accused of ordering six temporary employes—college students here—disguise themselves as civil rights workers to investigate an antipoverty project in Mississippi.

The allegation was disclosed shortly after OEO announced yesterday that it would no longer finance the project in question—a statewide program long opposed by Sen. John C. Stennis, D-Miss.

Stennis and other state political leaders had charged that project funds, equipment and personnel were misused to support civil rights activities, in violation of federal law.

The accusation against OEO was lodged by six Howard University Law School students who worked for the agency last summer. They contend they were told to act and dress like civil rights workers in order to infiltrate the project and check on whether funds were misused.

Dean Joins Controvery

Joining the controversy, the dean of the law school questioned whether his students should have been used in that manner, and called on OEO to answer their accusations.

An OEO official denied "misuse" of the students.

The OEO announcement opened a new round of debate in the year-long dispute over the future of one of the country's largest and most controversial antipoverty projects for pre-school children.

The project was organized by the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM) and was organized in the summer of 1965 with a $1.5 million federal grant. Last February, it received another $5.6 million from OEO for a year-round program.

That six-month grant expired last week and a new CDGM request for $20.3 million was not approved. CDGM has received only a 15-day extension for the use of administrative funds and that will expire at the middle of this month.

Refinancing Held Barred

OEO Director R. Sargent Shriver said CDGM "in its present organizational form, with its present administrative and operating personnel, cannot lawfully be refinanced by OEO."

Shriver's decision was based, in part, on reports compiled by his agency's Office of Inspection, established to make internal checks on the conduct of antipoverty programs across the country.

Dean Clarence C. Ferguson of Howard's Law School has asked Shriver to explain the use of six of his students, working as summer employes in the Office of Inspection.

All six complained by letter to Ferguson in late summer that they were told by OEO officials to dress in civil rights "movement clothes" — blue jeans, sweat shirts and similar apparel —and attempt to infiltate the CDGM program.

The Mississippi program, operated under Project Head Start for pre-school youngsters, served primarily Negro children at 121 centers in 28 Mississippi counties.

The Howard students charged that the Inspection Office was racially discriminatory and that they were dispatched specifically to gather derogatory information that would lead to the decision to halt the program.

Eight students were asked to make the trip. Seven were from Howard, but one refused to go. The eighth was a Yale University student, also a summer employe, and he did go.

Edgar May, director of the Inspection Office, said yesterday that his field inspectors always were dispatched with orders to identify themselves to project leaders and participants involved.

Charge Denied

"No inspector from this office has ever been sent to Mississippi or elsewhere with orders to impersonate civil rights workers," May said.

When Ferguson heard first reports of the disputed inspection trips in August, he telegraphed Shriver and asked for explanation. Shriver responded with a request for specific information, which Ferguson supplied in a letter. That letter has not been answered.

Donald M. Baker, OEO's general counsel, in a memo to Shriver last week, called for a halt in federal financing of CDGM on these grounds:

1. "The administrative and management deficiencies are so manifold as to require a complete reconstitution and reorganization if they are to be eliminated. There is no reason of basis for thinking this can or will be done."

2. "In most centers, the (CDGM) program amounts, at best, to custodial day-care by persons untrained and unskilled, under conditions of inadequate facilities. The program has been increasingly oriented toward the

See POVERTY, Page A-6

POVERTY

Continued From Page A-1

economic needs of adults rather than the educational and development needs of children."

3. "CDGM is not disposed toward the development of biracial community action agencies which could mount broader-based programs contemplated under . . . the Economic Opportunity Act."

OEO officials said their inspection and audit teams found deficient employe records, conflict of interest, excessive salaries, nepotism, inadequate supervision, questionable contract procedures and other similar examples of mismanagement.

Shriver's statement said an "outstanding biracial group in Mississippi" had been formed to carry on the pre-school program, but it has not yet formally been authorized to take over the CDGM work.

Although the OEO decision apparently is a final one, opposition to it has been mounting for several days. A rally to protest the cancellation of the CDGM funds has been scheduled for Saturday in Jackson and organizers expect more than 10,000 persons to attend.

The Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, a coalition of several dozen labor, religious and civic organizations, has begun to organize northern opposition to the government decision.

CDGM
CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP of MISSISSIPPI
210 SOUTH LAMAR STREET 290 MILNER BUILDING
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39201
Telephone: (601) 948-6513

Rev. James F. McRee
Chairman
Board of Directors

John H. Madd
Director

October 4, 1966

Dear Committee of Inquiry member,

The enclosed materials should be added to the bound volume you already have.

You can expect additional materials on the formation of the "alternative" board to CDGM, Mississippi Action for Progress, before the week is out and in time for your meeting Saturday, October 8.

Sincerely,

David Emmons

David Emmons

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination.

See Board Inquiry CDGM

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PAUL ANTHONY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA

RE TELEGRAM OF OCTOBER 2, CITIZENS' BOARD OF INQUIRY ON CDGM WILL MEET SATURDAY, OCTOBER 8 AT AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES, 71 WORTH STREET, 5TH FLOOR CONFERENCE ROOM AT 10:00 A.M., NEW YORK CITY. PLEASE MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO ATTEND.

DR. ROBERT SPIKE.

2 CDGM 8 71 5TH 10:00 A.M.

SF1201(R2-65)

Fine
~~Chairman Board~~
Board of Inquiry
CS 11/10

November 4, 1966

Dr. Jerald C. Brauer
Dean
The Divinity School
The University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Dear Mr. Brauer:

Thank you so much for forwarding the letter from Dr. Spike.

I do, indeed, share with you the deepest sense of loss at the death of this good and magnificent man.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO · ILLINOIS 60637
THE DIVINITY SCHOOL

Swift Hall

(3)

November 1, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The enclosed letter to you from Dr. Robert Spike was dictated by him on the Friday before he left for his fateful trip to Columbus, Ohio.

For understandable reasons, Dr. Spike's secretary, Mrs. Krevitz, was delayed in transcribing his final correspondence. The letter was signed by Mrs. Krevitz on behalf of Dr. Spike, and we forward it to you at this time because it is a message of appreciation for your contribution to a project that was most important to Robert Spike.

I am sure you share with us a deep sense of loss at the death of this most active humanitarian.

Sincerely yours,

Jerald C. Brauer
Dean

JCB:sk

FRIENDS OF THE CHILDREN OF MISSISSIPPI

507½ North Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi
354-1578

ES
MS-file CDGM

Dear Friend:

We have never had the opportunity to thank you directly for the support which you are providing the Child Development Group of Mississippi in its fight for refunding. The existence of the National Citizens' Committee has been a significant factor in keeping before the public the profound moral and social issues about the philosophy of the poverty program which the CDGM battle has raised.

Your support has been matched many times over by the continuing commitment of thousands of poor Mississippians to CDGM. The people of Mississippi are currently operating 67 Centers on a volunteer basis with no outside support, serving more than 4,000 children. Their experience in CDGM has helped make them unwilling to accept any programs which are not responsive to their needs, and in which they do not have a voice.

The fight is far from over. If anything, the support for CDGM, both in-state and out-of-state, must intensify in order to insure that OEO actually follows through in the rectification of its tragic error.

We are enclosing some material on CDGM which you may not yet have seen. This will be followed in the near future by additional material in the hope that we can remain in regular contact.

We welcome your letters and your comments.

Sincerely,

John Mudd

John Mudd,
Director

JM:lr

CARL T. ROWAN

Compromise May Save Mississippi Poverty Plan

The Office of Economic Opportunity is going to grant additional funds to the Child Development Group of Mississippi if a face-saving compromise can be arranged.

If so, toss a bouquet to Senator Jacob Javits, R-N.Y., for pressing quietly to ensure that justice is done to CDGM and that the poverty program is not grievously damaged by the controversy over this Head Start project.

Another factor in OEO's new inclination to keep CDGM alive is a 68-page "secret" report on the Mississippi project by the General Accounting Office.

I have seen this report on 18 allegations against CDGM, including fiscal irregularities, nepotism and the illegal use of Head Start funds for civil rights marches and voter registration projects.

The report convinces me that either GAO is woefully inept at digging out the truth or CDGM has been given the sharp end of a rusty knife.

Sure, the report indicates a lot of administrative faults in CDGM but nothing like what you would expect in a group of people, many poor and poorly educated, trying to lift themselves by their bootstaps even while acting like a government bureaucracy.

The cases of "nepotism" are laughably piddling. If they justify OEO's cutting off $5.6 million, then Congress is justified in impeaching President Johnson for having the Bundy brothers, the Moyers brothers or the Rostow brothers on the government payroll simultaneously.

Fiscal irregularities? The practices in some CDGM units were a scream. If Mary wanted off Tuesday, she got Cousin Sally to work. The timecard showed Mary present, so Mary was paid. Then Mary paid Cousin Sally. A lot of those poor kids in Mississippi didn't have the word as to how much these short ends bother big city auditors—although they resort to much more devious tactics in Washington just to keep the bookkeeping "simple."

That "frightful" bill of particulars against CDGM made much of reports by the Mississippi gestapo that CDGM cars were spotted at the James Meredith march and around voter registration sites. The GAO report leaves me fairly convinced that these technical violations did occur. Here you've got to allow for a bias that makes me chuckle because people who have seen tax dollars used for a century to keep them in bondage have finally managed to use a tax buck or two to liberate themselves.

But, aside from my admitted bias, I couldn't become indignant about "misuse" of those vehicles, because I live in Washington. Each weekday I see government vehicles dropping kids off at my boy's school; I see government cars hauling wives to beauty parlors and department stores or myriad bureaucrats to innumerable cocktail parties.

Fiscal Irregularity? Hah!

OEO officials now concede privately that the "fiscal" business was just an excuse used to cut off CDGM because no one wanted to give "the real reason." That is that certain slick characters supposedly were using CDGM funds to promote "black power," black separatism, the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC) and other dangerous black racists.

GAO checked on the charge that the Rev. James McRee, chairman of CDGM's board, is one of the most dangerous of these. I laughed my way through GAO's report, which suggests McRee is anything but a wild man. GAO even quotes the white police chief in Canton, Miss., as saying that McRee is out of favor with the radicals, that the chief "had no knowledge of that Reverend McRee had advocated violence or militancy as a solution to local problems."

How dangerous can a Mississippi preacher get?!

Some people in OEO insist that the "black power" danger was there but that GAO didn't know how to dig it out, the way Senators James Eastland and John Stennis and the FBI do. I'll bet.

In any event, OEO seems ready to believe Javits, who holds that the poverty program will be the victim if OEO tries simply to replace CDGM with Mississippi Action for Progress, a new, secretly organized group.

MAP represents interracial progress, by Mississippi standards, but its charter binds it to working with and through the governor. Sargent Shriver, OEO director, has just had one of his Mississippi grants "vetoed" by the governor, a pretty good clue as to how progressive MAP can be.

So the end of this mess is in sight if OEO can lick its wounds, swallow a bit of pride and decide that Mississippi and the OEO budget are big enough for both MAP and CDGM.

CDGM WILL GET REFUNDED!
THE CHARGES AGAINST CDGM ARE RIDICULOUS!

So says this newspaper column by Carl Rowan, a respected journalist, former head of the U.S. Information Agency, former ambassador to Finland, an appointee of both President Kennedy and President Johnson.

This column appeared in newspapers from Maine to Florida, to Hawaii. Among the newspapers in which this column ran are:

The Washington Star
The Los Angeles Times
The Chicago Daily News
The New York World Journal Tribune
The Detroit News
The Cleveland Plain Dealer
The San Francisco Examiner
The Indianapolis Star
The Boston Globe

THE NEW PLANTATIONS

MARVIN HOFFMAN and JOHN MUDD
Mr. Hoffman is director of Leadership Training for the Child Development Group of Mississippi. Mr. Mudd is the Group's executive director.

THE NATION
OCTOBER 24, 1966 35 cents

The tragedy of the poverty program, as it emerges today in Mississippi, one of the states where the need for it cries out most loudly, is that just when it is becoming possible to visualize the social processes necessary for effective "community action," this understanding has been made irrelevant and unusable by the impending emasculation and dismemberment of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The creative potential of OEO's programs and the courage of its leaders have been consumed by the expanding influence of a conservatism alarmed by Vietnam and fearing inflation, the increasing alienation of the poor who remain unaffected by its promise, and the disillusion of liberals over projects controlled by precisely those institutions whose failures made the program necessary in the first place.

Since the goals of the program necessarily aroused the hostility of conservatives, its only hope for survival was to create a grass-roots political constituency among the poor themselves. But the poor were not mobilized, and the poverty program has fallen by default to the active support of the big-city mayors who find in it another supply of oil for their machines, with the frustrated liberals acquiescing because they are unable to create any positive alternative. Given this unradical sponsorship, the poverty program, if it is to exist at all, will focus on "safe" programs such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps and conventional Head Start projects which, like traditional welfare activities, hold out no possibility of creating basic changes in the society. Ironically, the anti-poverty program, though conceived in the spirit of social reform, has had less effect on transforming existing institutions than the traditionally less reform-conscious courts.

The Community Action Program (CAP) was to be the revolutionary core of the original anti-poverty act passed by Congress. The bill stipulated city, county, or multi-county boards to be composed of representatives from government, private civic agencies and the poor, which would administer and coordinate all the anti-poverty efforts in their area. Most significant, and most often betrayed, was the call for "maximum feasible participation of the poor."

In Mississippi, as elsewhere in the country, disappointment with CAP has been twofold. First, what was "feasible" turned out to be a tokenism which allowed for only minimal and peripheral involvement of the poor. Second, the jump from social impotence to a seat alongside the members of the power structure unavoidably aroused in the poor feelings of inadequacy and fear. An intermediate stage in which the poor could develop skills and confidence through experience of controlling an organization or a program was neither perceived nor provided for. The OEO favored throwing the unevenly armed forces together to effect instant "community" — with predictable one-sided results.

The creation of the kind of community action originally envisioned requires certain essential preconditions. First, in locales where individuals come from vastly different backgrounds (as in Mississippi and in virtually every American area of poverty) there must be a sufficient consensus, a perception among the diverse groups of common problems, a mutual self-interest in their solution, and psychological readiness to accept the full implications of cooperation. Further, the poor must have the kinds of information and skills which are necessary to participate effectively. And finally, innovative plans for eliminating the *causes* of poverty must be developed and supported. The consideration of only stop-gap palliatives for poverty creates the illusion of action but none of the substance.

When these three preconditions are present, the concept of community action through the mobilization of all residents and groups to fight poverty is sound. When they are not present, it is OEO's *obligation* to insure their development rather than to condone the establishment of structures which falsely assume them.

The disastrous effects of overlooking such unpreparedness for community action are painfully obvious in Mississippi, where not a single community has met the preconditions described above. It is self-evident to those who have first-hand experience of the state that there *is* no community in Mississippi. There are several communities split along economic, religious and, most blatantly, along racial lines. Although the long-range common interests of the two racial communities may be apparent to an outside observer, they are invisible from within the society.

The white community wants no part of a program in which Negroes participate as equal partners, now or in the future. No effort to deal with the root causes of poverty is likely, since the social policy of the white power structure has been to preserve a sufficient supply of cheap unskilled labor and, at the point where this population becomes superfluous, to encourage emigration. One moderate resident of Canton, Miss., requested an audience with the president of the Chamber of Commerce following the tear gassing of the Meredith marchers. He expressed his displeasure with the police tactics and argued that programs such as federally subsidized housing for the Negro community should be initiated. "Oh," replied the C. of C. man, incredulous at the naïveté of the suggestion, "but if we do that, then they won't *leave*."

The poverty bill projected umbrella community action agencies as a way to coordinate local efforts. However, the commendable desire to avoid wastefulness and inefficiency has in practice provided a device for blocking the creation of "dangerous" projects which threaten existing power relationships. In Mississippi, the establishment of Community Action Programs is clearly motivated by the desire to control all poverty funds flowing into the community. Most counties in the state began forming their CAP boards in earnest only after independent groups like the Child Development Group of Mississippi raised the specter of economic autonomy. The implications of independent insti-

tutional forces with a broad popular base were not lost on local and state political leaders.

The considerable power inherent in CAP to prevent, rather than encourage, efforts to change the position of the poor can be seen in the process by which board members are typically selected. CAP boards in Mississippi are undemocratic and unrepresentative, frequently controlled by the county Board of Supervisors. In many counties this has created a situation in which White Citizens' Council members, Klansmen and police officials notorious for their mistreatment of Negroes sit on committees whose stated goals are to undo the damage for which they are largely responsible. As Fannie Lou Hamer said recently before a state-wide meeting of 2,000 Negroes in Jackson: "The people on those boards are the same people who were shooting at us in '63 and '64 — and OEO says that's okay!" Alongside these habitual custodians of local power sit Negro members of the community who are hand picked for their willingness to be parrots for the white community, on whom they remain economically dependent. The CAP boards also enjoy the cooperation of the "Negro power structure," which sees the new programs as a spawning ground for a leadership that might jeopardize its traditional position. One could hardly conceive of a less promising team of anti-poverty fighters.

OEO has made some effort (particularly in areas where protest from the Negro community has been most vocal) to make the CAP boards less blatantly unrepresentative. The usual solution has been to expand the current board by the election of additional poor Negro members. The number of new seats is never sufficient to wrest control of the board from its founders, and the poor Negro community remains powerless, and the more galled by its lack of "objective" grounds for complaint. In addition to these legitimate, but ultimately futile forms of election, cruder manipulative tactics are widespread. In one Mississippi county, when the existing board was informed by OEO that additional elections were necessary, it approached three Negroes and instructed them to call community election meetings. Their selective invitations brought out an audience which overwhelmingly elected the three to the board.

In summary, the CAP board structure in Mississippi is in direct conflict with the aims of community action stated in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The poor are again deprived of control of factors which most directly affect their own lives, and, as a result, lose the opportunity to acquire the competence which would allow them to sit as equals, able to represent effectively the claims of their group.

In fact, a traditional authoritarian pattern, which at best approaches humanitarian paternalism, is reinforced. The few immediate beneficiaries of the programs among the poor will receive a short-term boost to their incomes through their dole as "aides," but even these gains are contingent on the acceptance of whatever strings of dependency may be implicit. The danger of spawning such short-sighted poverty programs lies in the unwitting creation of a "low-level equilibrium trap" in which the human basis for continued growth is throttled rather than liberated.

What is needed, therefore, in Mississippi (and what is being deliberately rejected) is a training ground to provide poor people with new skills, confidence and competence, one in which they, as a group, can exercise control over programs which are more than hollow. The efforts of the Freedom Democratic Party and the Lowndes County movement have provided this kind of opportunity in politics—and to a certain extent, also, in economics, through the budding co-ops in Lowndes County and elsewhere. However, our primary concern here is with the "anti-poverty" bill and ways in which this intermediate stage of development can be provided for under it.

Since the direct control of CAP boards by the poor is unlikely, particularly in Mississippi, it is essential that government agencies become more receptive to the emergence of independent projects run by the poor.

A report of the House Committee on Education and Labor (No. 428, pp. 7-9) affirms that:

> The Congress has contemplated the existence of independent single-purpose agencies in the same community that [*sic*] a community-wide structure has been created. Such competitiveness and experimentation is appropriate in an area in which conclusive remedies have not yet been established.

This stated policy has hardly, if ever, been implemented, although it clearly would provide an ideal opportunity for groups that might otherwise be crushed under the heel of a Community Action Program which poor Negroes are unlikely to control in the present political environment.

Officials who fear that such projects constitute high risks must recognize that control by the poor does not necessarily imply the exclusion of competent professionals. When the help of specialists is needed, the poor have proved their ability to select it in their own best interests. An alliance of the poor and the professional on this basis holds out great promise for the fullest possible development of the human resources of the poor community. Such programs encourage democratization of the CAP structure from within by preparing the ground for an effective partnership between the currently divided groups in the community.

The Child Development Group of Mississippi is the only large poor-controlled and anti-poverty project in the state that has had the resources and the orientation to develop into an effective, creative force in the society. CDGM was organized in the spring of 1965 by professionals bent on regenerating an outmoded social order by working with the "untarnished" pre-school children, and representatives of the poor communities responsive to this new opportunity. With the encouragement of OEO, which had just begun to develop its nation-wide Head Start program, it grew far beyond its intended scope and found itself running a summer program for more than 6,000 children in eighty-odd communities.

At that early date, CAP boards had not yet been formed in the state and the Mississippi power structure suddenly found itself confronted with a force it did not control that enjoyed a government-paid budget of more than $500,000 a month. Support of the project was a daring political act by a young and pioneering OEO which has abruptly sunk into middle-aged conservatism, partially from the pressures exerted by Sen. John Stennis who made it pay dearly for

this encroachment on his home territory. Three of the four-hour hearings the Subcommittee on Appropriations held in October, 1965, on the $1.5 billion anti-poverty appropriation were devoted to a $1.4 million grant to CDGM.

As a result, OEO was far less bold when the request to refund CDGM was submitted in November of 1965. The money was not granted until late February, 1966, and only then after receiving considerable external encouragement from liberal organizations led by the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, a coalition of civil rights, religious and labor groups, supported by such strong voices as Martin Luther King and Walter Reuther. This new grant assigned $5.6 million to serve 9,000 children in 121 communities for six months. As it turned out, the demand for participation was so great that 12,000 children were enrolled. At that time, there was little legal basis for denying funds to

CDGM, since the formation of umbrella agency CAP boards was still just getting under way.

The second grant officially terminated on August 31, 1966, although certain aspects of the program were allowed to live through October 15. On October 3, OEO formally announced that it was rejecting CDGM's proposal for an additional year of service to more than 13,000 children. The CDGM achievement is to be disposed of in two ways. In counties where CAP boards now exist, control of the Head Start Program is transferred to them, the changeover to be expedited by an eighteen-man OEO task force which has been in the state for several weeks.

The larger allotment, encompassing all nineteen CDGM counties where there is no CAP board, as well as forty-one other non-CAP counties in the state, will go to a secretly formed group, Mississippi Action for Progress, Inc. (MAP), which became known to CDGM only when news of its existence was leaked to a local newspaper. The formation of this board was initiated directly by Sargent Shriver, who in August approached Mississippi NAACP leader Aaron Henry and industrialist Owen Cooper and instructed them to round up members for the substitute board. Henry, in particular, was informed that CDGM was guilty of gross administrative mismanagement which would make it impossible for OEO to continue the program. Details of this charge have recently been published and show no problems which were not internally correctable. They were made known to CDGM only after their release to the press, on the day when the grant was officially refused. The decision was transparently political.

Henry collected his brother-in-law, a political lieutenant in his home town of Clarksdale, and two Negro businessmen, who, together with Henry, formed the Negro backbone of the Mississippi Democratic Conference, a now almost defunct coalition around which national Democratic headquarters hoped to create a loyalist party after Mississippi gave 87 per cent of its vote to Goldwater in 1964.

The white membership of the board was characterized by its opposition to ex-Governor Barnett, which in Mississippi qualifies one as a moderate. Hodding Carter, III, a Greenville newpaper publisher, is an officer of the Young Democrats of Mississippi, another embryonic loyalist group which has thus far been unsuccessful in gaining any constituency. Other board members include a second newspaper publisher, two plantation owners, a wealthy industrialist and the white director of a Baptist Seminary for Negroes. All in all, the board conspicuously lacks representatives of the labor unions, of the poor and of Catholics, who already sponsor a state-wide adult literacy program funded by OEO.

Perhaps more damaging than this precedent for bald political use of poverty funds is the retreat to a pattern whereby leadership is selected from the top. In effect, the "substitute" board has all the characteristics of a gigantic CAP board, selected this time by OEO itself rather than by the County Board of Supervisors. The lack of participation by the poor, the clandestine formation and the tie-in to the existing power structure (the charter provides for eventual control of MAP by the governor himself) are all too familiar to us from our examination of community action programs. The funding of MAP will result in the containment of independent poverty programs such as already exist in the Delta counties of Bolivar, Panola and Tallahatchie, all of which will face their own battles for additional money before the end of the year. The development of new independent programs will be almost impossible.

The elimination of independent, Negro-controlled programs appears to be a relief to OEO, which has come to see CDGM as a divisive influence in local communities. It has provided the Negro community with the resources to prevent its "integration" into "legitimate" structures, and has provided jobs for poor people who might otherwise have to remain part of the existing system on terms which they do not control. In the eyes of the poverty program officials, this has fostered a kind of separation which is equated with black power, a fright concept today which blocks any rational thought about race problems. They ask: "If we support an independent, largely black-controlled project, are we not in effect federally subsidizing some form of black nationalism?"

The answer seems to be quite the opposite. In many ways

CDGM has been more in step with the stated goals of community action than the established community action agencies themselves. Since it is staffed, operated and controlled by the poor themselves, it is attacking one of the "root causes" of poverty. As a precondition to effective community action, the poor must obtain training and experience in exercising the responsibilities required for participation in the institutions of a highly structured society. By drawing people from the poor community into administrative and supervisory positions, while at the same time providing training in the necessary skills, CDGM was taking a major step in this direction.

In this context, black power means nothing more than developing the organization and skills already possessed by the white community, so that the two groups could relate to each other. In Mississippi, this would necessitate an intermediate period of what Christopher Jencks has called "paragovernmental" structures, within which the Negro community could compensate for centuries of powerlessness and the lack of opportunity to develop responsibility and decision-making skills.

Fears of a permanent system of parallel institutions are unfounded. (In addition, it should be emphasized, the continued existence of the K.K.K. organization and mentality which has led to public threats and intimidation of *whites* involved in these programs is an incomparably greater force toward separation and segregation.) Experience in CDGM had already begun to produce a better poverty program and a better community. In several counties in which it has been operating since its inception, CDGM-affiliated community people now sit on the CAP boards themselves and are in the process of building a bridge between the "parallel" operations, thus opening the possibilities of convergence in the near future. If CDGM were permitted to continue operating in the rest of the state, this pattern of increased community cohesiveness through the temporary support of intermediate parallel operations would no doubt multiply.

Instead, the parceling out of CDGM to MAP on the one hand and to existing CAP boards on the other, threatens to lead to what Negroes in the state have begun to speak of as the "New Plantation," on which the black man remains at the mercy of the boss man and the "head nigger," who stand between him and the decisions and choices which govern his life.

The parallels between these recent developments and the events of post-Reconstruction history are all too apparent. However, the actors may not perform their roles according to the old script. On October 8, 3,500 people attending a state-wide CDGM meeting in Jackson, voted to boycott the new MAP organization, to operate CDGM centers voluntarily until funds could be raised—from private sources, if necessary—and to seek a Congressional investigation of CAP agencies in Mississippi and a hearing for CDGM. In the Delta county of Sunflower, the home of both Senator Eastland and Fannie Lou Hamer, Negro parents have continued to operate their own Head Start program on a volunteer basis for the past eleven months, rather than subject their children to the already funded program run by the CAP board. Whether the stubborn integrity of this effort can be duplicated on a state-wide basis remains to be seen.

VIST of the LEFLORE COUNTY DELEGATION
to the JACKSON OEO OFFICE:

(NOTE: For the past several weeks, delegation of local people from counties all over the state have been comming into Jackson to speak to OEO official. Essentially, they have been demanding a voice in the choice of which programs will serve them and low this service will be rendered. Below is an example of on e such meeting, recorded immeditaly after it took place, which should provide you with a sense of the concerns that are currently being voiced by many Mississippians.)

Members of the delegation:

1. Mrs. Alice B. Lawrence Blackwell
2. Mrs. Eloise Sample
3. Mrs Sally Mae Gilbert
4. Mrs Minnie B. Lipset
5. Mrs. Mattie B. Thomas

OEO Official: Mrs. Lynn Kirk

"When I was a child I spoke as a child, but when I became a man I put away childish things. Now you'all still trying to treat us like children", said Mrs. Blackwell as she spoke to an OEO official, Lynn Kirk, about OEO's participation in the current CDGM crisis. The Leflore County Delegation raised the most significant issues involved in the War on Poverty. Five ladies from Delta Country, from the plantation land of Mississippi where people have been subjected to brutal treatment and to injustice, had come to tell an OEO official, what Democracy really means.

When the delegation asked the OEO official how Leflore County got slated as a MAP county, they were told that MAP was asked to come in. The delegation then asked who invited MAP. The official could not say-at any rate she would not disclose the names of the people who had invited MAP. Then the delegation asked if OEO didn't think it wrong to talk with only one or two people and then say that Leflore is a MAP county without consulting the poor people? Mrs. Sample asked,"Don't you think we should have some say so about the kind of program we want? Why is all the decision-making power in the hands of one or two people"? The official responded by saying, "but that's the way it's been for centuries." Mrs. Blackwell answered, "but we don't supposed to live under a dictatorship; we live in a Democracy: government of the people, for the people, and by the people."

Members of the delegation then went into detail about the kind of program CDGM was, the kind of conditions that exist in Leflore Country, and what CDGM was doing to improve those condition.

"We have parent from the plantation who send their children to the center; and we are learning to be better parents by understanding our children's the little bitty ones, learn all the various colors, sizes, and shapes. They look at a pitcure and tell original stories (something even the children in public school can't do), while we, the parents, would write the stories down for them. In CDGM we learned to help ourselves; we just didn't have to depend on somebody else. We built our own center, and we've been on volunteer basis since August when the funds was cut off. We planted a garden to raise food so we could feed the children. And since the White folks have found out that we'er trying to run volunteer, they done went up on our light bill; we had to pay $34.00 just forlights." The delegation went into various aspects of their program with the OEO official in Jackson, but to no avail.

The delegation then asked the OEO official about the kind of program MAP plans to run. The official replied that she didn't know any of the relevent particulars, at which time one of the members of the delegation raised the question- whywould OEO fund a program they didn't know anything about at all? The official then instructed the delegation to go to the MAP office and ask forthese things. (No delegation in the past has been able to secure any written information from the MAP office other then a three orfour page fact sheet which is a summary of what appeared in the newspaper.) The delegation told the official that they didn't wantMAP; they want CDGM. Mrs. Kirk responded by saying that Sargeant Shriver says that CDGM is dead, Mrs. Sample asked Mrs. Kirk to put that statement in writing and sign her name to it because she hadn't heard or read that Sargeant Shriver had said that, and she wanted to send that statement to Shriver had said that, and she wanted to send that statement to Shriver and ask him if he had instructed his staff to say that, and if it were true. Mrs. Kirk refused to put this statement in writing because she say no reason to repeat what Shriver had said. Mrs. Sample saked for this statement three times and Kirk "got a little vexed and left the room for a while".

Another issue which the delegation raised was why OEO, when they found things wrong with administration of the CDGM program, didn"t go to the CDGM Board first, before the program closed, and tell them about the problems and help them work the difficulties out. Mrs. Blackwell put it very succinctly when she quoted from the Bible: "Lay hands suddenly on NO man". Mrs. Kirk responded by saying thatOEO could not get around to every place at once. A member of the group stated that it seemed to her that OEO thinks that because you'er poor you can't think. Mrs. Kirk's response was that MAP is here, has money, and that the thing for people in Lefore County to do is to work with MAP, because if they don't they won't get a progam at all. CDGM is dead, she repeated, and by not working with MAP all the people are really doing is depriving the children. Thedelegation's response to this was that they would

deprive their children of much more by submitting them to an unjust and arbitrary decision; that the little freedom they now have was won throughsweat and blood, and if they submit to what they know is wrong then their children would not only be at the point where they wouldneed a head start, but they would be thrown back for another century to a state of dependency and helplessness.

FAST FOR FREEDOM

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CDM
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See Board of Inquiry CA 45

THE ASSOCIATED COMMUNITIES OF
SUNFLOWER COUNTY (MISSISSIPPI)

A sketch of one of the groups being
supported by the Fast for Freedom

On October 2, the Office of Economic Opportunity announced that it would no longer provide funds for the operation of 84 pre-school centers serving 15,000 poor children throughout Mississippi. The Mississippi Head Start program, administered by the Child Development Group of Mississippi, had fallen to the political pressures of Senators Eastland and Stennis of Mississippi. Although Sargent Shriver had said himself that this program "was a success in fulfilling the purpose of the program," political pressures proved stronger than concern for the children of Mississippi, and the program was abandoned.

Many of these centers have refused to fold up their programs, and have continued to run through the work of volunteers and the contributions of outside sources. Funds from the 1965 Thanksgiving Fast have been a part of this effort, and are now being used to support the six centers which are continuing in Sunflower County, with 509 children presently enrolled. Funds from the 1966 Fast will be used to continue this support by supplying lunches for these children.

The unique virtue of these centers is that they are truly run by local people, thoses who the centers are actually serving. Thus, in addition to the work being done with four and five year old children, preparing them to enter the school system without the usual handicaps of poverty children, work is being done with the adults of Sunflower County, as they find that they can have some control over their lives, that they can express their needs and have them heard, that they can administer an organization serving their basic needs. This sense of involvement is the very basis of full participation in American society. People will not take steps to improve their conditions until they believe that there is something effective that they can do. The preschool centers of the Associated Communities of Sunflower County are demonstrating that such effective steps are indeed possible.

SUNFLOWER CO. CENTERS

(over)

RETURN TO NSA IMMEDIATELY

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
2115 S STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008 • 202/387-5100 • CABLE/NATSTUD

SOME OPINIONS OF THESE PRE-SCHOOL CENTERS

"With respect to the children. . .the program was of the highest calibre and must be considered a striking success - whether judged in terms of nutrition, medical care, cognitive development, socialization and psychological well-being.

"Similarly, with respect to the parents, the poor, and the wider community, the Board found a program which realized the fullest potential of Head Start as a program for educating the child, strengthening the family and enabling the poor to participate in lifting themselves and their children out of poverty.

(report of the Board of Inquiry of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty -- October 12, 1966)

"Not only do the children have a chance, but the parents have a chance to wake up to the fact that they are individuals with rights to think, act, and choose for themselves."

(Mrs. Esther M. Holms, St. John Center)

"Working with the program, we learned many things that will help us in our own homes, things such as not using such strict discipline or spanking children all the time. My two youngest children attended the center. I can see a real difference between them and the older ones. Two of my oldest didn't pass the first grade, but last year my next to youngest went into an integrated school and received excellent marks. The baby went this fall and wasn't afraid."

(Mrs. Elizabeth Rankin, Moss Point, Mississippi)

November 17, 1966:

Fifth Annual Thanksgiving Fast For Freedom

On Thursday, November 17, students throughout the country will participate in the FIFTH ANNUAL THANKSGIVING FAST FOR FREEDOM. As in past years, students will voluntarily give up their evening meal in a coordinated fast so that impoverished Negroes in the South may eat. The money thus saved will be contributed to a central fund which supports programs of food distribution and self-help cooperatives in the South. Last year's Fast involved an estimated 75,000 students and raised over $26,000. This year, the THANKSGIVING FAST FOR FREEDOM will continue the work toward economic independence for Southern Negroes that was begun with this money.

- Money from the 1965-66 Fast is providing vital support for the Poor People's Corporation, a group of fifteen cooperatives run locally by Negroes in Mississippi.

- Money from the 1965-66 Fast is financing projects in twenty South Carolina counties working for the introduction of county food distribution programs.

- Money from the 1965-66 Fast is supporting a cement-block cooperative in Green County, Alabama which manufactures materials which are then used to build low-cost housing for local Negroes.

- Money from the 1965-66 Fast is being used to buy lunches for over 300 children attending the only pre-school centers in Sunflower County Mississippi.

A fuller report of the 1965-66 Fast expenses is on the back of this sheet.

As the formal, legal barriers to equal rights are removed, it is the economic forms of intimidation that become most effective in preventing Negroes from achieving equal opportunity. A Negro man may now register to vote in many areas of the South, but he is likely to lose his job if he exercises that right. Some Negro families may now send their children to integrated schools, but they may well be evicted if they do so. Progress in the civil rights movement now depends on freeing Negroes from this kind of economic intimidation. The work of the THANKSGIVING FAST FOR FREEDOM in this area must be continued and strengthened now.

<u>You can organize a Fast on your campus</u>. You can work through your food services or with individual students. We have promotional material and model procedures to help you organize your campus. Return the enclosed postcard now, and we will send them to you. Here is a way for you to help the civil rights movement. Work on the Fast must begin immediately for you to be ready by November 17.

RETURN THE ENCLOSED POSTCARD NOW.

SUMMARY REPORT OF THE 1965 THANKSGIVING FAST FOR FREEDOM

On November 18, 1965, some 75,000 students throughout the country participated in the Fourth Annual Thanksgiving Fast for Freedom and raised a total of $26,102.03. The Fast for Freedom Fund was then distributed, through the Civil Rights Desk of the U. S. National Student Association, to a series of projects working on self-help cooperatives in the South, and for programs of food distribution.

Major support was given to the Poor People's Corporation, a group of fifteen cooperatives in Mississippi. Work at PPC co-ops includes sewing, quilting, woodworking, and the production of a full line of leather goods. With a full-time staff member working with the PPC, NSA was able to establish a program to expand the marketing outlets of the PPC, through contacts with commercial distributors, and through recruitment of campus sales representatives (now in progress). Direct financial support also made it possible for the PPC to weather the initial shocks of turning the cooperatives into on-going commercial enterprises.

Support has also been given to a project in Greene County, Alabama, in which local Negroes will work to manufacture materials which they will then use to build their own low-cost housing. A cooperative cement-block factory is now being built in this project, organized by the Southern Rural Action Project of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty.

Work has also been done in publicizing the idea of cooperatives. Two books have been published based on the experiences of the West Batesville Farmers Cooperative, an okra marketing co-op in Mississippi. These books, which were specially written by Miss Mary Varela to work on adult education programs in the South, have been significant in promoting the possibility of establishing independent cooperatives in order to have "something of our own."

The rest of the Fast grants have gone to support programs of food distribution. Supported entirely by funds from the 1965 Fast, a project has been started in South Carolina working for the establishment of food distribution programs where they do not now exist. Five student workers are now working in twenty South Carolina Counties, organizing local people to pressure their county agencies to initiate programs of this sort.

Direct food distribution was also given to Negroes living in tents in Greenville, Mississippi after they were thrown off their land for participating in an attempt to organize local farm workers. After the publicity from their attempt to occupy the unused Greenville Air Force Base subsided, these people remained in their tents with little support and almost no food. Fast funds subsidized an immediate food distribution program here.

Fast money is also being used to buy lunches for over 300 Negro children who attend four pre-school centers in Sunflower County, Mississippi, the home of Senator James Eastland. These centers are now being run on a volunteer basis, since federal programs have refused to continue support of the centers. While the Thanksgiving Fast is supporting the food aspects of this program, individual schools are being sought to help finance other expenses, such as finger paints, crayons, tinkertoys, and children's books.

file CDGM

CC AP CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

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Telephone 202 / 234-3645

Walter P. Reuther
Chairman
Rabbi Richard Hirsch
Secretary
Robert S. Benjamin
Treasurer

Richard W. Boone
Executive Director

December 23, 1966

Dear Friend of the Crusade:

The Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM), the nation's largest Head Start program run by the poor for the poor, was at last assured of refunding by the Office of Economic Opportunity. On December 16, CDGM was promised 8 million dollars for a year-around program. The Rev. James McRee, Chairman of the Board, remains as chairman subject to board elections to be held within thirty days. Mr. John Mudd remains as executive director.

The decision to refund CDGM was made after almost four months of directed concern. In September, the Citizens' Crusade impaneled a group of distinguished Americans to assess the CDGM program after the government announced that the group would not be refunded. The Board of Inquiry concluded in part that the "decision ... is all the more tragic in that it represents a yielding to those forces which have moved in historical opposition to progress for the poor and underprivileged in Mississippi..."

Concerned organizations and individuals mobilized in support of CDGM. Housewives, religious leaders, students and poor people demonstrated in favor of the program. Doctors, social workers and educators rallied to lend their support. The nation's press and television highlighted the issues and supported the refunding of CDGM. A National Citizens' Committee for the Child Development Program in Mississippi was formed which included hundreds of prominent church leaders, businessmen, educators, lawyers, civil rights and labor leaders. A private foundation as well as several national organizations made specific commitments to strengthen child development efforts in Mississippi. In addition to the dedicated efforts of specific religious groups, the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches passed a resolution in strong support of CDGM, and finally the Vice-President offered his office to bring about an effective resolution.

An effective coalition was the result, but perhaps the most valiant fighters were the thousands of poor Mississippians and the staff of CDGM who refused to die in spite of what appeared to be overwhelming odds. The Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty thanks all the concerned Americans within the government and in the private sector who by their action contributed to the elimination of poverty and to the preservation of a free society.

Sincerely,

Richard W. Boone, Exec. Dir.

BEST WISHES FOR THE HOLIDAY SEASON!

The Washington Post
Times Herald
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1966

CDGM Wins Promises Of Funds for a Year

By Eve Edstrom
Washington Post Staff Writer

A hands-down victory was won last night by Mississippi's controversial Head Start project when it received assurances of $8 million in refunding from Sargent Shriver's antipoverty agency.

After the two-month cutoff of funds, and after three days of round-the-clock negotiations which were closely monitored by Vice President Hubert Humphrey's aides, this is what the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM) obtained:

- Assurances of funds for a year-round program so that requests for grant renewals do not come up during Mississippi's gubernatorial election campaign next fall. Powerful Mississippi Democrats, including Sen. John Stennis, have been among CDGM's severest critics.
- Capitulation by Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) on its demand that an "absolute requirement" for refunding was the ousting of CDGM's board chairman, the Rev. James McCree, and its executive director, John Mudd.

Instead, OEO conceded that McCree could remain, subject to re-election by an expanded CDGM board within 30 days.

And Mudd remains on the job, while Kline and Saks, a Washington management consultant firm conducts a 90-day on-the-scene evaluation in Jackson, Miss., of Mudd's capabilities.

As late as 7 o'clock last night, OEO spokesmen were insisting that one of the terms of the settlement would be the replacement of Mudd, a Philadelphian who came to Mississippi while working on his Harvard University doctorate. But the CDGM group was adamant in not buying that

See CDGM, A15, Col. 1.

CDGM—From Page A1

CDGM Wins Fight for Refunding

condition. It was understood that Humphrey was instrumental in working out the solution.

As negotiations dragged on yesterday, Shriver's spokesmen initially offered a $5 million grant to CDGM to operate a program for between 5200 and 6000 pre-school children during the last six months of this fiscal year.

So that CDGM would not get hung up in a Mississippi election squabble over refunding, their directors held out for more. They finally obtained agreement that the $5 million would be the first installment on a year-round grant that would total $8 million, financed from both 1967 and 1968 fiscal year appropriations.

A heavy cut in 1968 appropriations for OEO, which was buffeted in Congress this year, could upset this formula.

CDGM, which had spent $7.1 million in antipoverty money on programs to aid 5200 preschoolers, was denied refunding in October amid charges of fiscal and administrative mismanagement.

The cutoff of funds triggered a national protest by religious and civic groups. They generated so much heat that Humphrey offered his services as an intermediary last week so "an honorable solution" to the dispute could be arranged.

But Shriver's aides already were in the process of negotiating with CDGM, and his agency paid the transportation costs for CDGM's board to come to Washington for meetings that began Wednesday.

With the exception of the issues now being discussed, OEO determined that CDGM was now eligible for refunding because it had taken sufficient step to straighten out its administrative and program deficiencies.

It has established improved accounting procedures, recruited a new deputy director of administration, enlarged its board of directors and the scope of parent participation, and agreed to serve more white children. It also will not permit its employes to participate in civil rights activities during working hours.

The New York Times.

NEW YORK, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1966.

Mississippi Poverty Group Wins Fund Grant After 2-Month Fight

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17 — The Child Development Group of Mississippi has won its long struggle for a new Head Start grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The project, which is backed by the Presbyterian Board of Missions, will get $8-million for 12 months, $5-million of which will come out of the antipoverty program's appropriation for the current fiscal year.

The Mississippi group had asked for more than $20-million for this, its third grant. However, with the reduced funds it will operate in fewer counties.

Despite the lower amount, the group appeared to have won most of the emotionally loaded arguments in its two months of negotiations with the Office of Economic Opportunity. John H. Mudd, the project's controversial executive director, will remain in that post for the present under the terms of the new grant.

Two of the agency's conditions were the removal of Mr. Mudd and the Rev. James McCree, chairman of the group's board of directors. The dispute over Mr. McCree was settled with a requirement that he run for election by an enlarged board of directors within 30 days.

The Office of Economic Opportunity had held out on its demand for the replacement of Mr. Mudd. Even when the agreement was completed and announced, the agency said that Mr. Mudd's work would be subject to re-evaluation after 90 days and that a final decision would then be made on his retention.

However, Mr. Mudd said to-

Continued on Page 63, Column 3

MISSISSIPPI UNIT GETS POVERTY AID

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

day that there was no such condition, written or oral. A provision for a 60-day trial period was embodied in the agency's offer of a grant as late as yesterday afternoon, but that was deleted in favor of a provision that Richard Davies, a management consultant, in Washington, would participate in management decisions by the Mississippi project. Mr. Mudd said he was delighted to have that help.

For 5,900 to 6,100

The grant provides for a year-round project for 5,900 to 6,100 preschool children and their parents, directed toward physical health and social and educational orientation.

The Mississippi group had asked for more than 20-million. However, its geographical scope has been reduced from 28 counties to 17 because, in recent months, new community action agencies have been set up in the other counties. They will handle Head Start projects there.

The Office of Economic Opportunity last Oct. 2 suspended funds for the Mississippi project, charging management and program inadequacies. That decision gave rise to protests by organizations that accused the antipoverty agency of giving in to pressure from Mississippi political leaders. These leaders had charged that the Head Start project was tied to militance in the civil rights movement.

Only Approved Program

The new grant provides that the project's board of directors will confine its operations to the program stipulated in the grant and not undertake activities "not in accordance with the approved program."

The project served few white children but the sponsors said that white people were to blame. Under the reorganization, the board of directors will have 19 members instead of 17 and six will be white.

Mr. Mudd, who is 27 years old, is white and comes from a Haverford, Pa., family that has contributed money to the children of Mississippi. Mr. Mudd expects that his work in Mississippi will become the basis for a doctoral thesis in government and economics at Harvard.

THE NATIONAL OBSERVER

Monday, December 19, 1966

Poverty Agency Yields In Mississippi Dispute

"The Administration was faced with the fact that CDGM was not going to melt away," said a private poverty fighter. And, indeed, this seemed an understatement last week when the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) agreed to restore funds for the controversial Head Start program of the Child Development Group of Mississippi.

OEO cut off funds to CDGM in September, charging that the group could not properly account for $654,000 of its $5,600,000 1966 grant. CDGM supporters immediately accused OEO director Sargent Shriver of yielding to the political pressures of Sen. John Stennis and other Mississippi Democrats to kill a program unpopular with many whites in the state.

After the fund cut-off, the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, a private antipoverty group, several private foundations, numerous church leaders, and the National Council of Churches rallied to the CDGM cause. Two weeks ago, when Vice President Hubert Humphrey spoke at the National Council's triennial convention in Miami, council leaders urged him to intervene. Mr. Humphrey's aides worked closely with OEO in negotiating the new CDGM grant of $8,000,000.

OEO also dropped its demands that the CDGM board chairman, the Rev. James McCree, and its executive director, John Mudd, be removed. A Washington, D.C., management-consulting firm will report in 90 days whether Mr. Mudd should be allowed to continue in his post.

The New York Times.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1966.

Mediator Humphrey

Vice President Humphrey's offer to mediate the controversy over the cutting off of Federal antipoverty funds to a Mississippi Head Start project opens the road to peace in a conflict that has deeply split the vanguard forces in the war on poverty.

The preschool centers established by the Child Development Group of Mississippi did an outstanding job of involving poor Negroes in community action, a central goal of the poverty program under the mandate given to it by Congress. In the process the group inevitably made enemies of segregationist politicians —and of a good many moderates as well.

Sargent Shriver insists that his decision to deprive the project of further Federal grants had nothing to do with political pressure. He ascribes it all to "gross mismanagement and irresponsibility," but the public evidence to support such charges has not been impressive. Mr. Shriver himself describes the program as one of the most exciting and promising in the history of the campaign against poverty.

It is quite true that another organization, called Mississippi Action for Progress, has been set up and given an initial Federal allocation of $3 million to carry on substantially the same tasks that C.D.G.M. began. Its board includes such dedicated battlers for racial equality as Hodding Carter 3d, the liberal editor of The Delta Democrat Times, and Aaron Henry, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

But there is no reason at all—as Mr. Henry himself suggested in a telegram to Mr. Shriver—why both groups cannot function without getting in one another's way. Certainly, there is plenty of poverty in Mississippi to keep them both fully occupied, and both ought to have Federal funds under appropriate safeguards.

Efforts by leaders of the National Council of Churches and other ardent champions of C.D.G.M. to negotiate a compromise accord with Mr. Shriver have thus far got nowhere. Vice President Humphrey has both the prestige and empathy required for effective mediation in this field.

One dividend might be his more direct involvement in every phase of the flagging antipoverty crusade. It needs his help, and he needs it to re-establish the role of leadership that once was so indisputably his as a warrior for the dispossessed.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1966.

$20,000 DONATED TO POVERTY UNIT

Field Foundation Sends Help to Mississippi Project

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10—Mississippi's original and embattled Head Start program is getting some private nourishment while it presses the fight for refunding by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

There is evidence that the organization, known as C.D.G.M. for Child Development Group of Mississippi, is making headway. The Field Foundation, Inc., said it had given the group $20,000 "with a promise of substantially more."

Leslie Dunbar, at the foundation offices in New York City, would not mention any other figure, saying only that "it is an open end thing."

"We are prepared to keep a skeleton operation alive," he said, adding that the project needed at least $11-million a year to function at full strength and that the foundation could not supply such an amount.

The antipoverty office cut off funds for the project two months ago, setting off a nationwide protest by private antipoverty organizations, church and civil rights groups and prominent individuals. The Federal agency charged financial and programatic mismanagement, including a failure to bring poor white children into the project.

Vice President Humphrey, at the request of Protestant church representatives, said this week he would try to mediate the dispute. A member of Mr. Humphrey's staff, after checking into the status of the dispute, said the Vice President's offer still stood but that he had advised the Mississippi group's spokesman to proceed with a scheduled meeting with antipoverty officials on Wednesday.

"I think they are reliably close on the remaining problems," Mr. Humphrey's spokesman said. "My judgment is that the most constructive thing for them is to go ahead with that meeting, but if they have strong feelings that that is not good procedure, to let us know. The Vice President's office is ready to be as helpful as we can."

Much of the uproar against the termination of funds for the project was generated by a belief that Sargent Shriver had bowed to pressure by Mississippi Democratic leaders who charged that the project had been closely allied with civil rights extremists.

That such pressure existed is nowhere denied. However, antipoverty sources said that the director had acted on the unanimous advice of his senior staff when he insisted on a recommendation of some kind from that group. The staff at first wanted to delay a decision, it was reported.

Staff Demoralized

His decision, on the other hand, caused dismay and demoralization among many in the lower echelons of the antipoverty agency.

Mr. Shriver's office has insisted that the fund cutoff was never intended to be final, provided the preschool project would make changes in its operation and personnel. The agency listed nine conditions the project must meet. The group filed its answers to these conditions and the office said they were not adequate.

One of the conditions was the replacement of the executive director, John Mudd. Project directors so far have refused to accept that condition, insisting that Mr. Mudd is fully qualified.

Some leading champions of the project who were most vehement in attacking Mr. Shriver in advertisements and public statements say now, privately, they are wondering whether their fire should have been directed, instead, at President Johnson.

These second thoughts are provoked by the predicament in which Mr. Shriver and his agency find themselves. The White House apparently gave the antipoverty bill a low priority in its lobbying this year, with the result that passage was delayed, its appropriation request was cut and restrictions were written into its community action budget.

Mr. Shriver is taking the heat from community action agencies all over the country, although there is little he can do to restore the fund cut he recently ordered.

At the same time, reports of the impending dismemberment of the antipoverty office have demoralized his staff. In the absence of reassurance from the White House, Mr. Shriver is speculating aloud about a future for himself elsewhere.

DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDIEST!

file CDGM

file

TRAINING PROGRAM
CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY
1220 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20005
Telephone 202 / 234-4407

Walter P. Reuther
Chairman
Rabbi Richard Hirsch
Secretary
Robert S. Benjamin
Treasurer
Richard W. Boone
Executive Director

December 29, 1966

Brendan Sexton
Director of Training

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The CDGM victory seems almost a miracle after all these months, but it seems to be true. John Mudd tells me they are planning to open centers come the first of February.

I just wanted to thank you for your help in preparing the Board of Inquiry Report, and for taking time to come over to Mississippi to look at the program yourself.

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Dudley E. Morris
Staff Associate

DEM:ms

file CDGM.

CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036
Telephone 202 / 234-3645

Walter P. Reuther
Chairman
Rabbi Richard Hirsch
Secretary
Robert S. Benjamin
Treasurer

Richard W. Boone
Executive Director

December 30, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for your kind note of December 27.

Obviously, success in supporting CDGM was a result of the work of the coalition of individuals and organizations. Many thanks for your effective participation within that group.

I look forward to our working together in 1967.

With best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Dick

Richard W. Boone

Juice CDGM

December 27, 1966

Mr. Richard W. Boone
Executive Director
Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Dick:

Hearty congratulations to CCAP and to you for the excellent job with CDGM.

Be as effective in 1967!

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File CDGM

ES
MS-fb
CDGM

Mississippi Action for Progress

The formation of Mississippi Action for Progress (MAP), reportedly to replace CDGM, was first revealed in a Jackson Daily News article, Friday September 30.

While officials at CDGM were aware that several persons in the state (Owen Cooper, Hodding Carter III, Aaron Henry) had been contacted by OEO in an effort to establish an alternative board, the establishment of an 11 man board of directors and incorporation of the group were carried on in complete secrecy.

The incorporating charter for MAP is open to criticism on three counts. Article four provides that the three incorporators - Owen Cooper, Hodding Carter III, and LeRoy Percy, all of whom are whites - constitute the original board of directors and are empowered to appoint the other 15 members of the board.

Article six, point nine requires MAP to "consult with and coordinate its activities with the Governor... or his designee or such Commission which may be subsequently established by the Governor or the Legislature...."In effect, MAP could be placed under the close supervision of a political office whose next holder, by most indications in the state, will be Ross Barnett.

Article seven states that the MAP shall "not be required to make publication of its charter..." This is in violation of OEO's CAP Memo #32 regarding public access to information about anti-poverty agencies.

In addition, the MAP charter was approved on September 13, the same day on which the charter was formally devised and submitted. Tougaloo College, a predominately Negro institution, to cite but one example, has unsucessfully attempted to have its own charter revisions approved for more than a year and a half.

In summary, MAP was formed in total secrecy. Provisions of its charter could link it with political forces in the state which have been extremely hostile to CDGM and have already set up procedures for the selection of board members which contrast sharply with the democratic process characteristic of CDGM.

As a group the MAP board is characterized by a number of disturbing traits.

1. None of the board members were elected by the poor. None are poor themselves, and only one or two can be considered as representatives of the poor.
2. Two board members (LeRoy Percy and Oscar Carr) are plantation owners where Negro labor has lived in bad housing and worked for $3 a day and less.
3. Two board members have extremely close ties to a third member, Dr. Aaron Henry. One (Rev. M. W. Lindsey), is his brother-in-law. The other (James Gilliam) is a political and business associate who serves with Dr. Henry on the board of Coahoma Opportunities, Inc., a CAP agency. All three are active in the NAACP, the only civil rights organization represented on the board.
4. The board has no representative from labor. One board member (Owen Cooper) is, in fact, strongly anti-union. He has fought against the minimum wage bills in Congress, and he will not allow a union to organize in the Mississippi Chemical Corp., of which he is president.
5. A majority of the board (7 members), which will apparently administer Head Start programs in 60 counties, come from a total of only three counties in the state (Hinds, Washington, and Coahoma). Three board members (Carr, Henry, Gilliam) are from Clarksdale, Miss.
6. The board has extremely close ties to the national Democratic party despite the assertion in an OEO press release

of October 2, 1966, on CDGM, which states, "In Mississippi as elsewhere, OEO is interested only in creating projects helpful to the poor and free of political control....It will not tolerate political domination of Head Start or other OEO programs in Mississippi..." Two members of the board (Percy, Charles Young) are contributors to Lyndon Johnson's President's Club. Young is also president of the Mississippi Democratic Conference, a bi-racial political organization loyal to President Johnson but now inactive. Hodding Carter III is state co-chairman of the Young Democrats. Douglas Wynne, a Greenville lawyer, mentioned as a major behind-the-scenes organizer of MAP, is another President's Club contributor, state chairman of the Democratic Party committee, and a major supporter of James Eastland's re-election to the Senate.

The individual board members are:

OWEN COOPER - president, Mississippi Chemical Corp.; president, Mississippi Economic Council; chairman, First Mississippi, Inc. (White)

LEROY PERCY - owner of Trail Lake Plantation, Washington County; chairman, Mississippi Chemical Corp.; president, First Mississippi, Inc. (White)

HODDING CARTER, III - editor, Delta Democrat Times, Greenville;

REV. R. L. T. SMITH - Negro businessman and minister in Jackson;

DR. W. P. DAVIS - white minister, Jackson, who serves as president of the Mississippi Baptist Seminary for Negroes;

OLIVER EMMERICH - white publisher of the McComb Enterprise Journal, considered a moderate newspaper in the state;

CHARLES YOUNG - Negro business man, Meridian;

OSCAR CARR - plantation owner, Clarksdale, white;

REV. M. W. LINDSEY - Negro minister, West Point, Dr. Henry's brother-in-law.

JAMES GILLIAM - Clarksdale, Negro businessman, associate of

Dr. Henry's, Masonic leader, board member of Coahoma Opportunities, Inc., an anti-poverty agency.

DR. AARON HENRY - Clarksdale, Negro, state chairman of the NAACP, "freedom candidate" for governor in 1963, formerly associated with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, influential member of Coahoma Opportunities, Inc. board.

By contrast, 13 of CDGM's current 17 board members were elected to their positions. Of these, eight are the chosen representatives of the poor who were elected directly by CDGM communities. The other four, original board members, were re-elected to their posts at a state-wide meeting of CDGM persons. The remaining four members of the board were appointed

The CDGM board is bi-racial and includes four white members, all of whom are either native Mississippians or long term residents of the state. The 13 Negro board members are, with three exceptions, natives of the state.

The four appointed members are professionals with backgrounds particularly appropriate to a Head Start program: a retired psychiatrist; a pediatrician; a social worker; a former school board member, now Head Start administrator for CDGM at Mary Holmes Junior College.

FUNDED HEAD START PROGRAMS IN MISSISSIPPI

			Federal Funds
1.	BILOXI MUNICIPAL SCHOOL DISTRICT #3153 P. O. Box 168 Biloxi, Mississippi 39533 R. D. Brown, Supt., Telephone: 435-1471	Harrison County 6 Centers 434 Children	$ 244,448
2.	BOLIVAR COUNTY COMMUNITY ACTION # 3057 P. O. Box 28 Cleveland, Mississippi 38732 Telephone: 843-~~8521~~ 4226	Bolivar County 8 Centers 1439 Children	1,753,909
3.	CANTON MUNICIPAL SEPARATE SCHOOL DISTRICT #3257 North Liberty Street Canton, Mississippi 39046 Dr. Lamar Fortenberry, Telephone: 859-4110	Madison County 1 Center 260 Children	60,785
4.	CENTRAL MISSISSIPPI, INC. #3170 P. O. Box 268 Winona, Mississippi 38967 Bob Williamson, Director Telephone: 283-2227	Attala, Carroll, Choctaw, Montgomery, Webster, and Holmes 14 Centers 1236 Children	287,816
5.	CHICKASAW COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION #3253 Houston, Mississippi 38851 W. M. Foster, Supt. of Ed., Telephone: 456-3511	Chickasaw County 1 Center 100 Children	21,348
6.	COAHOMA OPPORTUNITIES, INC. #3206 321 East Second Street Clarksdale, Mississippi 38614 Gus T. Roessler, Director Telephone: 627-7838	Coahoma County 9 Centers 450 Children	257,955
7.	COMMUNITY SERVICE ASSOCIATION #3194 (JACKSON HEAD START) 655 Milner Building Jackson, Mississippi 39201 Miss Jean Carroll, Director, Telephone: 948-6505	Hinds County 10 Centers 400 Children	351,145
8.	EASTSIDE COMMUNITY CENTER #3321 221 Church Street Lexington, Mississippi 39095 Warneda Reeves (Mrs.) Telephone: 834-2024	Holmes County 1 Center 90 Children	20,395
9.	FATHER SWEENEY MEMORIAL SCHOOL #3180 P. O. Box 162 Pass Christian, Mississippi 39571 Rev. P. J. McLoone, Telephone: 452-7535	Harrison County 6 Centers 300 Children	232,288
10.	GREENWOOD MUNICIPAL SEPARATE SCHOOL DIST., BOARD OF TRUSTEES #3325 P. O. Box 554 Greenwood, Mississippi 38930 Dr. D. B. Dribben, Supt. Telephone: 453-4231	Leflore County 1 Center 299 Children	56,771

11.	HOLY FAMILY PARISH #3382 16 Orange Avenue Natchez, Mississippi 39120 Sister M. Joan of Arc, Director 445-5700	Adams County 1 Center 143 Children	31,447
12.	ITAWAMBA COUNTY HEAD START #3310 P. O. Box 38 Fulton, Mississippi Glen C. Loden, Director Telephone: 862-4641	Itawamba County 6 Centers 315 Children	61,613
13.	LEFLORE COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION #3263 P. O. Box 544 Greenwood, Mississippi 38930 John E. Hughes, Jr. Chairman, Bd. of Ed. Telephone: 453-5571	Leflore County 6 Centers 841 Children	184,470
14.	LIFT, INC. #3127 P. O. Box 28 Tupelo, Mississippi Jack W. McDaniel, Executive Director Telephone: 842-9511	Lee, Monroe, & Pontotoc 9 Centers 1019 Children	742,078
15.	LONG BEACH SCHOOLS HEAD START #3235 Jeff Davis Avenue Long Beach, Mississippi James F. Brent, Director Telephone: 864-1146	Harrison County 2 Centers 224 Children	66,837
16.	LONG, J. A., AMERICAN LEGION POST #3337 Corinth, Mississippi 38834 James Boyd, Director, Telephone: 287-2750	Alcorn County 5 Centers 153 Children	50,391
17.	MADISON COUNTY SCHOOL DISTRICT #3359 156 North Liberty Street Canton, Mississippi 39046 Telephone: 859-1391	Madison County 4 Centers 524 Children	95,767
18.	MARSHALL COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION #3212 Holly Springs, Mississippi 38635 Mrs. Ruth Garling, Supt. of Education	Marshall County 5 Centers 522 Children	98,390
19.	MCCOMB MUNICIPAL SEPARATE SCHOOL DIST. #3143 P. O. Box 868 McComb, Mississippi 39648 Mrs. Helen J. Hood, Director Telephone: 684-8126	Pike County 3 Centers 198 Children	52,221
20.	MID-DELTA EDUCATION AGENCY #3205 Greenville, Mississippi Dr. Matthew J. Page, Telephone: 332-1362	Washington County 14 Centers 1000 Children	441,100
21.	MID-STATE OPPORTUNITY, INC. #3116 P. O. Box 146 Charleston, Mississippi 38921 Robert Rex McRaney, Director Telephone: 647-2463	Grenada, Panola, Tallahatchie, Tunica and Quitman Counties 20 Centers 3900 Children	518,578

22.	NATCHEZ JUNIOR COLLEGE #3369 1010 Extension North Union Street Natchez, Mississippi 39120 Rev. LeVander Kinds 445-9702	Adams County 1 Center 300 Children	51,320
23.	NEW ALBANY SEPARATE SCHOOL DISTRICT #3331 P. O. Box 771 New Albany, Mississippi J. Bryant Smith, Jr., Supt. of Schools Telephone: 534-6331	Union County 1 Center 160 Children	37,414
24.	NORTH MISS. ECONOMIC DEV. CORP. #3043 P. O. Box 407 Oxford, Mississippi 38655 Isom W. Leggett, President Telephone: 234-2372	Lafayette, Calhoun and Yalobusha 1 Center 160 Children	64,578
25.	NORTHWEST MISSISSIPPI DEV. ASSN., INC. #3134 404 West Tate Street Senatobia, Mississippi 38668 H. G. Ferguson, Chairman Telephone: 368-6289	DeSoto and Tate Counties 6 Centers 720 Children	173,002
26.	OKOLONA MUNICIPAL SEPARATE SCHOOL DIST. #3258 Okolona, Mississippi 38860 Murphy Lowther, Supt. Telephone: 447-2353 62	Chickasaw and Monroe Counties 1 Center 80 Children	20,308
27.	OKTIBBEHA COUNTY SCHOOLS #3384 Courthouse Starkville, Mississippi 39579 Thad E. Easterwood, Supt. Telephone: 323-1472	Oktibbeha County 3 Centers 350 Children	51,143
28.	PEARL RIVER VALLEY OPPORTUNITY, INC. #3151 Columbia, Mississippi John Paul Roblin, Director Telephone: 736-6282	Lamar, Marion, and Walthall Counties 7 Centers 485 Children	165,371
29.	ST. FRANCIS SCHOOL #3364 Route 1, Box 28A Greenwood, Mississippi 38930 Sister Mary Egidia	Leflore County 1 Center 90 Children	19,202
30.	SAINTS JUNIOR COLLEGE #3185 P. O. Box 419 Lexington, Mississippi 39095 Telephone: 834-1246	Holmes County 1 Center 60 Children	59,215
31.	SHARKEY COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION #3240 Courthouse Rolling Fork, Mississippi 39159 C. C. Cortright, President Telephone: 873-2216	Sharkey and Issaquena Counties 4 Centers 540 Children	83,045
32.	SINGING RIVER EDUCATIONAL ASSN. #3219 Lucedale, Mississippi 39452 Leander T. Taylor, Telephone: 947-3394	George County 1 Center 105 Children	48,169

33.	SOPHIA SUTTON MISSION ASSEMBLY #3088 P. O. Box 574 Prentiss, Mississippi 39474 Dr. S. L. Richomnd Telephone: 792-4971	Jefferson Davis, Jones, Lawrence, Simpson, and Covington Counties 4 Centers 798 Children	413,996
34.	STARKVILLE MUNICIPAL SEP. SCHOOL DIST. #3172 Louisville Road Starkville, Mississippi 39759 B. Hal Buchanan, Supt. Telephone: 323-3208	Oktibbeha County 2 Centers 173 Children	33,212
35.	SUNFLOWER COUNTY PROGRESS, INC. #3065 P. O. Box 428 Indianola, Mississippi 38751 Colbert Crowe, Director Telephone: 887-1431	Sunflower County 8 Centers 600 Children	380,397
36.	UNITED COMMUNITY ACTION COMMITTEE, INC. ASHLAND, MISSISSIPPI 38603 Charles W. Gadd, Chairman	Benton County 6 Centers 197 Children	82,359
37.	WESLEY METHODIST CHURCH #3177 507 Jones Avenue Louisville, Mississippi 39339 C. T. Allen, Telephone: 773-3286	Winston County 4 Centers 200 Children	155,498
38.	YAZOO COMMUNITY ACTION, INC. #3131 P. O. Box 172 Yazoo City, Mississippi 39194 Herman B. DeCell, Chairman Telephone: 746-~~2134~~ 5742	Yazoo County 5 Centers 836 Children	113,495
	Totals	188 Centers 19,701 Children	$7,581,476

CITIZENS' BOARD OF INQUIRY ON CDGM

INTERVIEW RECORD

PURPOSE OF CONTACT

PERSON OR PERSONS INTERVIEWED

BRIEF SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW

EVALUATION

Name _____

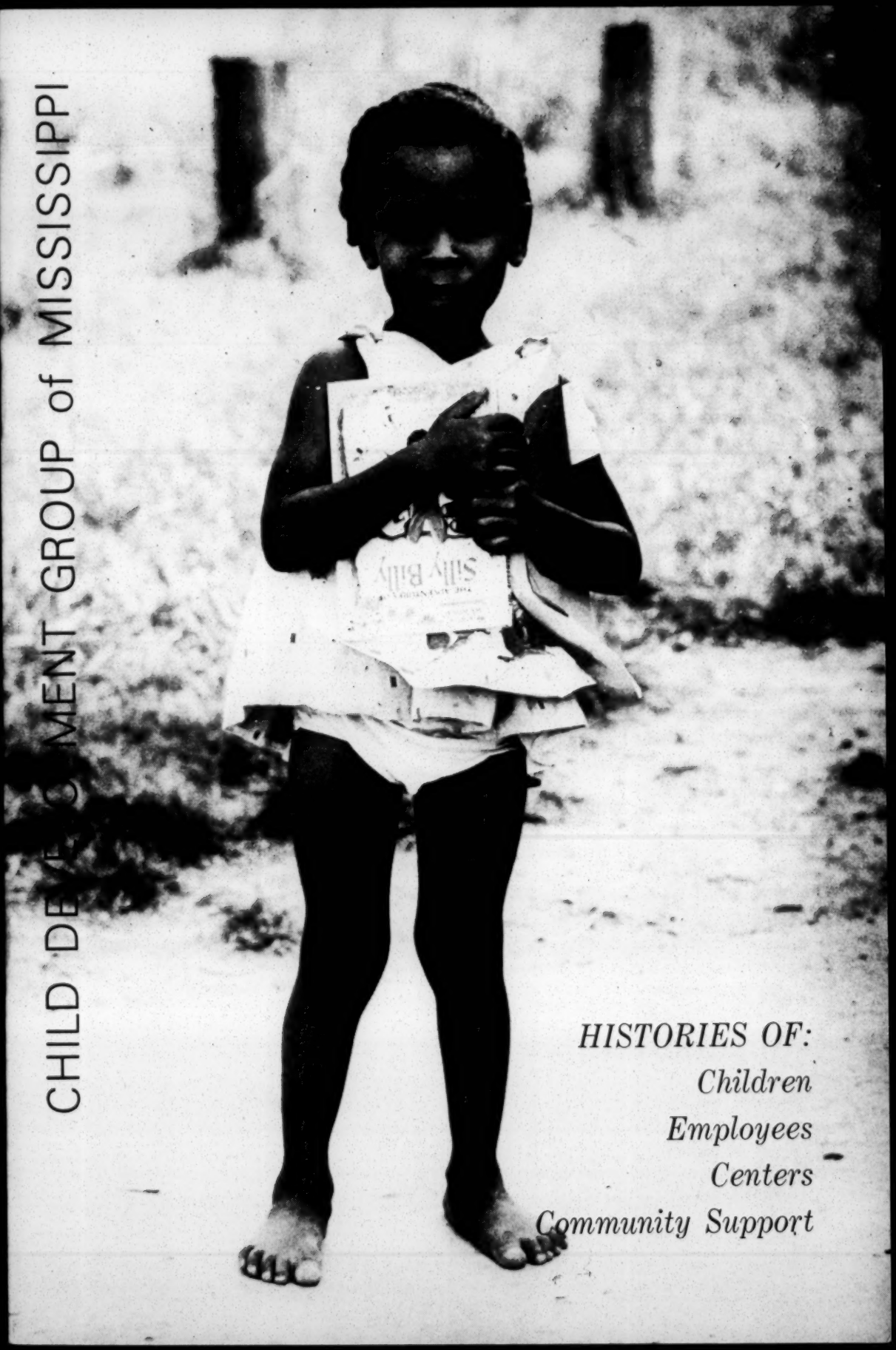
Organization _____

Date _____

CAP Memo #9 establishes OEO's procedures for independent agencies, like CDGM, to:

1. combine its "efforts" with an existing community action agency
2. receive consideration for re-funding as an independent agency should such a combination of "efforts" prove impossible.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP of MISSISSIPPI



HISTORIES OF:

Children

Employees

Centers

Community Support

Introduction

The Child Development Group of Mississippi is a statewide Head Start program which was organized in the summer of 1965. It is currently concluding operation under its second grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

On August 25, 1966, CDGM submitted a proposal to OEO for funding for an additional year's operation. That proposal requests $20.3 million to serve 13,500 children in 170 centers in 37 counties throughout Mississippi.

This sum falls far below the needs of the poor community in the poorest state in the nation. The program currently serves only 7% of eligible Head Start-age children. More than 16,500 children who applied for inclusion in the new program were rejected by us with great reluctance.

Basic Data

Size of present grant: $5,644,343 for 6 months of operation

Number of children served: 12,145 (as of June 3, 1966)

Geographical coverage: 121 centers in 28 counties across the state

Cost per child per week: $19, considerably under OEO guidelines.

Who Works for CDGM

Number of employees: 2,272 employees on payroll -- 2,112 in local centers, 80 in 15 area offices, and 62 in the central office

Composition: 98.9% of CDGM employees are local Mississippians (99+% in the local centers, 100% in the area offices, 80% in the central office)

Previous incomes: Resource teachers, currently making $75/wk previously earned an average of $44/wk and a comparable income increase for all other CDGM staff.

Training

In its commitment to the elimination of the root causes of poverty, CDGM has attempted to employ poor people and provide them with new skills through which they can realize their full potential. Extensive opportunities for training were provided our staff at all levels, including:

-weekly training workshops for all area staff

-periodic training workshops for all area staff, center staff, community chairmen, community committees

-numerous out-of-state training courses, ranging from 2 to 8 weeks in length

-a total of almost 150,000 man hours of training at all levels.

Opportunities for Decision-Making

A total of 1,006 people, virtually all of them poor, were accorded opportunities to make decisions directly affecting their own lives and the operation of CDGM centers.

Serving on community committees (121): 945 persons

Serving on area councils: 44 persons

Serving on the CDGM board of directors: 17 persons.

Volunteer Work

There are 49 centers, operating on an entirely voluntary basis, serving 4,365 children, awaiting inclusion in the new grant. They receive no funds from CDGM or the government, yet they constitute one of the largest Head Start programs in the country.

As of July 8, 1966, with more than 2 months before the program ends, CDGM staff had contributed more than 380,000 hours of voluntary labor at a computed dollar value of $605,641.

But statistics can never tell the full story. This booklet attempts to add a personal dimension to the story by telling of the flesh and blood people who serve -- and are served by -- CDGM.

Floyd Pierce, 8 years old, from the Hopewell Center, Madison County.

Floyd lives with his grandparents in an isolated rural area five miles from the nearest neighbor. When first contacted about sending Floyd to Head Start at the Hopewell Center, his grandmother told Mrs. Clara Coney, the area teacher guide in Madison County, "What could you do with him? He can't talk and I don't think he hears either. He's never been to school."

Mrs. Coney wasn't sure what could be done with Floyd, but she encouraged his grandparents to enroll him, hoping that intensive pre-school training would break his shell of silence.

Mrs. Coney tells what happened to Floyd at the Hopewell Center: "Every day Mrs. Sarah Ward, his teacher, worked closely with Floyd, but he didn't speak. He would watch intently everything that was done and said, though. Then, about two weeks into the program, a load of supplies arrived at the center and I came to demonstrate how to use modelling clay. I made a cow and put little tits on its underside. Floyd watched me and -- for the first time -- laughed.

A few weeks later I drove up to the center and Floyd was one of the first children to run up and greet me. He said, "Teacher, teacher!" Those were the first words I had heard him speak.

I was so surprised and moved that I started to cry. Floyd looked at me and said, 'What's the matter, am I being bad?' And I cried that much harder. When I could compose myself, I said, 'No, you're not bad, I'm just so happy to see that you can talk, and hear too.' And he said, 'Yes. I love you. I love you.' "

Janice Peeden, age 6, who went to the Philadelphia # 1 Center, Philadelphia.

Janice was one of three Peeden children, all undersized, at the center. She enjoyed her school activities, but after a few minutes would give up and "droop" as her teacher describes. Frequently she would fall into a deep sleep.

A CDGM doctor diagnosed her as having low blood pressure and insufficient food, after Janice one day fell asleep and could not be revived.

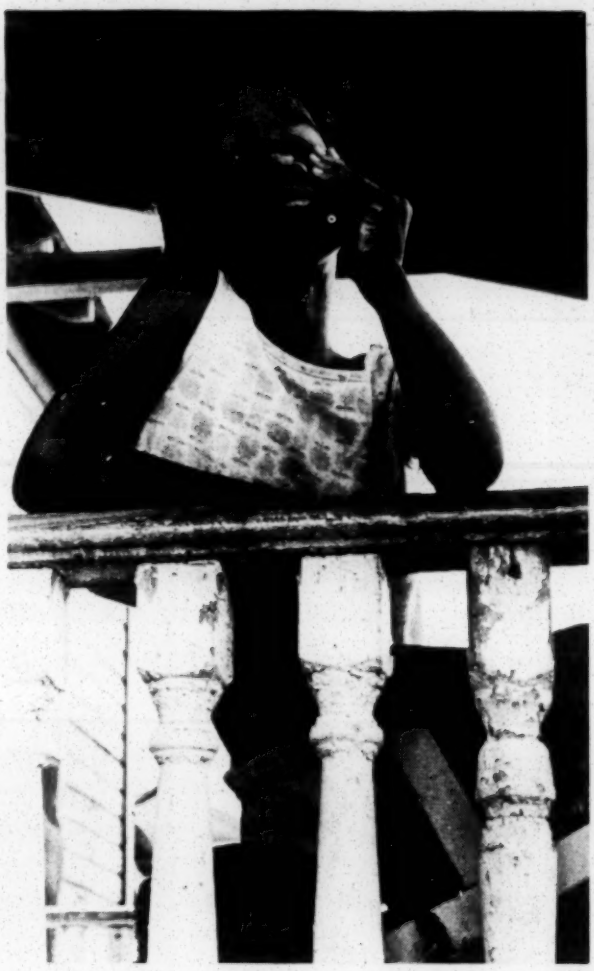
An Area Teacher Guide from CDGM worked with the center staff to include more vitamins in the lunch meals. Janice was kept at home, but a teacher took lunch and games to her each day. Janice gradually recovered and returned to school. Her mother made a special point of telling the staff how much she appreciated what CDGM had done for her daughter.

A boy at Second Pilgrim's Rest Center, Holmes County.

Mary J. Terrels, a teacher trainee at the center, reports this incident. "There is a little boy in my class that loves to eat. One day he asked, 'Where do we get our food (for the center) from?' I told him it came from Riley's Grocery. He was still curious and asked, 'Where do we get the money from?' I told him it came from CDGM. And he said, 'Teacher, I sure love him.' There's a child that thinks our program is just one man.

I think it's wonderful that a child who at first didn't want to know anything, now wants to know everything."

Evan Gibbs, five years old, lives in Tribbett and attended school at the Greenville Industrial Center, Greenville.



Evan came to Head Start quite disturbed. She threw temper tantrums, fought with other children, swore, wet her pants. But, as her teacher, Mrs. Willia Rhodes noted, "She wasn't really a bad child, because sometimes I would look at her and see the most beautiful, serene smile on her face. She was struggling desparately, searching for something."

"I found myself searching for the answer to the child's needs," Mrs. Rhodes says, "and I found that what she needed was someone who cared."

Mrs. Rhodes visited Evan's mother and explained the child's difficulties in trying to adjust to school. With parental permission, Mrs. Rhodes took Evan home with her for four days. She bought Evan dresses, curled her hair, gave her love and attention, and the companionship of her young daughter. Together they visited department stores, attended church, saw a school play. That was April 15. Today Evan is "a happy, well-adjusted child," according to Mrs. Rhodes. She controls her temper, likes to sing, paint, read, and do everything she once seemingly hated.

In June when the children from the center toured the police station in Greenville, Evan told the police captain she knew a traffic song. (The children had discussed the trip in school and learned songs and games about policemen before going.) In a loud clear voice Evan sang her traffic song to the captain, who later commented that Head Start was doing a fine job for young children.

Now Mrs. Rhodes feels, "Evan likes to be a leader. Some day she might be a great leader."

Yolanda Ammons, age 4, a pre-schooler at the Tougaloo Center, Tougaloo.

Shy and withdrawn, Yolanda's speech was slurred and broken. Her teachers found her virtually incomprehensible during the first weeks of school. Gradually with her enthusiasm to new opportunities aroused and her contact with other children increased, her speech improved. Now an inquisitive conversationalist, she frequently talks with her white neighbors. And according to her mother, "She corrects my grammar.

Kenneth Anderson, age 4, a pre-schooler at the St. Matthews Church Center, Greenville.

Kenneth arrived at school for the first time with a baby's bottle in his mouth. He was undernourished, covered with dirt which, as his teacher describes, "you could peal off with your finger," suffering from sores. At play, he was boisterous, aggressive.

Immediately, the center staff gave him special attention. His teacher, Mrs. Rosie Lee Lance, noted the following improvement. "We took his bottle, gave him milk in a glass, bathed him, and treated his sores with the First Aid kit. When his mother was aware of what we were doing, she met us halfway. His physical development is improving...he no longer talks of reform school or jail. He talks and listens well...loves nursery rhymes, songs and finger games. He gets along with other children, does well in art and knows colors now."

Deborah Washington from Revels I Center, Greenville.

Deborah entered the center weak and listless. Too tired to sit up, she would spend the day stretched out on her mat. She rubbed and held her stomach, but would remain still, silent.

Deborah's teacher, Mrs. Pauline Foster, realized the problem was hunger. "I took her by the hand and we went into the kitchen and fixed her breakfast before it was time for a snack," she says. "She ate all the breakfast, then when the time came she ate her snack. At dinner she always eats two servings."

"Deborah has creative ability, and she can do excellent art work. She likes to do things for herself and tries to master a task before getting help. I hate to think what's going to happen to Deborah without Head Start. There are five other children at home, without a father, without enough food."

Employees

Mrs. Billie Davis Maddox, resource teacher, Greenville Industrial Center, Greenville.

Mrs. Maddox's father, a mail carrier in Greenwood, wanted "the best education you could get" for his children. But when the money ran out and his daughter caught pneumonia, that dream ended. Mrs. Maddox was forced to drop out of college. With a growing family and mounting bills, she has never been able to return.

The circumstances of Mrs. Maddox's education were frequently as frustrating as its abrupt termination. As a student at Sacred Heart School in Greenville, she spent her junior year at a high school in Chicago where she had to "work and dig much harder to keep up. The schools in Mississippi were just that far behind," she says.

In the fall of 1956 Mrs. Maddox entered Jackson State College where one of her courses was Child Growth and Development. "The facilities at Jackson State were 'old and condemned buildings.' The plaster was falling off the walls, the plumbing would stop up and overflow. We were crowded four to a tiny room with a closet just big enough for a coat and dress," she remembers.

At Mississippi Valley State College, where Mrs. Maddox enrolled that summer, she took business administration courses, but discovered that the typing and shorthand books were the same ones used in her Chicago high school.

Mrs. Maddox began working for CDGM in the summer of 1965 and she brought with her valuable experience with young children. In addition to mothering three girls, she had worked in a Catholic school kindergarten and a privately run day care center.

For over a year now, Mrs. Maddox has been implanting her father's dream in the minds of her pre-school students and their parents. "CDGM seemed to offer something different from the public schools I knew," she remarks. "It has stressed the importance of freedom of movement and expression for children at the crucial ages when character is formed."

Mrs. Maddox remembers that when she was raised, "it was always 'Do this!' or 'Do that!' Children were told to shut up or be quiet. Here we try ano develop them as individuals who can and want to do things for themselves."

Charles Holloway, area administrator, Meridian

Mr. Holloway is a man with a college degree whose talents finally found a home in CDGM. A 1957 graduate of Mississippi Valley State College, where he majored in history and sociology, he has worked where he could: at the post office, the railway express, a veteran's hospital, an iron foundry. But not until he joined CDGM in February 1966 did he find real responsibility and challenge.

After two years in the Army (1957-59), Mr. Holloway -- by then a well-heeled traveller around the country -- moved to New Haven, Connecticut where he met his wife and lived for six years. He returned to Meridian, his hometown, in July 1965 with his wife and four children to convalesce from injuries suffered in an automobile accident. He decided to stay, when he learned that a number of anti-poverty programs were being set up in the state.

For five months, when CDGM lacked federal funds (September 1965 - February 1966), he worked as a volunteer area administrator in East Central Mississippi. During this period he and an assistant organized 5 new communities for inclusion under CDGM's latest Head Start program. Later, as a salaried administrator, he prepared 16 more to participate in the $41 million proposed program rejected by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mr. Holloway's responsibilities in an area with 6 widely separated centers are broad and numerous. He works on requisitions and bills for the area office; holds workshops with center chairmen on operating food accounts and handling transportation contracts, vouchers, and reimbursements; personally checks on payroll, personnel, and facilities complaints which can't be solved by phone; and keeps extensive records of all phases of operation in the centers.

He has originated his own filing system with a color code and instituted it throughout his area. At his suggestion each community has written a history of its center as part of a record of the area's operations.

A member of the Young Democrats, he was active in the NAACP through high school and college. As a community leader in Meridian, Mr. Holloway has helped reorganize a Community Action Agency, East Mississippi Opportunities, Inc., which for over a year has been refused funds from OEO because its board of directors lacked representation of the poor. At a recent county-wide meeting he was elected to a steering committee to oversee the restructuring. Along with Meridian's vice-mayor, a minister and the assistant superintendent of schools, he is in charge of public relations for the anti-poverty agency's new board elections.

To Mr. Holloway, the importance of working for CDGM is not measured in money. "What we want," he says, "is recognition as men, as human beings. Other organizations say you have a job for so much. You are dictated to. CDGM has offered us a new kind of freedom and responsibility."

Mr. Holloway is 32.

Mrs. Hattie Bell Saffold, area teacher guide, Holmes County.

In Holmes County, they call Mrs. Saffold the "King of the doers." But if CDGM does not continue, Mrs. Saffold says she would stop her doing and leave the state.

"I have experienced too much now. I'd rather pack up my little bag and leave the state than go back to what I used to do," she says. Mrs. Saffold "used to do" hauling. For fifteen years, she carried cotton workers to the field for 50 cents a person and weighed and recorded cotton for $5 a day. In the off season, she worked as a maid for $3 a day.

Mrs. Saffold's husband works 30 acres of a 50 acre farm in the hill country section of the county. He is the first Negro in memory to receive an FHA loan, which was used to dig a well and install bathroom fixtures for their home.

Together with a small committee of residents in the county, Mrs. Saffold did the preliminary work for setting up six CDGM centers in the late spring of 1965. Her efforts were initially met with fear by Negroes and harassment by whites in a county where the Ku Klux Klan has long been active. Mrs. Saffold's home has been shot into a number of times. The Second Pilgrim's Rest Center where she worked as a teacher trainee, was unsuccessfully set afire by an arsonist two summers ago.

Born, raised, and resident in Holmes County all her life, Mrs. Saffold, now 38, has been active in voter registration work with the Freedom Democratic Party. And she has worked to elect Negroes to local agricultural committees. This year her four youngest children are attending an integrated school in Durant. A participant in weekly training workshops and a special course at the University of Southern Mississippi, Mrs. Saffold has been instrumental in making the Holmes County centers among the best of the CDGM program. The Second Pilgrims Rest Center was the subject of a widely distributed teacher training film which CDGM made in the summer of 1965.

Mrs. Saffold has used her teaching abilities in her home as well as in the eight centers for which she provides new classroom ideas and guidance. She now uses Cuisennaire rods, for example, to help her ten year old son solve arithmetic homework.

Having a decent income has made Mrs. Saffold's family proud. They are better fed and clothed now. Her oldest girl was able to attend college in part because of CDGM income.

An interview with Mrs. Roxy Meredith (mother of James Meredith) Trainee, Wesley Center, Kosciusko.

When I first started to work for CDGM, I knew we were always poor, but visiting the homes of the parents made me cry because I did not know what real poor people lived like.

If the Head Start center does not open back here, I have already planned to build an extra room onto my house and take in the little childrens and try to do something for them.

Everytime I go through the community they (children) are hollering and want to know when school is going to open again.

I never did too much work but farm work because everytime I would go to the employment office and all they would offer was housework. . .I preferred to pick cotton, hoe and work by the day in the fields. Cotton picking opened up at $2.00 per day this fall. I just don't see how I can make it, but still I'm just going to have to pick cotton if this program doesn't continue.

After my son entered Ole Miss (University of Mississippi), there was plenty changes in the Negroes. They was afraid to come to my house for a long long time. There was shooting you know, and after they shoot out all the windows in my house, well, people, they didn't want to come at all. My husband was sick and they finally got me out of my school cafeteria job. I didn't have a job any more until I got the Head Start job -- only day work.

Now I have heard many times here that even if I didn't have an education, the way that we brought up our family was proof enough for me to work in Head Start. This was my chance to get sort of a Head Start too, and it really have helped me.

Mr. Willie Burns, Community Organizer, Holmes County.

Mr. Burns works in one of the nation's poorest counties, where Negro families have a median income of $895.00 a year. His work in CDGM has opened new paths out of poverty for himself and for the local people he serves.

Mr. Burns was one of 8 children, all of whom worked in the fields on the family farm. He graduated from a local high school, but his dreams of a college education disappeared with the need to support two of his sisters

through their college education. In addition, mechanized farming methods and the reduction of land acreage allotments shrunk the Burns' income to the point where it could no longer support the entire family.

So, in 1959, Mr. Burns, then 27 years old, left for Chicago, hoping for a better life, as so many had done before him. What he found, however, were a series of unskilled jobs, leading down a dead end street. When his father became ill, Mr. Burns eagerly accepted the opportunity to return home to run the farm. Despite its poverty and its cruelty, Mississippi was his home and he wanted to be part of making it a better place to live.

Back in Holmes County, he devoted whatever spare time his farming left him to working as an un-salaried organizer for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Although many people in his area felt that "things like that just won't work here," Mr. Burns and others like him began to prove that this wasn't so. One of the fruits of his organizing effort in his home town of Mileston was the establishment of a pre-school which was run on a volunteer basis, and eventually joined CDGM during its first grant in the summer of 1965.

In February, 1966, CDGM received a second grant and this time Mr. Burns felt that he could best help achieve his aspirations for Holmes County by becoming a community organizer. In this capacity he has been working an 18 hour day for the past six months. In that short time he has begun to revive several farmers' cooperatives which had become virtually inoperative; aided more than 60 people in securing FHA loans, formerly unavailable to Negroes; helped place more than 30 people in jobs through the employment service. He has also widely disseminated information on other federal programs, and helped to organize an area council which can serve as a democratic platform for all people in the area.

In addition to giving Mr. Burns the chance to provide a better living for his family, CDGM has provided him with the opportunity to acquire new skills and competence. "I have developed intellectually. Now I know how to get at the roots of problems."

Even more important in Mr. Burns' view is what this work has done for the community. "Now we in Holmes County have some idea of what is meant by self-respect and first-class citizenship because we are learning to do for ourselves."

What would happen without CDGM? "A lot of young people would have to go to Chicago, because there would be no way to give their children a better life. The development of the community would come to a standstill."

The future? "Sheriff in '67" is Mr. Burns' motto. "I could render justice to <u>all</u> the people of Holmes County; I could serve them better. Most sheriffs I've known have been the judge and the sheriff. I just want to be the sheriff."

Mrs. Elizabeth Rankin, teacher trainee, Jackson Park Center, Moss Point.

When Mrs. Rankin returned in August from an eight week Head Start training course at the University of Nebraska, her professor noted in a report to CDGM: "Mrs. Rankin is a very poised, personable young woman. She is presently a trainee -- she would make an excellent resource teacher... She appears to have good insight into and understanding of the purposes of Head Start and the role of the teacher. She has expressed an intent to extend her own schooling. This should be encouraged. She has been a delight in our class."

Mrs. Rankin's job and training at CDGM have sparked her desire to complete an unfinished education. She attended Alcorn College for a year, hoping to become a secondary school teacher, but dropped out because her parents could not afford the expense. Now, with a husband and seven children, she plans to take some courses in pre-school education at Jackson Jr. College.

The significance of Head Start has not been lost in Mrs. Rankin's home. "Working with this program, we have all learned many things that will help us in our own homes," she remarks, "things such as not using such strict discipline or spanking children all the time."

"My two youngest children attended the center. I can see a real difference between them and the older ones. Two of my oldest didn't pass the first grade, but last year my next to youngest went into an integrated school and received excellent marks. The baby went this fall and wasn't afraid."

With the Jackson Park Center closed, Mrs. Rankin has put her free time to good use. She is organizing workshops to spread what she learned at the University of Nebraska and in the center to parents and volunteer workers.

What are the goals of Head Start for Mrs. Rankin? She states, "First, to preserve the young child's natural curiousity and love for learning; second, to help children grow in the process of social development; third, to provide an environment which helps to stimulate verbal expression and vocabulary development; and fourth, to extend opportunities for children to acquire information and understanding about their world."

Mrs. Gaynette Flowers, area teacher guide, Gulfport

"The problem has been that the Negro has always had to be in his place. My feeling has been that my place as a Negro is where any other American's place is or can be."

For 15 of the last 16 years, Mrs. Flowers' "place" has been working as a maid for $40 a week. This year her "place" is with CDGM as an area teacher guide for eight Head Start centers in Gulfport. The leap from domestic work to pre-school is not surprising for a woman of Mrs. Flowers' abilities.

Mrs. Flowers only attended school through the 11th grade in Jackson, Alabama. Negro high schools were private then, not state-supported institutions, and Mrs. Flowers, living with various relatives, could no longer manage to pay the tuition herself. She had worked before and after school each day to support herself, but finally the burden and exhaustion proved too much. But three of Mrs. Flowers' children have graduated from college. The fourth, a 21 year old son, left Jackson State College after three years to serve in Viet Nam with the Army. One daughter, now working on her masters' degree at Kent State University, entered college when she was 16.

Aresident of North Gulfport since 1937, Mrs. Flowers has been secretary of the local NAACP branch, an executive board member of the Good Deeds Association, which has established recreational facilities in the city for Negroes, and a member of the North Gulfport Civic Club, which has worked on street improvements, voter registration, and better law enforcement.

She has participated in weekly CDGM training workshops and recently returned from a six week training course...normally open to college graduates only...at the George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee.

What does CDGM mean to Mrs. Flowers? "For adults, it has opened up opportunities in employment and child-raising which we never had before. It has been education and money, not aptitude, which have stood between us and our goals," she feels. "There was no way out before CDGM. For the children, CDGM has opened children's minds and lifted the oppression of segregation from them. CDGM starts children off young seeing white people as friends rather than having the frustration of segregation placed on them later on in school."

Mrs. Flowers' first remembered experience with segregation occurred when she was six. "I was sent by my aunt to get some syrup on credit from a nearby commodity store. I sat in a living room chair in the store lady's house and when she returned with the syrup, she screamed and slapped me around. My aunt later explained to me that 'white people are just like that.'"

Should CDGM die, Mrs. Flowers will not go back to being a maid. "I resent ed that, resented having to put "maid" on my employment form. I would probably try and set up a garment and sewing shop. I wouldn't be satisfied with anything less than that."

Pearlie Grove Center, like other CDGM centers in Mississippi, closed in early September when program funds were discontinued. Like other CDGM centers, Pearlie Grove has decided to re-open on a volunteer basis instead of waiting weeks, perhaps months, for the Office of Economic Opportunity to approve another grant.

Without money for salaries, food, or supplies, the people of Quitman have ingeniously developed other resources to sustain their center. The staff will teach without pay. A Head Start garden, kept by CDGM parents, will supply food for the children's noon meal. "Slop" from the center kitchen will feed

Head Start pigs which will be sold to purchase educational supplies.

When the Pearlie Grove Center operated with OEO supplied funds, it had a rich and varied program. During the first week of July, for example, the children's activities included:

--visiting the public elementary school while still in session
--painting pictures of their parents
--making books with pictures of different items beginning with the letter "B"
--discussing the potatoes growing in jars on the Science Table
--planting over outdoor gardens
--buying snow balls at Brown's Cafe
--learning the story of The Rabbit and Betty
--writing three letter words like cat and dog
--organizing a musical band which played on home-made instruments
--visiting Bill's Dollar Store, the Post Office, and the Discount Store.

Second Pilgrims' Rest Center, Holmes County.

CDGM teachers have developed a number of original classroom activities adapting materials easily obtained in the immediate environment.

At Second Pilgrims' Rest Center these activities included:

Cedar painting -- When one of the teachers discovered a shortage of paint brushes in the center, she used branches from a nearby cedar tree. As it turned out those children who received the cedar branches were the envy of the other children, because of the wonderful designs produced by splattering or dragging the branch over paper. Once the teacher saw the success of this activity, she also encouraged the children to paste parts of their branches onto the paper, creating new textures and colors.

Cotton painting -- While cleaning paint from desks and tables one evening after the children had left, another teacher noticed that the cotton could be used to absorb paint of various colors in unusual designs. By actually dipping the cotton into paint, she also learned that it would stick to a paper surface. With cotton samples obtained free of charge from a local gin, she introduced the activity in her class. The children were fascinated by watching the colors blend together as they were absorbed into the cotton and in the changes in cotton texture as it dried on their paper.

Egg shell painting -- A third teacher dipped broken particles of egg shells into paint and used them for making designs on paper. The result was a roughly textured surface which would be ideal for making relief maps or pictures.

Block painting -- Wooden blocks cut in various shapes were used to make prints. The blocks were dipped in paint and pressed on paper. The children made men, animals and many abstract designs. In working with the materials, as one teacher pointed out, they learned to talk about these shapes as well ("I need a square.") and to visualize what each shape would print in advance.

Number games with bottle caps -- Because different soft drinks come

with caps of different colors, teachers have used these for number games with children. The children match sets of numbers with the caps and, eventually, match in response to a written number on a flash card.

Clothespin dolls -- Dolls have been constructed from clothespins, with straws for arms, cotton or shredded paper for hair. This activity was introduced to the children by the janitor in the center, who is a part-time worker and enjoys spending much more than part-time with the children.

Liberty Center, Liberty.

When CDGM purchased plastic wading pools for CDGM children, teachers at the Liberty Center put theirs to a unique use.

Many of the children at the center lived in homes which lacked bath tubs. Some, as a result, suffered from skin rash and sores.

The wading pool became a bath tub and the children were washed with medicated soap prescribed by a CDGM doctor, warmed in the sunshine, and covered with a special ointment. The rash and sores disappeared and real pool-wading began.

Ellisville Center, Ellisville.

CDGM centers are not merely schools for young children. They are community institutions which thrive only through the continuing involvement of parents, neighbors, and local leaders. These people serve on community committees which oversee the center's operation, participate in class functions, and work on numerous community development projects (civic fund raising, federal programs, voter registration, neighborhood improvement). In almost all cases they also donate their time and materials to repairing, improving, even building the Head Start center.

A typical example is Ellisville Center where 70 parents and community people:

--built six sets of tables and benches, seven swings, four sandboxes, one seesaw, one wading pool, 50 toys
--installed plugs, heaters, a stove, and a hot water tank
--cleared land for a playground
--collected clothes and school bags for 50 children
--re-roofed the center.

Community Support

Mr. Ben F. Faust of Liberty, retired farmer, grandfather of three CDGM children; a life-long resident of Mississippi, one of hundreds of persons who have written to explain what CDGM means to them.

"I am writing on the occassion of CDGM. I think that CDGM is one of the best plans that the Negroes ever had. All over the state of Mississippi we have had a hard time and it doesn't seem to be getting any better. So for the future, I think that CDGM is the best for the Negro children.

I have to say that we are in a mean world down here in Amite County. It makes me say, like Jose, the Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away, so blesseth be the Lord. I am Ben F. Faust. When I was seventeen, the white folks wanted to take me away from my mother because I a good worker, but she didn't agree to it because my father was dead and no one was home but my mother and I. They wanted me to run off from home and work for them. Because I didn't they arrested me, claiming that I stole a cow. But no affadavit was made out against me. They arrested me May 20, 1910 and kept me in jail until October. They sentenced me October 26 to the prison for five years and then I was back home in November 1914. There I lived with my mother until December 25 when I got married. I have been in Amite ever since.

I have seen some bad things done in Amite, such as a man whose name was Isaac_____, who had gone to Jackson and redeemed his land of taxes and got title. White folks wanted to buy his timber and he wouldn't sell it to them. They went to his home one Sunday morning, six of them. They stuck a knife in his jaw and led him to the car, and put him and his son in the car and drove down the road toward the church and got out of the car to get a switch to whip him, but he got out of the car and ran and they shot him down with buckshot.

Mr._____was the sheriff. He came out and had an inquest. One of the Negroes asked Mr._____, "What are we going to do now?" He said, "There he is, take him, and do anything you want with him." All of them had guns of all kinds and we didn't have no protection at all, and when we picked him up the blood ran out of him like water through screens.

Another man by the name of Herbert Lee was shot down at the cotton gin by one of the Representatives of Amite County and he laid there about four days before any one paid any attention to him. But yet and still the cotton gin kept working. There were four in the gin. They made three of the Negroes who witnessed the shooting forget what they saw but when they made Louis Allen say he didn't see anything, he wouldn't. Later he was killed because he was going to testify against the sheriff. He was shot with buckshots at his gate three times. His brain was piled up under the truck.

So I think that CDGM should keep operating the Head Start for Negroes."

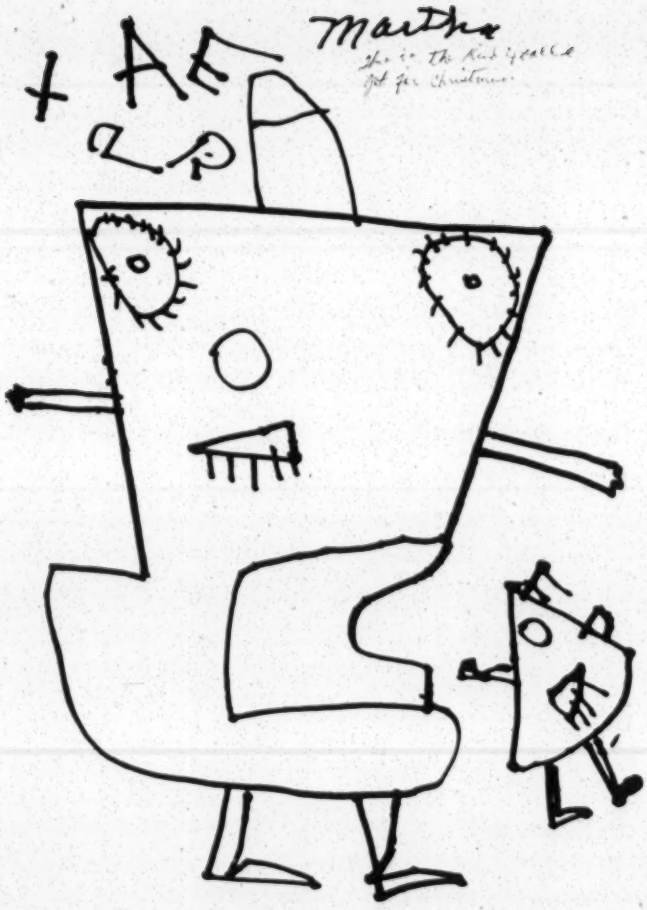
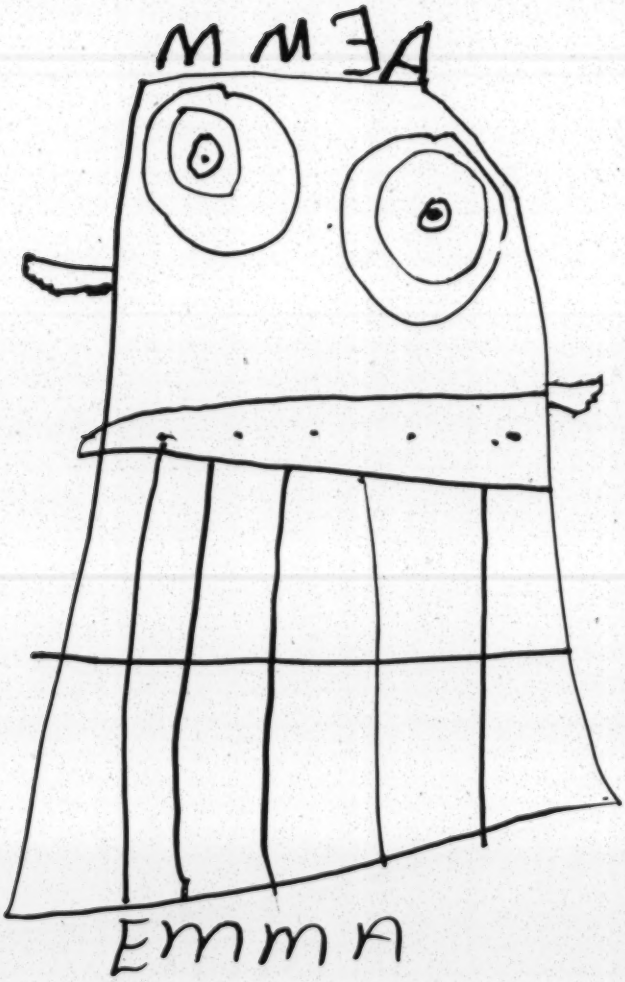


PHOTO CREDITS:

Bob Fletcher - Cover and pages 1-6

CDGM Area Staff - pages 8-14 (color photos)

HJK Publishing Company
Jackson, Mississippi
September 1966


EMMA

Make file
Choate, R.B

December 9, 1968

Mr. R. B. Choate
National Institute of Public Affairs
Suite 610
1825 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Bob:

Raymond has shared with me your letter of November 21 and has asked that I respond to it. The following, in part, represents Raymond's thinking as well as my own.

First, while I think you are correct in some ways in your comparison with the Council's current situation and that of the Urban League's in the early '60's, I don't believe the situation with the Council is quite as tragic as you may have felt from some of the events of our annual meeting. I do, however, have some rather extensive plans in mind to meet the situation and, in fact, shall discuss them with Raymond tomorrow evening in Charlotte.

Your idea of briefing Congressmen is an excellent one, and we are very interested in it. Before an itinerary is prepared, however, I would be very grateful for some further elaboaration on your part as to how the Congressmen should be approached, what response you think they would give, whether you mean a rather large group tour, or a number of tours for several Congressmen in each instance, and the like. Obviously, if we are to do such a thing, we should do it soon, and we would give it top priority here. And, of course, I agree with you that if it is done the quality of materials prepared and the mechanical details should receive a great deal of attention.

Thanks for the suggestion and your further help. Perhaps some time before the holidays we could talk on the telephone about this.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

CHARLOTTE MEDICAL CLINIC
1900 BRUNSWICK AVENUE
CHARLOTTE, N. C. 28207

December 2, 1968

INTERNAL MEDICINE
DAVID S. CITRON, M. D.
LOGAN O. JONES, M. D.
CLINTON H. McKAY, M. D.
THOMAS H. McMILLAN, JR., M. D.
WILLIAM C. SUGG, JR., M. D.
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, M. D.

Mr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am enclosing the letter from Bob Choate as well as a copy of a newspaper item which is pertinent to one of the points he makes. The more I reflect and read and talk with people, the more strongly I believe that the key to a significant breakthrough in the effort for progressive change in the South, is in the mind of the white southerner.

Unless I hear from you to the contrary, I will assume that you will answer Bob's letter, particularly his last paragraphs.

As usual it was great fun being with you at the meeting which I think almost everyone enjoyed in spite of the accommodations.

The lead article in the December Atlantic Monthly is the best discussion of the politics of hunger that I have read. Don't miss it.

Sincerely,

Raymond

Raymond M. Wheeler, M. D.

RMW/jb
Encl.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
SUITE 610, 1825 K STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

CARL F. STOVER

November 21, 1968

Dr. Ray Wheeler
Charlotte Medical Center
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina 28207

Dear Ray:

It was my pleasure to listen in on your deliberations for two days. I hope I did not open my mouth too much.

The similarity between the current posture of the Southern Regional Council and that of the National Urban League in 1962 is irrefutable. The Urban League then was conservative, and, as mavericks started to talk black power, businessmen fled towards the Urban League, recognizing it as being a conservative and responsible body. I suspect you are going to go through the same process in the Southeast.

That does not mean, however, that you can remain as you are. The Urban League has changed greatly since 1962 and now is able to persuade businessmen that black power has some positive connotations. The Southern Regional Council must use its great knowledge of social conditions in the Southeast to drive home to the rest of the country that much of that which is found in the South is un-American in quality and content. This can be done on more than a black basis, for much of the poverty in the Southeast is white. The hypocrisy of the South's political leaders, both local and national, must be stressed to much greater extent than exists today. Vignettes must point out the social conditions in powerful Congressmen's and Senators' backyards and be placed in both the conservative and liberal press today, for such publications are agreed upon one point: the non-performance of the Congress is a national scandal.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES: Charles B. Stauffacher, Chairman; Miss Anna Lord Strauss, Vice Chairman; Rowland Egger, Secretary; Manly Fleischmann; T. Keith Glennan; William T. Golden; Lee S. Greene; William H. Josephson; Kent Mathewson; Harold V. Miller; Bernard Monaghan; Frederick C. Mosher; James M. Nabrit, Jr.; Arthur Naftalin; Quigg Newton; Floyd W. Reeves; Carl F. Stover

I would like to see an outline wherein the Southern Regional Council would propose a 36 hour tour of part of the South from which Congressmen could learn of the problems besetting that area. It should be mechanically perfect. It should be crammed with facts and figures and written documents which could be taken back to Washington. It should be conducted without publicity. It should contain a minimum of speeches and a maximum number of personal encounters.

Do you think such an outline could be sent to me?

Again it was great seeing you. Very best regards to you and your wife.

Sincerely,

Bob

R. B. Choate

From Our Three Capitals

Dixie's Mayors Often Find Congressmen A Handicap

Washington

By James K. Batten
Observer Washington Bureau

Amid the ancient misams of race-baiting and poverty and phony "New South" veneer, progressive Southerners have always clung to a presumptuous dream.

They have cherished the notion that the South might someday abandon its hard-scrabble traditions and leapfrog over the rest of America to lead the national parade into a new era of abundance and human decency.

Because black and white Southerners know and appreciate each other as human beings, it has been argued over the years, the South might heal its terrible racial wounds much sooner than the cold, impersonal North.

And because Southern industrialization was coming late, the dreamers said, why couldn't we avoid the mistakes made by the North a half-century ago? Why shouldn't the urban South bypass the grime and congestion and human misery that usually has come with the city?

In Savannah a couple of weeks ago, at a memorable meeting arranged by the U.S. Conference of Mayors, 35 Southern mayors took a fresh look at some of these old dreams.

Terry Sanford, one of the speakers, reminded them that the South's advantages didn't necessarily guarantee success. He recalled, as governor, making an industry-hunting safari to New York.

"As the train crossed northern New Jersey in the early hours of the morning," Sanford said, "I looked out at the streams, the smoggy atmosphere, the crowded, dingy living conditions, and . . . I wondered if all our efforts to bring new industry to North Carolina would mean only that we would destroy the climate for pleasant living, substituting this kind of unwholesome living."

The more perceptive mayors in the audience had experienced the same misgivings themselves about the South's new industrial boom.

In arranging the Savannah gathering, the leaders of the conference of mayors had a special point in mind: They wanted to convince the Southern mayors that federal money in large quantities is essential to build wholesome, livable cities.

Some of the mayors, like Charlotte's Stan R. Brookshire, reached that conclusion independently long ago. They have mastered the fine art of extracting federal cash to bolster their programs back home.

Mayors like Brookshire represent one face of the modern South, turning aggressively to Washington for help.

More often than not, however, the mayors are working at cross-purposes with the congressmen who represent their cities in Washington. The congressmen in many cases, are still rooted in the rural past. At least that was the argument made in Savannah.

To make sure nobody missed the point, the conference of mayors passed out booklets showing how Southern congressmen voted recently on key federal programs important to the cities—housing, rat control, anti-poverty and the like.

In North Carolina, for example, the booklet listed six congressmen from districts embracing major cities. Of 41 votes by that sextet on urban programs, 35 were cast against. In South Carolina, 26 of 28 votes were negative.

Brookshire, in an unusually candid comment to a reporter in Savannah, summed up his own quarrel with Charlotte's conservative congressman—Republican Charles R. Jonas.

"We got our federal aid—not because of—but in spite of our congressional delegation," Brookshire was quoted as saying.

"Of course, Charlie's an arch-conservative, but I'd say he's become a lot more conversant with urban problems in the past few years. The people at HUD (the Department of Housing and Urban Development) say we've softened him up a bit."

John Feild, a key staffer for the conference of mayors, insists that congressmen like Jonas can be "softened up" much more—once they realize that their districts are growing more and more urbane, and less and less rural.

Marked:
Personal & Confidential

January 9, 1969

Mr. R. B. Choate
National Institute of Public Affairs
Suite 610
1825 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Bob:

One of our researchers has spent two days going through the morgue of the Atlanta newspapers and has produced the enclosed summary which I think reflects as accurately as we can the information you requested.

Incidentally, if you have any further thoughts on your suggestion to Raymond about the briefing sessions for congressmen, I would welcome them. As I indicated earlier, I think the idea is excellent.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Sent also to Personal + Confidential:
Wm. Seabern
1703 Taylor St. N.W.
Wash. DC. 20011

When Agriculture Commissioner Phil Campbell left the Democratic party to become a Republican late in 1968, he made a number of public statements denouncing his former party and Hubert Humphrey. The following exerpts are from articles appearing in Atlanta newspapers following the 1968 Democratic Convention.

"Campbell Sounds Humphrey Alert"
Agriculture Commissioner Phil Campbell said he resigned from the Democratic Party "to alert the people of Georgia to the danger of electing Hubert Humphrey president." He described Humphrey as "too far to the left" and George Wallace's actions as "way over to the right." He also described Humphrey as "a very confused man" and charged "Mr. Humphrey made concession after concession to a group that was inspired and dictated to by the same hard core radical element responsible for disorder and disruption on the campuses of some of our greates universities such as Columbia and the University of California at Berkley, the same group that thrives on an attitude of extreme permissiveness to riot in our greatest cities."

"Campbell Expects Humphrey Rebuff"
In this article Campbell accused Humphrey of "selling out the loyal, white, middle-of-the-road Democrat." "Mr. Humphrey, Mr. McCarthy and the Americans for Democratic Action also made it abundantly clear that the responsible Negro leadership in Georgia including Sen. Leroy Johnson, Sen. Horace Ward, R. A. Dent, Mrs. P. Q. Yancy, and Mrs. Mamie Reese were not only unacceptable, but that such leadership must be replaced by Stokely Carmichael type leadership as personified by Julian Bond who helped Carmichael found SNCC." Such rhetoric has been known to warm the hearts of Georgia voters.

Once having accepted the Republican standard, Campbell helped his new party fight the Wallace threat to a Republican victory in Georgia.

"Campbell Warns of Wallace Vote"
Campbell wrote 50,000 letters to Georgia farmers warning them that "a vote for George Wallace might put Humphrey in the White House." The Commissioner emphasized that his letter "is not intended as a criticism of George Wallace, for whom I have high regard. But I cannot vote for him with the knowledge that such a vote might help Hubert Humphrey become President of the United States."

Campbell's criticism of Humphrey (who had lost much support in Georgia after the Convention fiasco) and his attempts to "oppose" Wallace through the possibility of a Humphrey victory in the state, are nothing more than simple political expediency. (No Georgia politician in his right mind would oppose Wallace when the state was expected to go for the Alabama former governor, without blaming his opposition on the threat of victory by the unpopular Humphrey.) Campbell saw a good thing and hitched his star to Nixon whom he considered a winner. The same tendency is evident in the 1960 and 1964 presidential elections when he refused to endorse Kennedy and Johnson - then very unpopular in Georgia. Campbell has been a real power in Georgia politics for many years. The following article illustrates the tremendous influence of the man on state affairs.

"Statehouse Clique Has Election Power" 11/11/64
Four state officials are said capable of naming their choice. They are called "the clique" and nobody denies its existance. A coalition of four powerful state officials working quietly behind the scenes to influence

important elections. Members of the "clique," who tested their power in supporting Rep. Alpha Fowler successfully this year for a seat on the Public Service Commission are Phil Campbell, Commissioner of Agriculture, Jimmy Bentley, Comptroller General, Jack Ray, State Treasurer and Crawford Pilcher, Chairman of the Public Service Commission. One source said "the four are trying to form a government within a government with the power to sit back and pick people off one at a time."

"Challenged By The "Clique" 11/11/64
Most observers think the "clique" has been strengthened considerably because none of the four campaigned for the Democratic ticket. Also the four are considered strong segregationist, a fact that may be politically valuable since Goldwater's Georgia vote total means the race issue will remain very much alive in the state's political campaigns.
When Rep. Fowler becomes a Public Service Commissioner in January, the "clique" will have a new member with special credentials on segregation. In 1957 Fowler, long time politico Roy Harris and Alan Kemper (State Public Welfare Director at the time) chartered the American Resettlement Foundation, Inc. Its purpose was to locate Southern Negro families in white Northern residential areas. There were never any reports that the foundation fulfilled its purpose. A veteran state official who did not want to be identified summed up the "clique" this way: "With their influence in so many fields they could be an important factor in just about any election. You've got all those agriculture department employees all over the state. You've got Bentley with influence in insurance and small loans and Jack Ray with influence among the bankers because of state deposits. And you've got the Public Service Commission with control over public utilities."

Campbell's segregationist tendencies are not unusual in the sense that he has played the wild eyed extremist's role. It was not only acceptable but expected that Georgia politicians follow the seg tradition. (To do otherwise would have been political suicide in the early '60's when the following newspaper lead was written: "Campbell To Address Citizen's Council."
It was during this period that Phil Campbell had a yen to be governor. Once again, seg politicians were successful politicians. When Campbell announced his candidacy for governor (the election wasn't until 1962) in 1959, later to withdraw from the race before it really even started, he said in a 5/22/60 newspaper article when asked his position on the Georgia school integration crises:
"I have faith in the people of Georgia that they will not be panicked or stampeded and I am convinced that every child in Georgia will be educated at public expense. I personally believe in the separation of the races."
And:
"Big Question in Klan Rally" an editorial of the early 60's! "The state of Georgia had better clarify its policy about the use of state property for such assemblies as meetings of the KKu Klux Klan. It comes as somewhat of a surprise that some 75 robed Klansmen conducted two hours of speechmaking at the farmer's market in Savannah, paying no heed to Gov. Griffin and Agriculture Commissioner Phil Campbell, who previously had voiced their disapproval. Mr. Campbell is reported to have placed this stamp of disapproval on Klan use of the public marketing facility. The question quite naturally arises: Is he helpless to do anything else?"

As for Campbell's being a Talmadge man, he supported Herman during his governorship (as any state Georgian with higher political aspirations would) but there was an old anti-Talmadge feeling that ran deep. That feeling dates

back to the time when Herman's father, Gov. Gene Talmadge, engaged in a bitter wrangle with Campbell's father over the administration of Georgia's county farm agent system. Campbell's father lost. But political fences tend to mend easily in the name of expediency, as shown by Campbell's present relationship with "Hummon."

Campbell has run the Department of Agriculture like a czar since his election in 1954. He exerts tremendous influence in the Georgia Farm Bureau and had publically been accused of hand-picking its president. He is not opposed to spreading this influence around either. In November of 1960 he saw to it that a special constitutional amendment appeared on the Georgia ballot designed to place him on the State Board of Regents. The voters refused. Campbell has never been afraid to help out a friend - especially a political one. In June of 1961 the Atlanta Constitution carried an article entitled "Commissioners in Five Counties Listed as State Inspectors." The paper noted that "Five County Commissioners (a fairly powerful political position especially in those county unit system days) and several other persons with political connections are listed as part time inspectors on the State Department of Agriculture payroll."

His agricultural philosophy is simple. Campbell has supported federal price supports since the '50's and has often called on the government to increase its price support payments. He has said for many years that "co-ops are the answer" to the problems Georgia farmers encounter in breaking into the market place. Campbell believes in strong federal farm support and only turns against federal control when his empire is threatened. In 1967 when bad meat was being sold in Georgia market-places, he fought a proposed federal law for government

meat inspection. Passage of the law caused a sizable reduction in state agricultural personnel and funds. Shortly after crying state's rights in opposing the federal meat inspection law, he turned around and asked for more federal poultry inspectors to augment the staff of state inspectors.

A POLITICAL PORTRAIT

Conversation With Phil Campbell

By STEVE BALL JR.

You've read a lot about Georgia Agriculture Commissioner Phil Campbell lately.

There were, for a time, stories he had a weak shot at becoming U.S. secretary of agriculture.

Even before President-elect Richard Nixon had named someone else to that job, however, the talk changed, pushing Mr. Campbell down a notch.

Now it is reliably reported that the Georgian could be undersecretary if he desires. As of this weekend, it appeared to be very much in the air whether he would become undersecretary.

But, it seemed an appropriate time to take a longer look at Phil Campbell, a long-time Democrat turned Republican who styles himself as "a little left of center."

PHIL CAMPBELL
Figures in Speculation

AFTER GRADUATION from the University of Georgia, postgraduate work at the University of Virginia, where his marks were excellent, and a tour of duty as a flying officer, Mr. Campbell worked his farm then in 1948 ran for the legislature from Oconee County.

"I ran for the legislature while I was milking cows," he said in an interview. "You see, my purpose was to get into public life—being a native of Athens and interested in state government, that's why I got in—and I could have run for superintendent of schools if it had opened up just as easily as I ran for this office.

"But," he continued, "you take the opportunities that present themselves and that happened to be the one that came about."

Although he is today closely aligned with the so-called Capitol Clique—and the entire group generally is associated with Sen. Herman Talmadge—Mr. Campbell did not start out a Talmadge man.

"MY HISTORY, being from Athens, certainly wasn't as a Gene Talmadge person," he said. "None of the people I was with and grew up with supported the late Eugene Talmadge. A few, but most of them paper as a legislator," Mr. Campbell related.

"He'd been here eight or 10 years when I got here and he was the only person I knew. So, I looked him up. This is a little-known fact, but I tried to get hold of him during my campaign, without any idea he would remember me because he was identified as a Talmadge man, to get me unblacklisted in Oconee County.

"I didn't get in touch with Jack and when Herman was sworn into office, it was the first time I met him, to his knowledge. My wife was with me and he was standing over there. I told my wife, 'Nan', 'that's Jack Ray from down in Warren County. Remember I tried to get in touch with him and missed him?'

"And I went over and told him about it, told him my name and I said, 'I tried to get in touch with you during my campaign because they had me blacklisted as being anti-Talmadge and I'm up here as an independent. I'm not for or against anybody. I'm up here because of my interest in the state of Georgia and the university.'

"AND HE said, 'I'm damned glad you didn't get in touch with me—now this is Jack Ray, you people in the press don't appreciate that fellow—he said, 'I'm damned glad you didn't get in touch with me. You got up here unobligated to anybody, said you're your own man,' said, that's the way you keep it.' Now, how can you expect any more out of anybody?

"Jack Ray's the best thing that ever hit this state government. He's the unsung hero of keeping things in the right perspective and on the right keel. 'Course, he's a lot more conservative in some respects than I am. I admire him greatly. That was my first meeting with Jack and I'm kind of a protege of Jack, as a result.

"You look around at the Capitol, and it might surprise you at the proteges.

"(Lt. Gov.) George T. Smith was a protege of Jack (Supreme Court Justice) Hi Undercofler. The judge was a protege of Jack's. You just name off a few more."

In 1954 Mr. Campbell announced he was running for his agriculture position. The then-commissioner, Tom Linder, had announced for governor, leaving the office vacant. Sen. Talmadge, then still governor, talked on and off about running for agriculture commissioner, just to keep his hand in.

"He did (consider it), but eventually he decided not to," Mr. Campbell said. "I had someone checking him regularly to let me know. It was right funny because the fellow that was checking for me to let me know ended up supporting my opposition, Garland Byrd.

"I kept daily contact, checking to find out and, of course, everyone Herman called, I am certain—I'm just giving you my impression—said, 'Fine, you can get elected to that office,' which he could have.

"THEN, FINALLY, one fellow did speak up and put it to him straight. This was Frank Twitty, his floor leader. He told me: 'Herman called me and asked what I thought about him running for commissioner of agriculture and I asked him, What the hell you want with it? 'He's the only person I know that threw cold water on it. Frank's that way, you see."

Even though he had supported the Talmadge program, the two of them were far from being close enough to work any kind of deal on the agriculture post, Mr. Campbell said.

"I don't know how close you could say we are now, frankly," the commissioner said. "I don't know anyone that close to Herman. He doesn't operate that way, so far as I know.

"I wouldn't say I'm that close," he continued. "But I am dedicated to supporting him because I think he's good for the state of Georgia and good for the United States. I've always supported him since I got up here. And, I've never made a political trade in my life and don't expect ever to make one.

"I support what I think is right and what I think is good for Georgia and possibly good for Phil Campbell. You know, you gotta be a little selfish, but I don't ever do it on the basis of making a trade.

"THIS HAS been my relationship with Herman: I voluntarily supported him because I thought he was going down a road that was good for the people. And all of the progress in this state started with Herman Talmadge.

"The Marvin Griffin Administration, Ernie Vandiver Administration, Carl Sanders Administration and this (Lester Maddox) administration have been nothing but continuations and expansions of what he started. Up until that time, this state was stymied. They were just as stymied as they could be."

Mr. Campbell insists his switch from the Democratic to the Republican party was caused by much more than mere anger at the Georgia delegation's treatment at the national convention.

"I relate to the entire package of what's happening and has been happening for the last four years to the leadership in Washington, D.C." he said. "I do not personally believe in any respect that the trouble we're having in our colleges and universities is the result of unhappy teen-agers that think that they've got to set policy in the universities and colleges.

"These are promoted by well-trained, hard-core, individuals who eventually get their orders from Moscow. This group isn't getting their orders from Mos-

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lature from Oconee County.

"I ran for the legislature while I was milking cows," he said in an interview. "You see, my purpose was to get into public life—being a native of Athens and interested in state government, that's why I got in—and I could have run for superintendent of schools if it had opened up just as easily as I ran for this office.

"But," he continued, "you take the opportunities that present themselves and that happened to be the one that came about."

Although he is today closely aligned with the so-called Capitol Clique—and the entire group generally is associated with Sen. Herman Talmadge—Mr. Campbell did not start out a Talmadge man.

"MY HISTORY, being from Athens, certainly wasn't as a Gene Talmadge person," he said. "None of the people I was with and grew up with supported the late Eugene Talmadge. A few, but most of them not, and when I ran for the legislature I ran as an independent.

"But I lived in a Talmadge county and my opponent was chairman of the Talmadge faction in the county and his brother was chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee and his wife was welfare director and the sheriff was supporting him—and he was the strongest political ally of the Talmadges in the entire congressional district.

"Our county, though, was about 55-45—Oconee—although I was a native of Athens and Athens always was anti-Talmadge and Oconee always was pro-Talmadge, except when he ran against Dick Russell. Dick Russell carried it by four votes.

"That's my background," Mr. Campbell explained. "I ran as an independent. Gene was dead, Herman was up here. He'd just gotten elected. I wasn't going to close my mind to Herman Talmadge because of his daddy and I came up open-minded, as an independent. I wasn't with any faction, so far as I was concerned, although I had to beat the Talmadge faction to get elected and I just did by 25 votes.

"I WAS interested in the state of Georgia and, as soon as I saw the direction Herman was going down, well, so far as I was concerned, I went that route and supported him."

Although he had no anti-Talmadge feelings, there were some who had their doubts for a while.

"I was branded anti-Talmadge, behind the scenes, and I found out confidentially from one of the fellows who was in the circle that my name was blacklisted until he got it unblacklisted," Mr. Campbell said.

But, with that talk going on and his vote for Rep. John Greer's bill to unmask the Ku Klux Klan—"I had klansmen ride up in my yard"—he acquired a reputation as a liberal.

"I am a little to the left, that's right," he said. "I always classified myself as a Franklin D. Roosevelt-type Democrat. I frankly think the Republicans sit now where Franklin D. Roosevelt sat in the middle '30'. I just haven't shifted.

"The liberals of one age kind of become the conservatives of the next. But in today's terminology, I still classify myself as a little left of center."

HIS FIRST friend in the legislature was Jack Ray, now state treasurer and one of the Clique members who left the Democratic party in September with Mr. Campbell.

"Jack Ray had been at the university three years ahead of me and I met him there and I had seen his picture in the paign, without any idea he would remember me because he was identified as a Talmadge man, to get me unblacklisted in Oconee County.

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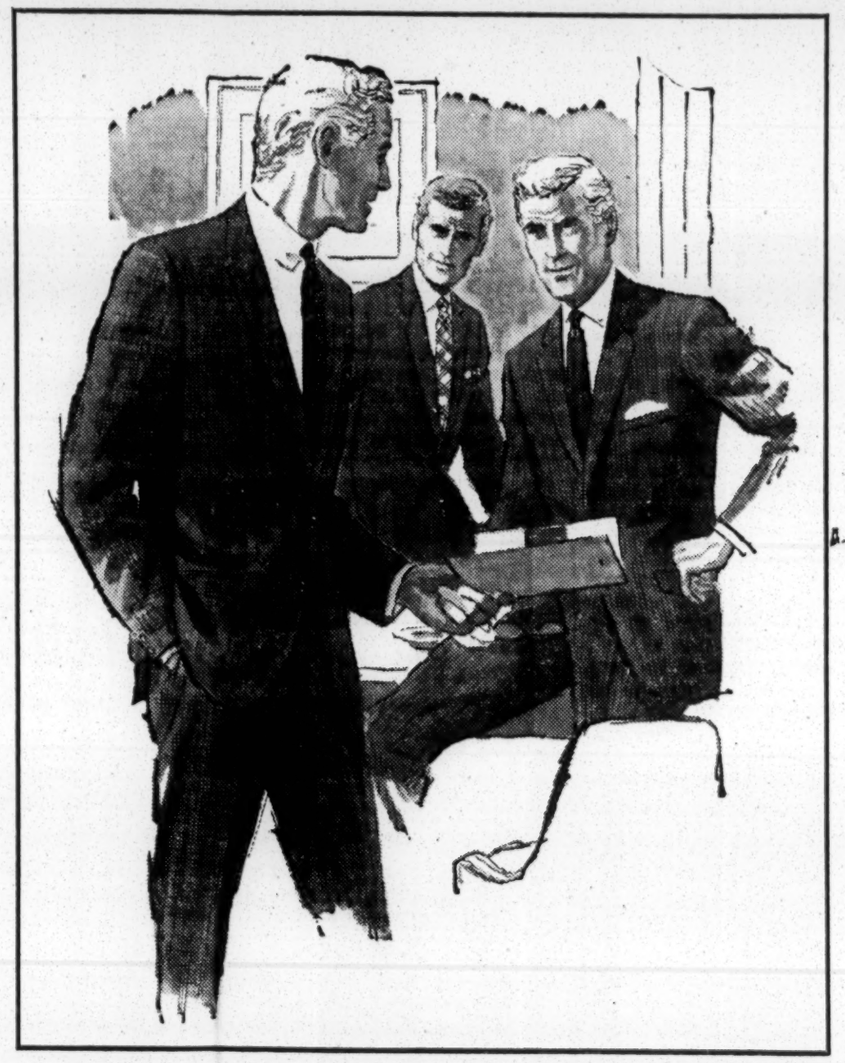

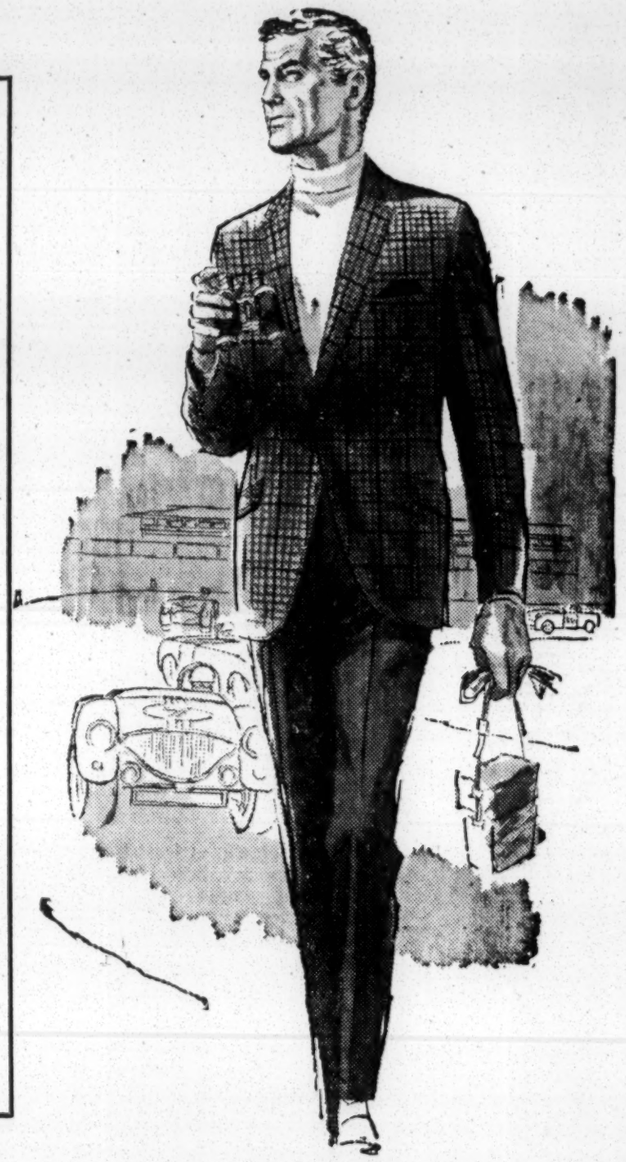

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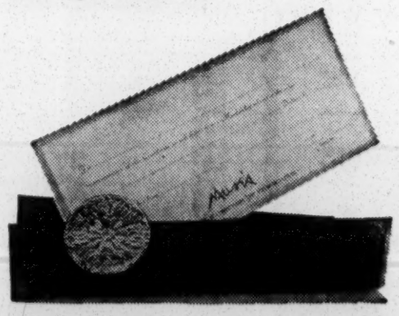

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me and I met him there and I had seen his picture in the

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SOME HAVE A HAPPY ENDING

Tracking Down a Child's Defects

By CHRISTINA BLEDSOE

The young mother protectively held her baby close to her, a listless 18-month-old girl who weighed only one pound for each month, whose skin was pulled tight and hard over her cheekbones.

"What you want to know," the doctor prodded, "is what will she be like in a year?"

"Yes," anxiously responded the mother. But she did not like what she was next told.

There is just no way to tell yet, Dr. James F. Schwartz said. "The crystal ball is murky."

Too many unanswered questions stood in the way of a diagnosis of a child who seemed to respond only to a ringing bell, not to human attention: why the child had suddenly lost weight at one point, what was causing her stunted bone growth and mental retardation and sketchy data on her early development.

GATHERING CLUES to pinpoint the "whys" would take several months.

But the worried mother didn't want to take that long. She might not bring the child back, she slowly said. She might just take him to a doctor in her small Georgia town.

The woman's decision was unusual; few would choose the same route. She was speaking to a doctor in charge of a special birth defects center at Grady Memorial Hospital, one of the few places in Georgia her daughter could get individualized help.

Her busy hometown doctor could not give the same amount of time or specialized knowledge available at the Grady center run by Dr. Schwartz, an Emory University specialist who studied both pediatrics and diseases of the nervous system.

Unlike the image of most clinics, this one takes few patients but often works with them for years. Dr. Schwartz, along with residents and interns, plots each case in detail. Only referral patients are seen by the center which is supported by The National Foundation—March of Dimes.

THERE ARE TWO APPROACHES when an infant seems to have a problem, Dr. Schwartz says. You can either dodge it and hope it will disappear, as it sometimes does, or you can pinpoint the reason for the problem.

The Grady center tries the latter approach in hopes of creating more happy endings—but it isn't always easy.

It takes digging and digging, time and treatment. One two-and-a-half-year-old girl treated at the center has a chart as thick as any book on the best selling list.

The 1969 March of Dimes poster girl is an example of early intervention bringing a happy ending.

Four-year-old Daniellia Bradshaw of Forest Park has a rare disease called PKY (phenylketonuria). Caused by a chemical imbalance, if untreated, it often causes mental retardation. Her problem was spotted early and her outlook is bright for a normal life.

HER CASE ILLUSTRATES the difficulty of working with defects. Often they are invisible—not as dramatic as being born without an arm—but just as terrifying and more mystifying.

Tracking down a child's problem may take months. Then a child may be referred to another Emory facility at Grady such as surgery or physical medicine for rehabilitation.

The center works with many children who are hydrocephalics, expanded head size due to water on the brain.

Like a plastic bag with water continually flowing into it, the head swells if flow passages to remove the fluid are obstructed. In these cases the brain size is compressed and the child becomes mentally deficient.

The condition often is fatal. Until recent years many doctors declined to treat it, believing the child would die. Sometimes the child didn't die though, as witnessed by many cases at Central State Hospital.

Through the birth defects center, children with this problem undergo a short operation, about 30 minutes, in which a tube is surgically implanted in the skull which leads the fluids out of the head and prevents swelling.

The word "defect" covers a broad world of strange ailments, some of which are still waiting to be defined until the field has more specialists.

ONE 10-YEAR-OLD BOY who comes regularly to the center has been in institutions for the deaf for more than seven years but did not respond to teachers or learn to lip read.

Thinking that the child might not have normal intelligence and that they couldn't work with him, he was released from school more than a year ago and has not been able to get into a local school.

But speech therapist Mrs. Sam Allen, who volunteered her services, has found another side to the boy's story.

First she found he could hear a little with a hearing aid. "He lit up the first time they put it on him and won't take it off," she says.

Then she found Bill could read better than suspected. Simple words like "run" he can instantly pick out if shown a figure running and his vocabulary appears to be larger all the time.

Slowly, Bill is picking up a little lip-reading. Recently his I.Q. was tested for the first time, using a performance test without words, and appears normal.

Now his family has heard he can be admitted to a Cobb County hard-of-hearing class, provided they move to that county. The doors are steadily opening for Bill, as they have for many others at the birth defects center.

POLITICAL PORTRAIT

A Conversation With Campbell

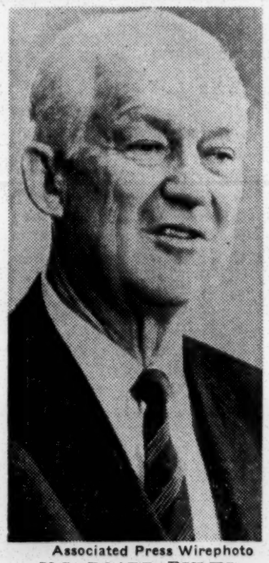
Continued from Page 15A, Col. 5

cow, but somebody has organized this group.

"TO ME, the Democrats, and Johnson and Kennedy and Humphrey condone all this. They actually encourage it. They say, 'Oh, we've got to find out what's wrong with these unhappy teenagers. We've got a gap between the generations.' I don't buy all of this, because I know why all of this is happening.

"I was in Europe at the time of Munich, in '38 and '39, when they let Hitler go into Czechoslovakia when Chamberlain was carrying his umbrella around. I watched Castro start out in the mountains and take over Cuba spontaneous. They are created by a hard-core group of people who go in like Stokely Carmichael and others, then move on to another city and so on and on. And people like Bobby Kennedy sit down and chat with them just as though they're legitimate people who got a right to do these things. And we can't tolerate this type thing.

"'Course Bobby is dead, now. I hate to use his name or even talk about him, that just isn't what you should do, but he's just another expression. Hubert Humphrey the same way. Hubert Humphrey embraced all of these people in Chicago—the hippies and everybody else that



Associated Press Wirephoto

U.S. BOARD RULES FOR CABLE TV

Washington—Rosel H. Hyde, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, has announced a limited system of pay television. The commission also proposed rules for

to put some stability back into the agricultural economy and get the ownership back in the hands of the farmers, we had the New Deal legislation under Franklin Roosevelt.

"And if you're going to make any effort to keep agriculture from being bankrupt, you've got to have a federal program.

"NOW YOU can have many different types of federal programs and I don't know that I would get into any discussion as to any particular program because you can have variations, but it always has to get back to a subsidy of some sort, whether you want to call it that or not. It is.

"You can allow the farmers to produce all he wants and then subsidize him only on the portion that is consumed by the American public," Mr. Campbell said. "That's never been done. Or, you can do what they did in the New Deal days. Say we're going to have a restriction on production and give you a support price on your total production that you do produce. S

must be helped and assisted to keep it from being in a continual state of bankruptcy.

"OF COURSE, today, we're moving rapidly into a new era. The free enterprise capitalistic system finds its own answers, whether we like those answers or not, and we're moving into a new era where we no longer have people out on the land who have to farm. People today can go do something else if they have the ambition to so do, although they may have to get training or education to go into some other type work other than farming. There are enough opportunities in town for them to make a choice."

Mr. Campbell said he considers himself very close, personally, to Agriculture secretary Orville Freeman, though he has disagreed emphatically with some of his policies and particularly the way programs have been implemented.

But, he admires greatly Mr. Freeman's talk about the possibilities of creating new cities and of using farmland for recreational purposes—the latter with some reservations, cautioning that farmers must carefully study whether they are near enough to centers of population before moving into the recreation field.

He will await development of the Nixon Administration's farm policy with interest and also, of course, await with interest the development of the administration itself, with a special eye to personnel.

Satellite Delayed

VANDENBERB AIR FORCE BASE, Calif. (AP)—High winds in the upper atmosphere again delayed launching of the eighth ESSA weather satellite Saturday.

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19A. Pure Alpaca by Towne and King ... ideal for

A Conversation With Campbell

Continued from Page 15A, Col. 5

cow, but somebody has organized this group.

"TO ME, the Democrats, and Johnson and Kennedy and Humphrey condone all this. They actually encourage it. They say, 'Oh, we've got to find out what's wrong with these unhappy teenagers. We've got a gap between the generations.' I don't buy all of this, because I know why all of this is happening.

"I was in Europe at the time of Munich, in '38 and '39, when they let Hitler go into Czechoslovakia when Chamberlain was carrying his umbrella around. I watched Castro start out in the mountains and take over Cuba and then later our CIA says, 'We didn't know he was a Communist.'

"And what I'm saying is, this whole atmosphere is treated as though there were validity to what the students are doing and to the riots in the cities and all —and there is, politically, to the ghettoes, but not to the riots. I don't buy that. I predicted right here to this staff in March that there would be no substantial riots this last summer and everyone will say, 'Oh, we've learned how to contain the riots and the police are doing a better job,' but that won't be the reason.

"The reason there won't be any riots is that they are not spontaneous. They are created by a hard-core group of people who go in like Stokely Carmichael and others, then move on to another city and so on and on. And people like Bobby Kennedy sit down and chat with them just as though they're legitimate people who got a right to do these things. And we can't tolerate this type thing.

"'Course Bobby is dead, now. I hate to use his name or even talk about him, that just isn't what you should do, but he's just another expression. Hubert Humphrey the same way. Hubert Humphrey embraced all of these people in Chicago—the hippies and everybody else that was trying to tear up the convention, and yet when he went out on the campaign trail they wouldn't even let him speak.

WHILE Mr. Campbell obviously has conservative views, he also is surprisingly willing to talk in terms unacceptable to a great many Georgia politicians. Take, for example, the use of that bugaboo of a word, "socialism:"

"Your federal farm programs certainly can be classed as Socialistic-type programs so far as I'm concerned," he said. "They're social programs for the good of a certain segment of society. And any recipient of a social program needs to look carefully at his program in any criticism of any other program.

"But, of course, that doesn't mean that just because you're the recipient of some social program—and practically everyone in the United States is—practically every segment of business, just look at Lockheed up here. They wouldn't be in business if it weren't for the United States government. And, in your mails, slick magazines and others don't pay the cost of the mail and that's a subsidy.

"But just because you are the recipient doesn't mean that you can't disagree with some other program that you believe is too far off base or gone too far, so that farmers, just as anyone else, just like the press or Lockheed, have got the right to disagree with certain other programs.

"But sometimes I think they ought to look a little bit closer at what they are receiving from the government before they have much to say about someone else—not only farmers, but anyone else."

THE COMMISSIONER was asked what he would like to see accomplished with the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) and with farm policy if he had the say-so.

"Well, there're two sides to your question," he began. "Number one is your farm policy. The other is the bureaucracy in the USDA, which is terrible, but it's not only in the USDA, it's in all of the federal agencies and, right here in the Georgia Department of Agriculture to an extent.

"It's here in state government. You have to work overtime to break down your bureaucracy and prevent them from becoming the policy setters. And, very unfortunately, intentionally or unintentionally, in the USDA the bureaucracy—and I'm very familiar with all of them; know who they are and where they are—have in the last few years, intentionally or unintentionally, from the top, at the secretary's level and out of the White House, they have been setting policy where they have supposed to be carrying out policy and doing the work.

"And our departments have become so huge, that a new Cabinet member, if he doesn't already know that department, will spend four years just beginning to learn, and all the time being outwitted by the bureaucracy.

That is one item where, just as an administrative matter, the fulltime Civil Service employes need to be shaken up and put in their proper places and their proper perspectives to carry out what is the policy of Congress and the White House.

BUT NOW, insofar as general farm policy is concerned, we first have to make certain judgments, certain decisions have to be arrived at," he said. "First, we must realize we have more farmers than are necessary to produce what is needed for the consumers of the United States and always have had.

"We've had an unlimited number of farmers in the past. When you have an unlimited number of producers of any product, whether it be an industry in town, or out on the farm, you're gonna overproduce the market and not be able to get the cost of production in the marketplace.

"This is obvious to anybody who knows our capitalistic, free enterprise system and rather than being wards of the federal government and not operating in the free enterprise, capitalistic system our farmers have had more competition from competitor producers than industrial producers have ever thought about having because our people in the past have had to farm because we were not heavily enough industrialized or heavily enough populated for them to have a choice to do something other than farm.

"So, we've been in a continual state of bankruptcy because of perennial over-production and this isn't farmers being stupid or not having sense. It's just . . . we've had this superabundance because of the unlimited number of producers. It got so bad that in the 10-year farm depression of the 20s, in Georgia and in most other states, 80 per cent of the farmers lost possession of the land. They couldn't maintain ownership. Insurance companies, wholesale grocers, bankers and many other people took possession.

"Of course, with the crash of '29, well, banks started failing all over the country, so in order to keep it from being in a continual state of bankruptcy.

"OF COURSE, today, we're moving rapidly into a new era. The free enterprise capitalistic system finds its own answers, whether we like those answers or not, and we're moving into a new era where we no longer have people out on the land who have to farm. People today can go do something else if they have the ambition to so do, although they may have to get training or education to go into some other type work other than farming. There are enough opportunities in town for them to make a choice."

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Associated Press Wirephoto

U.S. BOARD RULES FOR CABLE TV

Washington—Rosel H. Hyde, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, has announced a limited system of pay television. The commission also proposed rules for cable TV, one of the principal issues confronting the panel.

the agricultural economy and get the ownership back in the hands of the farmers, we had the New Deal legislation under Franklin Roosevelt.

"And if you're going to make any effort to keep agriculture from being bankrupt, you've got to have a federal program.

"NOW YOU can have many different types of federal programs and I don't know that I would get into any discussion as to any particular program because you can have variations, but it always has to get back to a subsidy of some sort, whether you want to call it that or not. It is.

"You can allow the farmers to produce all he wants and then subsidize him only on the portion that is consumed by the American public," Mr. Campbell said. "That's never been done. Or, you can do what they did in the New Deal days. Say we're going to have a restriction on production and give you a support price on your total production that you do produce. So you can have a lot of different ways in which you do operate. You can have national marketing orders on certain items if it's necessary and the producers do want it. Thus far they have not wanted it.

"I'M THINKING of broilers and hog production, and this would cost almost no money out of the federal treasury. It would mean just that when the price dropped below the cost of production," you would have an automatic cutback in your supply lines the same as closing down General Motors or Ford for two weeks or running two days a week when they are over-produced are their markets.

"This scheme would work in certain enterprises and would not work in other enterprises. It would work in enterprises where the production goes on a daily basis but it would not work in crops where you harvest once a year. So there are many different programs that can be worked out if the decision is that the agricultural economy

Satellite Delayed

VANDENBERB AIR FORCE BASE, Calif. (AP)—High winds in the upper atmosphere again delayed launching of the eighth ESSA weather satellite Saturday.

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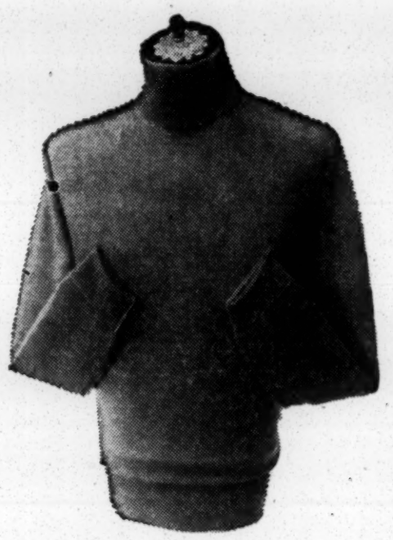

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CARL F. STOVER
President

AREA CODE (202)
296-0903

January 21, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter of January 9 and for the material on Phil Campbell. I have reviewed it and have informed several people of its content. I doubt that we will be able to affect the hearing process. We should just monitor his performance in the future. Thanks again for sending it to me.

Best regards,

Bob

R. B. Choate

BOARD OF TRUSTEES: Charles B. Stauffacher, *Chairman* Miss Anna Lord Strauss, *Vice Chairman*
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March 14, 1969

Mr. R. B. Choate
National Institute of Public Affairs
Suite 610
1825 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Bob:

A young man in Atlanta, Ted M. Alexander, Jr., is being mentioned as Assistant Secretary in the Department of Commerce. Ted is a Republican and, as far as I know, is the only black stock broker in the South (with Courts & Company, a southern firm, naturally). I think Ted is just the kind of young person we are looking for. I would suspect he would meet Mr. Nixon's qualifications, although our Fifth District congressman seems somewhat unhappy with him, since Ted's support and rapport have been less than overwhelming.

If you can do anything to assist this appointment, I think it would be good for the cause.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Harry Huge

May 16, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I wish to thank you for the information in your letter of April 25th regarding the work of council in its interracial program. The material, which you sent under separate cover was also very helpful. It was very generous of you to go to such pains.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Sery

Eleanor Sery

a for info

April 25, 1945

Miss Eleanor Sery
Box 222
409 Prospect Street
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Miss Sery:

Your letter of April 15 addresed to Dr. Howard W. Odum has come to my attention. You will be interested to know that the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was absorbed by the Southern Regional Council which began operating in February 1944. We are sending you a pamphlet which outlines the origin and purpose of the Council and shows its relation to the Commission.

Some of the best work of the Commission was done in cooperation with church bodies. To cover the story thoroughly would require a great deal of time and I can only sketch briefly the outline of the story.

1. The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching which was a subsiduary of the Commission was largely a church women's group. Methodist women in particular took a prominent part in the fight against lynching. The ASWPL conducted an educational campaign against lynchings, investigated lynchings and potential lynchings, made awards to sheriffs who showed outstanding bravery in dispersing mobs, and etc. Some of the literature which we are enclosing deals with the work of the ASWPL.

2. The Commission helped to promote the idea of Race Relations Sunday, which originated, I believe with the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. If I can find any Commission literature on this subject I shall include it but I am afraid that most of it is out of print. Incidentally, you would do well to get in touch with the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, for I am sure that they have prepared a history of the observance of Race Relations Sunday.

3. The Commission prepared a good deal of special literature for use among church groups. Perhaps the best publication of this sort was "Repairers of the Breach", a copy of which is enclosed. Again much of the literature is out of print but I shall send whatever is available.

4. You might also be interested to know that church men and women furnished the greater part of the leadership in the Commission. The same is true of the state interracial committees in the South, of which there are ten active at present.

The Southern Regional Council is continuing the interracial program of the Commission as one phase of its own work. We look to the churches for a great deal of leadership and cooperation in our program. Two prominent church women, Mrs. M. E. Tilly (Methodist) and Mrs. Henry Havens (Episcopal) are working on our staff. On February 2, 1945 we had a conference of church women on the subject of "Veterans and Race Tensions". A mimeographed copy of the conference report is enclosed.

I wish that I had the time to write in much greater detail but this is the best I can do. I hope that it will be of some use to you.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j
Encl.

8 ✓ src 1 2 Reps of the Breach, Lynching Lit.

April 15, 1945

Mr. Howard W. Odum, President
Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Howard:

I am writing a paper in connection with some work at the Yale Graduate School, which I am doing, on the role of the Church in Inter-racial affairs. I am covering, roughly, the period from 1939 until the present.

I was wondering if the Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation had any contacts with organized church bodies along these lines...if so, what is the nature and extent of their efforts?

I would very deeply appreciate any information you could give me.

Very sincerely yours,

Eleanor Sery

Eleanor Sery

Eleanor Sery
Box 222
409 Prospect St.
New Haven, Conn.

1, 2, 3, 4, Singers in the Dawn, Public Affairs pamphlet 95, Bibl. of Bureau of Intercultural Ed.

January 25, 1946

Miss Arlene Stevens
2219 S. E. 68th Street
Portland 16, Oregon

Dear Miss Stevens:

Your letter of January 22, addressed to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, has come to our attention. You will be interested to know that the Commission was absorbed by the Southern Regional Council when the Council began operation in February, 1944.

We are pleased to know that your Church has chosen the theme of "Better Race Relations for its Vacation Church Schools. We have a number of publications which might be worthy of mention in your handbook, and we are sending a set of these publications under separate cover. The pamphlets may be purchased at the rates shown on their covers, the packet of miscellaneous leaflets may be obtained at 10 cents a packet.

Included in the material which we are sending is a bibliography published by the Bureau of Intercultural Education. In it you will find a large number of references which might be of interest to you. I believe the Bureau has a special list of books for children. You might want to write them about it.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

RECEIVED
JAN 25 1946
Southern Regional Council

2219 S. E. 68th
Portland 16, Oregon
January 22, 1946

Committee on Interracial Cooperation
Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

This year the Board of Christian Education of the Church of God is putting out a handbook for use among Vacation Church Schools. The committee has chosen as the theme of all our Vacation Church Schools "Better Race Relations."

We are wondering if you could suggest stories, books, songs, games, or projects that might be used in this connection. We shall be very glad to know of any suggestion you might have to offer.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Arlene Stevens

Field Worker

Send - packet, #2, 3, 4, Singers in the Dawn, The South, New South.

Churchgroups

February 8, 1946

Miss Lucy M. Eldredge
Missionary Education Movement
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Miss Eldredge:

Your letter of January 30, addressed to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation has come to our attention. The Commission was absorbed by the Southern Regional Council when the Council was organized early in 1944.

We shall be glad for you to list the Southern Regional Council in your books and pamphlets. Since the name of the Commission is known to a great many people, it might not be a bad idea to list it, followed by the words "See Southern Regional Council."

We have kept in print several of the pamphlets which were originated by the Commission and we have been adding other material of our own. We are sending you a package containing samples of all of our publications. I believe the price is shown on all of the pamphlets except Brothers in Black. It can be obtained at 5 cents a copy, 50 cents a dozen or $3.00 a hundred. The leaflet packet sells for 10 cents. The contents of the packet will vary from time to time, according to what we have available.

New South, our monthly paper, formerly the Southern Frontier, might be of interest to your readers. The subscription rate is $1.00 a year New South will ordinarily have from eight to twelve pages, but once each quarter there will be a large issue of about forty pages devoted to some special problem.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

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January 30, 1946

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Commission on Interracial Cooperation
703 Standard Building,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

The Friendship Press is publishing a series of books and pamphlets this spring on the 1946 Interdenominational home mission theme, "The Christian and Race." The author of a program guide for youth groups has listed the Commission on Interracial Cooperation as a source of general material on Race.

I am writing to ask if you approve the inclusion of this reference to your agency and if you will please tell us what material would be available--free or price lists of resource pamphlets or/and books. Would it be possible for you to send me samples of what you could send in response to a request from a church leader?

Sincerely yours,

Lucy M. Eldredge

Editor of Youth Publications

LME:h

Churches Race Relations

Closing Devotions

"The Commission on a Christian World"

of the

Woman's Auxiliary of the Protestant Episcopal Church

Wednesday, March 27, 1946

Atlanta, Georgia

B.J.'s copy

A SUMMARY OF THE REPORTS OF THE WORKSHOP GROUPS ON THE STUDY, "THE CHRISTIAN AND RACE," LAKE JUNALUSKA, N. C. JULY 23-30,1946.

The Class Workshop divided itself into seven working groups, from which the following summaries have been gleaned.

I. Church Pronouncements And Practices

Pronouncements of the Federal Council of Churches growing out of a special committee on "The Church and Race Relations," the committee composed of members from all races:

1. Renounced the pattern of segregation and calls upon its constituents to work for a non-segregated church and a non-segregated society, and to formulate a plan of action in the following areas: Membership, Fellowship, Worship, Service, Employment.

2. Recommended to the general church and local Church Councils the value of Race Relations Clinics - the function of which is to discover tension points and ways of uprooting causes of same.

3. Urged that the Church, through ministerial associations and councils take the initiative in enlisting cooperation of labor leaders, social workers, and business men, to deal with such problems as discrimination in employment, housing, education, health, leisure time, etc., with the purpose of formulating a community-wide plan of action to change the policies and practices of the church and community.

Practices. No national assembly of any denomination has changed its policies in connection with racial practices in its own schools, church related hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged or settlement houses.

No denomination has taken the initiative to have the policies of business and industry changed, which now bar Negroes from responsible positions.

No denomination has recommended that faculties of its educational institutions include Negroes; that hospitals include on their staffs qualified Negro physicians and nurses; or that its institutions have Negro representatives on Boards of Controls. (A few institutions do have such practices but not because of a stated national policy of the denominations.)

There is no stated policy of any denomination in regard to non-discrimination in accommodations for minority races at the hundreds of regional and local meetings.

No denomination has a stated policy with regard to Negro membership. Only a few white congregations are known to have Negro members or Negroes in attendance. Approximately 1% of the Negro Protestants attend churches with interracial membership. This pattern appears to be true for other colored minorities.

Summary of The Church Pronouncements And Practices of The Methodist Church

The Social Creed in The Discipline states:

We believe -

"That God is Father of all peoples and all races .... and that we are brothers. That personality possesses the highest value and we test all institutions and practices by their effect upon personality.

"We stand for equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life.

"We believe it to be our Christian duty to do our utmost, to provide for all men opportunity to earn an adequate livelihood, reasonable hours, just wages, fair working conditions and an equitable division of the products of industry and the right for collective bargaining.

"We stand for the rights of all racial groups and insist that the above social, economic and spiritual principles apply to all races alike."

The 1944 General Conference adopted the following report: "We look to the ultimate elimination of racial discrimination within The Methodist Church. Accordingly, we ask the Council of Bishops to create forthwith a commission to consider afresh the relations of all races included in the membership of The Methodist Church and to report to the General Conference in 1948. We request the Council of Bishops to take into account the exceeding importance of providing in the nomination of the members of this commission the most complete representation of all racial groups."

Most all Negroes of Methodism are segregated into the Central Jurisdiction. The Methodist Church has more Negro churches and members than all other white Protestant denominations combined. Negro Methodists experience an involuntary, or imposed type of segregation. The position of the Negro in The Methodist Church is therefore from this standpoint of paramount importance.

Note: The practices described under the Federal Council above also apply to The Methodist Church.

1. A policy was adopted in 1944 of "adequate and suitable entertainment .... without distinction on the basis of race," for all delegates to general meetings of the Church.

2. There is no Methodist institution in the U.S.A. supported by the Woman's Division where Negro missionaries and deaconesses may be trained on a graduate level (Scarritt College takes students of all races, except Negroes).

3. The Methodist Church has equitable representation of Negro and white on its national Boards and Commissions.

4. It is the practice of the Board of Missions of The Methodist Church to hold its meetings only in such places where equality of the races may be practiced. The Woman's Division of the Board has adopted this stated policy.

5. The youth of our Church have refused to hold conferences in some areas until it was agreed that there could be Negro representatives with full participation.

6. Discrimination is practiced at some assembly grounds of the Methodist Church (including Lake Junaluska).

We therefore recommend that all denominations, especially The Methodist Church, as rapidly and consistently as possible, make their practices conform to their pronouncements for, if our people are to take their place of leadership in the plans for a better world, there must be a closer relationship between the theory and practice of democracy; and that the future pattern of The Methodist Church be based on Jesus' teachings of brotherhood.

Report On Institutions

After reviewing statistical material, interviewing persons and making a personal visit, the Workshop Group on Institutions submits the following facts:

1. There are 49 institutions for higher learning for white people in the Southeastern Jurisdiction with all white faculties, and student bodies; 12 for Negroes, 4 of them having bi-racial faculty.

2. The church operates no child care institutions for Negro children in the bounds of this Jurisdiction.

3. The church operates 8 hospitals for whites and 2 for Negroes. The staff in only one hospital is bi-racial. Few Negro nurses are used; 40 settlement houses exist for whites; 12 for Negroes, 10 of which have bi-racial staffs.

4. Conditions at Gilbert Center on Lake Junaluska grounds were found very inadequate. There are no swimming facilities; worship equipment is limited; lighting is insufficient; building inadequate and leadership ineffective.

5. Negro women from the Central Jurisdiction are not represented in the School of Missions at Lake Junaluska.

6. Boylan-Haven School of Jacksonville, Fla., a Methodist boarding school for Negro girls of high school level, owned and operated by the Woman's Division, cannot become accredited because it operates under a bi-racial faculty. For this reason its graduates can not enter Brewster Hospital, also a Methodist institution for Negroes, owned and operated by the Woman's Division, in the same city, for full nurses' training. One Board member at the Lake thinks there may have been one or two girls received as nurses' aides. These graduates can not enter any other accredited hospital or college.

Brewster Hospital maintains segregated dining rooms. Negro doctors caring to eat a meal at the hospital would have to eat in the Negro dining room.

Considering these facts in the light of The "Methodist Social Creed" we suggest the following:

1. Since Scarritt College does not admit Negroes and some are now waiting to enter there, we recommend that the Woman's Division request Scarritt College to take immediate steps for the admission of Negroes, and as a first step plan for exchange of students and faculty with Fisk University.

2. That investigation be made of the possibility of opening institutions for the care of underprivileged Negro children.

3. That Negroes be given greater access to hospitals, and Negro doctors and nurses be given full professional status and used more widely in Methodist hospitals.

4. That improvements be made at Gilbert Center on Lake Junaluska Grounds as follows: (a) By making swimming facilities at Lake Junaluska available to the Negroes; (b) Providing adequate recreation equipment at Gilbert Center, and (c) By increasing the emphasis on full participation of the Negroes employed at Lake Junaluska in worship and program plans at the auditorium.

5. That 2 or more representatives of minority racial groups, living within the bounds of the Jurisdiction, be invited to Lake Junaluska School of Missions in 1947.

II. Civil Rights and Community Action

The "Sermon on the Mount" is the Christian basis for the idea of the worth of human personality and the brotherhood of all men. The Bill of Rights, incorporated in the Constitution of the United States, grants to every citizen, regardless of race, color or creed, certain fundamental rights which have been translated into civil rights laws in a large number of our states.

A. Among the states which do not have civil rights laws to protect the rights of individuals are all the states included in the Southeastern Jurisdiction of The Methodist Church.

B. Instead of civil rights laws, these states do have "Jim Crow" laws which follow a pattern of segregation. The laws specify "separate but equal" facilities for people of the colored races. So long have these patterns been followed that discrimination in segregation has resulted.

C. In cases where there is no law regarding specific privileges, certain restrictive covenants follow the general pattern of segregation.

D. There have been many controversial discriminations made, resulting in court action which has ultimately necessitated rulings by the Supreme Court of the United States. The principal rulings affecting our stereotyped customs of the South today are decisions regarding transportation, education and the White Primary.

1. Recent rulings of the Supreme Court declare it illegal for races to be segregated on inter-state bus lines.
2. Segregation in railroad Pullman cars is contrary to Supreme Court rulings.
3. Opportunity for professional training must be provided by states which do not provide specific training for Negroes within said state.
4. The White Primary has been declared unconstitutional by our Supreme Court, and, even though certain state statutes do not provide a White Primary, patterns and practices show that our custom of segregation finds a way to evade the law.

We recognize the woman-power of our Woman's Society of Christian Service throughout this area and our responsibility in helping to right the wrongs of our unfair practices. We accept the challenge which the revelation of unfair practices produces and recommend:

1. That we familiarize ourselves with laws, - local, state, and national, especially rulings of the Supreme Court.
2. That we watch for violations of law and Supreme Court decisions, seeking justice and fair treatment of all citizens.
3. That we know our facts.
4. That we seek to establish firm personal convictions.
5. That we cultivate prejudiced people within the church, seeking to build proper attitudes.
6. That we encourage our ministers to include ministers of other races and faiths in the ministerial associations.
7. That we emphasize the need for community planning boards composed of representative racial groups.
8. That we conduct informal studies in this field.
9. That we cooperate with other agencies in state and community.

Skit to Show Violations of Civil Rights

Scene: Any one's living room, - or church where a W.S.C.S. is being held.

Characters: Average members of W.S.C.S.

Time: Now.

President: Our church pronounces its belief in the dignity of man and the right of every individual to equality of opportunity. The basis for our belief is fundamentally the "Sermon on the Mount," repeated in our Social Creed, and is substantiated by the Bill of Rights, incorporated in the Constitution of the United States. Certain states have protected their individual citizens by civil rights laws. We do not have any state in the Southeastern Jurisdiction which has civil rights laws, but instead we have many "Jim Crow" laws. Mrs. A. will you give a resume of our "Jim Crow" laws?

Mrs. A.: Jim Crow laws state we must have "separate, but equal" facilities for whites and Negroes. You will admit they are "separate," but surely not "equal" - at least in a vast majority of the cases. So stereotyped has our pattern become that this is followed in charitable and penal institutions, and even into our convict camps. Industrial segregation has followed the trend and has resulted in much bitter feeling regarding employment. So many of our customs are accepted that we unconsciously accept the pattern with no thought of the hurt or damage to human personality of the minority group.

Mrs. B.: Madam President, I recently saw in the paper some ruling of our Supreme Court of the United States regarding segregation in transportation. Can you clarify that to our women?

President: Yes, our Supreme Court has ruled that segregation cannot be enforced in inter-state transportation companies. This is true of railroads, Pullman Company and bus lines, though certain states require the "drawing of the curtain" in the diner of Pullman railroad cars. Another decision relates to education - that equal educational facilities be provided all races. In North Carolina and some other states, where local institutions do not provide the type of desired professional training for Negroes, the state is required to pay such tuition to an institution which does provide it. The third significant ruling of the Supreme Court is the unconstitutionality of the White Primary.

Mrs. C.: Our prejudiced officials surely find ways to evade the law. In our recent primary a number of our Indian citizens were denied the right to vote, and it was finally referred to the State Board of Elections. Surely, when we remember that Congress, with jurisdiction over the "wards" of our government, passed an act in 1924 giving full citizenship to Indians, this was an infringement of the law. Their sons were drafted, served in the Army and Navy - many receiving distinctive honor and citations. - How must they feel when such a right is denied!

Mrs. D.: Why did not some one help them to secure their rightful privilege?

Mrs. C.: That is our trouble, - we sit still and complacently "do nothing." Recently, a Negro woman, a teacher of biology in a Negro University, with a Ph.D. degree, was evicted from the bus of an inter-state bus company, "thrown" into a police car and "lodged in jail," when she refused to move from the seat she had occupied for nearly a hundred miles - without being molested - until a white man refused to sit by her but wanted her seat. When I review the injustices of many years, I wonder if we are not adding more difficulty

to the task of peaceful living - for surely resentment and prejudice against the white race must be harbored within.

Mrs. E.: This reminds me of a recent article - a soliloquy of a Negro girl, sick abed in a hospital, after the visit of a white lady, who was a theological student and who was also a pastor's assistant.

"Dat white woman who stopped to talk wid me today say she was a pastor's assistant. He had done tole her to come to see me. Dem was mighty 'putty' words she said to me. I wonder what 'casioned' her to bring me des oranges. I wonder what she wants of me no how? She said a pray'r for me while she stood here by my bed, but I can't remember a single word in de pray'r. Was she tryin' to improve me? Was she tryin' to make me good? Why do she think I need to be done good to?"

Soliloquy after second visit of Pastor's Assistant:

"uh - h-h! I just couldn't ba'r to see nobody today. I guess I was awful rude to dat white lady. I said to her, 'you can't do me no good today cause I's too nervous.' She went away. She had to. I'll never forget de sad look in her eyes when I said to her, 'You know, when de has mistreated you ovah and ovah, so many many times, you get all shut up inside yourself and you can't, somehow, open up no mo.'"

Mrs. C.: That is just what I mean. Will our task grow more difficult and complex if our women keep harboring prejudice and practicing indifference?

Mrs. F.: There is another group which we cannot afford to over look - the Jews. Too often we make blanket statements about Jews, regarding them as a race, rather than the religious sect which they really are. Jews are made more self-conscious, and denied certain rights when they are faced with signs, "No Jews allowed," and "For Gentiles Only." Both in business and residential areas, restrictive covenants constantly remind them that our practices and pronouncements, as Christians, are far from synonymous.

Mrs. C.: How un-Christian we all are! Is there not something which we can do right here and now, as a beginning toward racial justice?

President: Yes, my dear friends, we can start here and now. Within our own selves let us try to build up attitudes of brotherly love and helpfulness, which will carry over into our every day lives as we come in contact with minority groups.

Mrs. C.: Let's not wait to "come in contact" but endeavor to cultivate very patiently our own members who are so terribly prejudiced - not only women, but our men need different attitudes.

President: Women, I suggest that our local Study and Action Committee put on an "informal" study immediately on minority discrimination, and Supreme Court decisions, as well as plan for a jurisdiction recognition class on "Christians and Race" in February, which is Race Relations Month.

Mrs. F.: May I suggest that we watch for violations, and kindly point out these violations to the authorities?

Mrs. A.: A splendid suggestion - I shall surely do this!

Mrs. E.: Too - I believe we should ask our ministers to invite the Negro ministers not already included to become members of our ministerial association, and more than that, invite some of our leading Negro and Jewish citizens to act on our Civic Committee's planning board.

President: All these suggestions demonstrate an awakened interest in some of the injustices of which we are all guilty. For even tho' we may have known it over a long period, we have waited for some one else to take the initiative. I am exceedingly grateful that our Methodist women are going to lead the way toward real Christian Brotherhood. May we close with a prayer for the task which we face?

III. Political Action and Race

Political action is the use of our ballot to attain desirable goals. In this report we are concerned with political action as a means of supporting those measures which bring us nearer to Christian ideals in race relations and combatting those measures which retard our progress toward Christian ideals.

There is a genuine need for participation in political processes. If minority groups are adequately to carry on their responsibility for maintaining an effective democratic form of government, they, too, must come to understand and be permitted to participate in all processes that make up a government. When one fails to exercise the right of the ballot, the vote of some one else decides the matter. (In the presidential election of 1944, only 28% of the people of voting age in the South exercised the ballot. Such situations allow a small minority to have all the political power.) Such undemocratic practices as the poll tax and the white primary and the vote purge keep large numbers of Negro citizens from having a voice in their government. The white primary has been abolished or is breaking up in Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Oklahoma, and Texas. It is in a state of confusion in Georgia and Florida, but is still strong in Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana and Arkansas.

When restrictions are removed, people become aware of their ballot and use it. Georgia made three changes: (1) It lowered the voting age to eighteen, (2) It repealed the poll tax, (3) It allowed Negroes to vote in the white primary. In less than two years registration doubled. In a recent primary twenty per cent of all registrants voted.

We recognize the fact that discrimination has been made against Negroes in the expenditure of federal, state and local funds for health, education and welfare. A constant disregard for law has caused Negroes to suffer brutalities and indignities at the hands of police officers, bus drivers, etc., resulting in a decrease of respect for law and in bitterness toward the whites. In view of these facts, we recommend that:

1. We cooperate with other agencies such as the League of Women Voters. In communities where there is no League, the state organization can be called upon for materials that may be used on W.S.C.S. programs.

2. We encourage political action against racial discrimination in education, welfare and health as it pertains to federal, state, and local appropriations.

3. We lend our support to the passage of (a) a permanent Fair Employment Practices Law (Bill S.101; H.R.2232), (b) the Minimum Wage Law.

4. We as Christians bring political action to bear on changing the restrictions practiced in the Housing Act.

5. We bring political action to bear on the repeal of the anti-alien law, and the removal of the discrimination in our present immigration laws.

The six per cent of the Mexicans who have been naturalized are unprepared for citizenship. We urge the application of the above recommendations to Mexicans also.

The Indians are our smallest minority group and therefore have less chance of asserting themselves. (Neither courts nor Congress have ever clearly defined the term Indian, some saying that 1/232 part of Indian blood makes one of the Indian race). Citizenship rights were granted to Indians by an act of Congress in 1924 but the right of the franchise has been denied to some by conflicts among State and Federal laws. Wardship makes the Indian dependent and pauperized, and deprives him of state rights and the privilege of appealing to the Court of Claims for protection in claims against the United States government. Realizing that Christian ideals cannot be attained until these situations are changed, we recommend that:

An Indian Claims Commission be created to hear and determine claims of long standing involving millions of dollars arising from dispossal of their properties and based on agreements with the United States government.

We recommend further:

1. That we buy, study and use the Primer On Political Action, available at Literature Headquarters (also write for Political Guide, National Citizens PAC, 205 E. 42nd St.,New York 17, N.Y.).
2. That we keep informed on proposed legislation affecting minority races.
3. That we emphasize the fact that the ballot is not only a privilege but a positive obligation.
4. That we assist people in abolishing the white primary, the poll tax,etc., as steps to make possible the exercise of the ballot by all people.
5. That public opinion be created to bring about fair and just administration of all laws to all races.

After deliberation and study we find that race relations is basically a moral problem. So placing our faith in a just God and taking our example from Jesus, the judge of mankind, let us press forward toward those Christian ideals with the fervor of one who is willing to take up His cross and follow Him. Let us solve our racial problems and thereby set a standard for Christian leadership throughout all the nations of the world.

IV. Employment and Community Action

Our premise is that solutions of community problems with regard to minority groups, - in order to be handled intelligently, justly, wisely and in a Christian way - must have a completely representative committee to plan and direct an exhaustive survey, seeking to expose and do away with any and every barrier to a high plane of living for each citizen of the community. This committee must be inter-denominational (including smaller sects), interracial; must include men and women, representatives of government, business, labor, social agencies, agriculture, and civic organizations. The various studies should be made by sub-committees - all

committees directed by those who have training and experience in the particular field of study, if necessary, engaging an expert to direct any phase or phases of the work.

Our Workshop Group presents the following suggestions for the Sub-Committee on Employment and Community Action:

1. The survey must be preceded by study and discussion of national employment problems and the suggestions for their solutions as made by various organizations working on these problems.

2. The survey should include:
   a) A comparative study of employment opportunities open to men, women and youth of all groups and races.
   b) A comparative study of the ranges of salaries or wages for the various types of work and services rendered, showing any inequalities.
   c) A comparative study of enforcement of state and national labor laws including Child Labor Laws.
   d) A comparative study of the employment and counseling services to veterans.
   e) A comparative study of attitudes and relations between labor and management.
   f) A comparative study of rural workers - tenant farmers, sharecroppers and day laborers.

3. Responsibilities following survey:
   a) A wise presentation of the findings should be made public.
   b) The committee must decide upon and make public the <u>immediate</u> plans for elimination of injustices and inequalities; must keep active on their <u>long-range</u> plans, working toward solutions of problems as speedily as possible.
   c) Constantly, through press, through various organizations including churches and schools, public opinion must be built up to remove barriers to the correction of injustices and inequalities; to educate the community to <u>true</u> Democracy and to <u>living</u> one's Christianity.
   d) The committee will have a responsibility to create and maintain an intelligent public opinion and influence on laws concerning employment; on pending legislation - local, state and national; on national employment problems and expert theories for handling them.
   e) The committee must convince all citizens of the community of their personal and community responsibility for helping solve these problems according to Christian standards as quickly as is consistent with permanent forward movement.

4. Goals (Not all-inclusive, of course.)
   a) Immediate: good and fair employment for all; fair employment practices, including training for jobs and professions.
   b) Equalization of salaries or wages for services rendered.
   c) "Recognition of household employment as a dignified occupation .... transforming it to a respected service" with a living wage, with definite hours and responsibilities, with adequate working conditions agreed upon (such as transportation and restroom facilities).

d) Sanitary and healthful working and living conditions for all, in order for employment inequalities to be removed.
e) The opening to minority groups of businesses and professions which are now closed to them.
f) The extension of Social Security to groups which are not covered now, such as domestic and agricultural workers.
g) A long-range goal is the equalization of employment opportunities.

Survey

1. "Looking At Ourselves."
2. Community Employment Survey, Dr.Katherine Lenroot Children's Bureau, Washington 25,D.C.
3. The ANNALS, Jan.1946, "Basic Human Rights."
4. New South, April, 1946, "An Alabama Survey." SRC
5. Economic Value of The Negro to The South, - Hughes. SRC

Employment

1. COMMON GROUND, Spring,1946. Common Council for American Unity, 20 W. 40th Street,New York 18,N.Y.
2. "Answer the Critics" of FEPC. National Council for A Permanent FEPC, 930 F Street N.W.,Washington 4,D.C.
3. "Martha In The Modern Age," Dept.Social Education and Action, Witherspoon Bldg.,Philadelphia 7,Pa.
4. "C.I.O. and The Negro Workers," Congress of Industrial Organization, 718 Jackson Pl.,Washington,D.C.
5. The N.M.U. Fights Jim Crow, National Maritime Union, 346 W. 17th St., New York 11,N.Y.

V. Education And Racial Discrimination

The adult population of the South is less well-educated than is the population of the nation as a whole, for both the black and white races. To reach national standards all of education must be raised. (We are attempting to lift out some of the discriminations directed against the Negroes, since they are the victims, along with the white people, of the dual system.) We recognize that other minority groups are affected, though not to the same extent; also, that the Negro is the major minority group.

We are citizens of state and nation, and poor educational opportunity in any state affects the quality of citizenship in all states. "The richest resources of a nation are its people. We cannot exist as a democratic nation half educated and half ignorant any more than we could exist half slave and half free." (From: "The Black and White of Rejections For Military Service.") "As we provide education, we bring pride in race." (From: "Sense and Nonsense About Race.")

There are discriminations in the pupil - teacher ratio, the length of the school term, the teachers' salaries, the value of the school plants, and one-room schools. Let us face a few facts and figures:

"There are 10,000 illiterates in the United States."
"3,000,000 adults never attended schools of any kind."
"There are 115,000 local school systems in the United States."
"Expenditure for the average school in the United States is $1600.00 per year per class room (current expenses for 30 pupils). The best financed is about $6000.00 plus."
(From: "Unfinished Business In American Education.")

"The national average per pupil for the white child is $105.00; for the Negro child as low as $30.10. The highest expenditure per room for Negroes is $1221.00 in Oklahoma, with the lowest amount in Mississippi -- $154.00."

"The crux of the matter is in financing education. In 1940 the census reveals that the South has 28.1% of the nation's population, 33% of the nation's school age (5 - 17) children, and 12% of the tax-paying wealth. In 1943 the per capita income in the Southeastern states was $652.00, lower than in any other area. But we spend 43% or more of our tax dollar on education."

(From: "Educational Inequalities In The South" - Southern Regional Council.)

"The District of Columbia and 17 states have the dual system of schools. .... In sixteen states there is not a single institution where a Negro student may pursue graduate or professional work."

(From: "The Core of America's Race Problem.")

In our own training school for missionary service, the Negro alone is barred; this fact looms large in the thinking of students of Scarritt College.

We are presenting <u>four problems</u> and their related needs -- followed by brief suggestions which are our recommendations. This does not intend to be complete, but simply a starter!

A - <u>PROBLEM:</u> <u>Inequality of educational opportunities for minority groups, the Negro in particular.</u>

<u>NEEDS:</u> Adequate buildings and equipment. Better teacher training. Equalization of pay, with qualifications having some effect on the scale. Transportation. Lunch room facilities. More money for current expenses of the schools.

<u>DO:</u>
1 - Survey the local community and know your conditions and problems.
2 - Have a community planning committee with bi-racial membership.
3 - Have Negro representation on the school board.
4 - Secure adequate buildings, transportation, equalized pay - as we would if our white pupils stood in need of such! Cooperate with agencies who have these as their purpose.
5 - Through the state office, work toward an equal teacher training program as a means of lifting the level of education.

B - <u>PROBLEM:</u> <u>Educating public opinion toward Christian attitudes on race.</u>

<u>NEEDS:</u> Release from prejudice and hatred; possession of fair-mindedness toward all citizens; and willingness to cooperate (<u>with</u>, not for).

<u>DO:</u>
1 - Have a public relations committee who will furnish information to local papers. The press is a powerful agent in molding public opinion.
2 - Maintain a circulating library and promote reading circles on authentic materials which cultivate the best relations with our fellow-man.
3 - Promote studies on race throughout the whole church personnel - "from the cradle to the grave" almost!
4 - Familiarize members with books, magazines, newspapers, movies, etc., which depict normal living conditions of Negroes.

5 - Have a committee within the Christian Social Relations group which will keep informed on pending legislation concerning education as it affects races (e.g., the Federal Aid to Education Bill, S.181), so that the Society may intelligently urge passage of such legislation. There is the stewardship of citizenship if we are truly Christian.

C - PROBLEM: Curriculum content in all schools.

NEEDS: Do we know whether the curriculum hinders or helps race relations?

DO: 1 - Contact local and state officials as to your evaluation of the content of the curriculum -- which means that we must first study it carefully!

2 - See that through the training of all teachers, race appreciation for all is developed.

D - PROBLEM: Training for unskilled labor.

NEEDS: Both races need to feel a responsibility in making wages and efficiency in work dependent on each other. In what we now term "domestic service" there should be a demand that it be on a skilled or professional basis -- not a continued servant basis because of race.

DO: 1 - Work toward a program of training for trades and other types of unskilled labor (as we now have it) in Schools.

2 - Cooperate with vocational teachers and the Jeannes teachers where these are located. If there are none, write state office and try to secure them.

"The dual job before us is one of education and of social engineering -- both. It is much more than sermonizing and preaching and book writing. It is high-minded, sincere, personal commitment, plus wise and fearless social action .... the enabling act of the Christian life." (From: "The Portrait Of A Pilgrim.")

VI. Community Tensions and Race

Racial tensions of some sort are latent in most communities in our country, and have reached the explosive stage in some. Among the basic causes of racial tension are:

1. Educational Inequalities
   a. Length of term in some places.
   b. Lower salaries for Negroes in most instances.
   c. Inadequate bus facilities for Negro children.
   d. Opportunity for professional training denied minorities in many sections of the country.

2. Living Conditions of Minorities
   a. Housing shortages and inadequacies .
      (1) Segregation of races in slums.
      (2) Real estate restrictions.
   b. Health and sanitation.
   c. Recreation limitations and patterns.
   d. Partiality in distribution of commodities such as food and clothing -- favoring the whites.

3. Transportation Difficulties
   a. Favoritism in providing even standing room for Negroes on trains and buses until all whites are taken on.
   b. Inferior accommodations for Negroes in
      (1) Waiting rooms and rest rooms.
      (2) Seating arrangements and standing room on transportation vehicles.
   c. Prevalent custom of transportation officials speaking gruffly and with unneccessarily dictatorial manner when addressing minorities, especially Negroes.
   d. Too frequent unwillingness of white passengers to share riding accommodations courteously.
   e. Occasional altercations and affrays because of trivial incidents while traveling in public conveyances.

4. Discrimination in Employment Because of Race
   a. Limitation of better types of work to white.
   b. Lower wages for minorities.
   c. Membership in labor unions sometimes denied because of race.
   d. Undemocratic selection and promotion of employees on basis of color.
   e. Friction between whites and minority members working on same job.
   f. General exodus of Negro women from the domestic scene and mass resentment of whites because of it.

5. False Rumors and Propaganda

6. The Bogey of Social Equality between Races.

Recommendations for avoiding
Community Racial Tensions:

1. a. Investigate conditions of inequalities in educational opportunities.
   b. Publicize findings.
   c. Watch for violations of laws as to education.
   d. Promote progressive legislation.
   e. Form interracial commissions in every community.

2. a. Contrast living conditions of minorities with whites, giving publicity to details.
   b. Stimulate public opinion in organizing a drive for improvement.
   c. Use all local, state and federal agencies for providing minimum standards applying to houses, health and sanitary facilities, child care and recreation for all citizens.
   d. Protest unfair distribution of goods to consumer because of race.

3. a. Study legislation relative to transportation and, if inadequate, work for improvement.
   b. Let transportation authorities know your stand for just and fair law observance and protest any injustice.
   c. Suggest that all bus drivers be given training courses in common courtesy to all patrons as well as driving lessons.
   d. Demonstrate by personal esample such as sharing your seat with a member of another race, or by simple Christian courtesy, your willingness to "go the second mile," if it be standing, in the matter of race relations.

4. a. Study the employment picture in the community.
   b. Work through the local or regional interracial organization to find the facts and to correct false concepts as to civic rights and responsibilities of all citizens concerned.
   c. Uphold the privilege of union membership irrespective of race.
   d. Demand that equal pay for equal service be the rule.

5. Squelch false rumors and tag unhealthy propaganda.

6. Recognize the "social equality" bogey for what it is and do not let it block progress in making all social relations Christian.

The Strategy of Undemocratic Forces In The Community

It can truly be said that not all great works of strategy are perpetrated in military minds.

In the United States, where "free born men speak free," there are many un-American forces practicing discrimination and segregation to the extent that one authority has said "the growth of bigotry in the United States threatens the fruits of our victory over the Nazis."

The Jews are one of the minority groups that shall be considered here. Many powerful agencies and individuals have practiced all kinds of discriminations against the Jews while pretending to believe that this must be done because "the Jews are getting control of all businesses and professions in our country." A recent survey has proved this statement to be false.

The Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress showed that the Brooklyn Borough Gas Co., had hired only one Jew in the last ten years. Less then three per cent of the employees are Jewish. This company employs several hundred people and operates in a city where more than one fourth of the population is Jewish.

Columbia University has been employing a quota system against minority groups, allowing only a given number of the minorities to engage in certain privileges of the school.

Advertisements in "help wanted" columns and in "room and board" columns often specify "only Christians need apply," thereby barring the Jew.

The Ku Klux Klan is rampant again in parts of the United States and the Jews are not excluded in the Klan's persecution. The Klan advocates the extermination of the Jew. On March 8 of this year near Chattanooga, Tenn., a segment of the Klan paraded in full regalia before a store owned by a widowed Jewish woman, in the suburbs. They burned a cross in front of her door and three days later they tied hickory switches to the doorknob. The defenseless woman closed her store and returned to Chattanooga.

The Ku Klux Klan is probably the largest organized body practicing discrimition against the Negro. Pretending a devout, Bible-backed belief in "white superiority," the Klan practices almost every known persecution against innocent Negroes in their continuing effort to expatriate them. The burning of the huge "oil barrel" cross on Stone Mountain near Atlanta recently could be seen for a hundred miles. One of the Klansmen said this was "just to let the niggers know the war is over and the Klan is back on the market."

There are other anti-Negro organizations not quite as powerful or openly active as the Klan. There is the Peace Party, the Commoner party, and the Union of Christian Crusade. There is the United Sons of Dixie whose goal is to exterminate the Negro. All of these use every opportunity to create strife between the races in order to maintain white supremacy.

There are many publications supposedly dedicated to promoting "Fundamental Americanism," but actually engaged in prostituting the cross. One such publication, with a current circulation of 45,000, almost entirely in the south, is The Militant Truth.

During the war years feeling grew and multiplied against the Japanese-Americans living in the United States. In the post-war period the decline of such feeling is so slow as to be almost invisible. Using the letter of the law, these people have been persecuted and segregated and discriminated against continually, as have been most foreign-born Americans.

The state of California continues to file suit against Japanese-American property owners. One of the latest suits involves land which a Nisei citizen purchased after he reached maturity. The state's contention is that his parents, who are not citizens, paid for the land and this is claimed to be a violation of the Alien Law Act. Thousands of Japanese Americans caught in Japan at the outbreak of the war are anxious to return to America. It is reported that only those who registered their American citizenship with the Japanese Government will be given recognition.

In order to combat the forces such as have been mentioned here, the Christian church must seek to rediscover and apply that transforming power that so moulded the brotherhood of the early Christian church that Paul referred to them as "one body in Christ."

Resources on activities of K.K.K. and other undemocratic agencies:

1. The Southern Regional Council, Wesley Memorial Building Atlanta, Ga.

2. The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Chapel Hill,N.C.

3. Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

Neh. homes
East Atlanta Dist
Committee approving
Mr. Smith, Terminal
City Health Dept

Methodist Women's Div.
Lake Junaluska
Summer 1946

Study Topic: THE CHRISTIAN AND RACE

Bibliography of Materials and Resources

Spt pamphlet on Domestic Workers from U.S. Women's Bureau Dept. of Labor

Texts:

Gallagher: A Portrait of A Pilgrim.
Leiper: Blind Spots.
Mays: Seeking To Be Christian in Race Relations.
Alpenfel: Sense And Nonsense in Race Relations.
McCulloch: Know - Then Act.
Camargo: Christianity And The Race Problem.

General Resources listed under Major Topics:

I. The Christian Imperative In Race Relations

1. "A Message To The Churches"
   "The Church and Race Relations"
   (Statements approved by The Federal Council of Churches, March,1946)
2. John Knox: The Christian Church And Race.
3. Henry M. Bullock: The Divine Fatherhood.
4. A.E.Barnett: Basic Christian Imperatives for A New World Order.
5. Kathleen McArthur: Outline Of A Working Faith.
6. Be A Brotherhood Builder (Methodist Youth Fellowship)
7. Underwood: Christianity Where You Live.
8. Racism And World Order, (A Report of the Conference on Racism and World Order)
9. The ANNALS, Jan.1946, "Basic Human Rights."
10. Quimby: Taking Stock of Social Progress.
11. Leiper: Blind Spots.
12. Gallagher: The Portrait Of A Pilgrim.
13. Mays: Seeking To Be Christian in Race Relations.
14. Camargo: Christianity and The Race Problem.
15. Matsumoto: A Story of the Church And Japanese Americans.
16. Myrdal: An American Dilemma.
17. Johnson: Patterns of Negro Segregation.

II. What Is The "Race Problem?" or Placing The Responsibility In A "White Man's World."

1. Gallagher: The Portrait of A Pilgrim.
2. Leiper: Blind Spots.
3. Myrdal: An American Dilemma.
4. Johnson: Patterns of Negro Segregation.
5. Alexander: Our Conflicting Racial Policies.
6. Lillian Smith: Humans In Bondage.
7. Democracy Series (Y.W.C.A.)
   Are Women People.
   We're All Americans
   We're All Artists, etc.
8. Survey Graphic: Color - The Unfinished Business of Democracy.
9. What Do Negroes Ask of America? (Durham Statement)
10. Dorothy Height: The Core of America's Race Problem.
11. Redfield & Tobias: The Challenge of Race.

12. A Primer On Race
13. Benedict & Weltfish: The Races of Mankind.
14. Reid: In A Minor Key.
15. Sutherland: Color, Class and Personality.

III. Controlling Group Prejudice

1. Leiper Blind Spots.
2. The ANNALS, March, 1946. "Controlling Group Prejudices."
3. Gallagher: The Portrait of A Pilgrim.
4. Johnson: To Stem This Tide.
5. Powdermaker: Probing Our Prejudices.
6. Benedict & Weltfish: The Races of Mankind.
7. Haynes: A Clinical Approach To Race Relations.
8. Brown: They See For Themselves.
9. Watson: Action For Unity.
10. Height: Step By Step With Interracial Groups.
11. McWilliams: Race Discrimination and The Law.
12. Shaw: Personal Adventures in Race Relations.
13. Prejudice - How Do We Recognize It? What Do We Do About It?

IV. Major Points of Racial Tension In the U. S.

1. Myrdal: An American Dilemma
2. Leiper: Blind Spots.
3. Gallagher: A Portrait of A Pilgrim.
4. McWilliams: Brothers Under The Skin.
5. Embree: American Negroes.
6. Myths and Facts About Japanese Americans.
7. They're All America's Sons.
8. Government And Our Minorities.
9. Indian Wardship.
10. Deloria: Speaking of Indians.
11. McWilliams: Prejudice.
12. " What About Our Japanese Americans.
13. Northrup: Will Negroes Get Jobs Now?
14. Common Ground, Spring, 1946. "Postwar Employment and The Negro Worker."
15. Lee: Race Riots Aren't Necessary.
16. Unfinished Business In American Education.
17. Martha In The Modern Age.
18. Christ and Our Country.
19. A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends In Race Relations.
20. McWilliams: Minority Groups In The United States.
21. The Church's Ministry To The Family.
22. The Case For The Nisei.
23. Colborn: Nosing Out Prejudice.
24. The Truth About Anti-Semitism.
25. Demobilization Bulletin, Vol.3, No.3. - "Color and Bars."

V. The Policies and Practices of The Christian Church

1. Loescher: The Racial Policies and Practices of Major Protestant Denominations.
2. Discipline of 1944 (Methodist)
3. The Church and Race Relations.
4. McCulloch: Know - Then Act.
5. Journal of Religious Education - Jan. 1946.

6. Leaflets on Special Projects of Woman's Division Among Minority Groups.
7. A Day of Decision (Race Relations Sunday, 1946.)
8. Underwood: Christianity Where You Live.

VI. Programs and Techniques for Group Action In Race Relations

1. Lillian Smith: There Are Things To Do.
2. Neff: A Primer of Political Action.
3. Baldwin: Basic Human Rights and Group Tensions in the U.S.
4. Bunche: Fundamental Freedoms and Colonial Peoples.
5. "Repairers of The Breach."
6. Martha In The Modern Age.
7. Interracial Practices in Community Y.W.C.A.'s.
8. Height: Step By Step With Interracial Groups.
9. "Talk It Over" Series (National Institute of Social Relations,Washington,DC.
10. Widutis: Here's How It's Done.
11. Experiments In Democracy.

Purpose of The Study

1. To increase our knowledge and understanding of the basic issues involved in the progressive betterment of race relations in the United States.

2. To evaluate the criteria by which a Christian must guage his personal attitudes and practices in the area of race relations.

3. To compare the Christian church's principles and pronouncements with its practices in race relations.

4. To seek to point out for the Christian, his church, and community the fundamental goals toward which we must speedily work in our race relations, and to find practical next steps toward their attainment.

Special Problems and Emphases for Consideration By Workshop Groups or Committees

15 1. Church Pronouncements and Practices - An Evaluation.
6 2. Employment and Community Action.
5 3. Civil Rights and Community Action.
4 4. Political Action and Race.
6 5. Community Tensions and Race.
2 6. The Strategy of Undemocratic Forces in the Community.
13 7. Education and Racial Discrimination.

NOTE:

1. Special assignments and reports of individuals and workshop groups will be adapted to the interests and needs of the class.
2. A Findings Committee will bring a report which will include the following:
   - a - Reports from Workshop groups.
   - b - Special emphases in class discussion.
   - c - Recommendations for action.
   - d - Special suggestions as to effective methods for promoting and conducting the study in a local society.
   - e - Carefully evaluated list of materials and resources available for local use.

North Georgia Conference
Woman's Society of Christian Service

MRS. ALVAH A. HARDY
SECRETARY OF
CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
AND LOCAL CHURCH ACTIVITIES

THOMASTON, GA.

July 2 1946

REPORT OF SOCIAL CHANGES IN THE NORTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE.

A decided change in the attitude of white people toward the Negro race is the most notable change in Georgia.

The following results have been noted:

1- White and Negro meeting on equal terms to participate in workshops on the "Family", sponsored by the North Georgia Conference Womans Society of Christian Service. These were the first inter-racial meetings ever held in most of the Churches.

2- Groups of white women are visiting Negro Churches and helping with programs, especially Youth programs. One church is sending a Negro girl to Youth Conference. The women of the local W.S.C.S. continue to send Negro women to Paine Training School.

3- In Augusta, Ga. the Girl Scout Council is becoming inter-racial.

4- Better wages for domestic help.

5- Franchisement of the Negro and the elimination of the Poll Tax.

6- Temperance moving pictures are being shown to thousands of school children thus molding public opinion against liquor which brought a protest against drinking in the school auditoriums, at dances. Now drinking is forbidden at dances.

The outstanding social problem of the North Georgis Conference is Talmadge and the Ku Klux Klan.

I believe the thing to do is to continue to mold public opinion against intoleranve and social drinking. I am sure C.S.R. & L.C.A committees as well as every member of W.S.C.S. should join Inter-racial groups and be ever aware and alert to these evils.

To solve these problems:
We held District Workshops in eoght of the ten Districts on "The Family" and as a direct result of these workshops our State has procured a new tubercular Hospital.

North Georgia Conference

Woman's Society of Christian Service

MRS. ALVAH A. HARDY
SECRETARY OF
CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
AND LOCAL CHURCH ACTIVITIES

THOMASTON, GA.

We are planning workshops this fall on Alcohol Education.

We are sending Negro women to Paine Leadership School.

We are working against Talmadge and the Ku Klux Klan politically.

We are training our Youth to be better leaders.

Mr[redacted] Hardy, Conf. Sec.
Christain Social Relations and
Local Church Activities.

Churches & Race Relations

PILGRIM INTERFAITH FORUM

REV. JOHN WALTER HOUCK, Editor

RECEIVED
SEP 23 1946
Southern Regional Council

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VOL. II, No. 5

SEPTEMBER, 1946
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DEDICATED TO INTERFAITH, the belief in God of Catholic, Protestant and Jew, who, acknowledging and accepting their differences, unite in faith in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man toward a program of action to translate beliefs into realities that will insure a worldwide fellowship for people of every race, color, class and creed.

ROLL UP YOUR SLEEVES!

We go to press with Congress long since adjourned after leaving many weighty and pressing problems unsolved. FEPC died without appropriations to carry on, the anti-poll tax ended in a filibuster, and the displaced Jews of Europe are unable to enter Palestine or to receive haven in our land.

Students are still clamoring for entrance into universities and colleges and many are finding it impossible to matriculate in any school. The Ku Klux Klan, although censored by the FBI, is continuing to function clandestinely and openly at times in lynchings and other evil tactics.

Athens, Greece, was the birthplace of civilization and Athens, Tennessee, may be the beginning of Southern justice as veterans take over the reins of government and militantly end corruption at the polls. Those veterans are instituting in Tennessee the freedom for which they fought in World War II and for which many of their comrades died.

With our veterans, democratic Americans cherish and believe in the glorious idea that life is significant and sacred and that the American way of life is based upon freedom, equality and brotherhood. Live and help others to live—cooperation rather than exploitation, is our goal.

Free men abominate murder and shun habits that hinder the full development of their fellowmen of whatever race, color, creed or class. Free men deplore fascism and its glorification of superiority of man over man. Free men recognize the sacredness of life and place humanity above material profit. Free men will continue to fight for Palestine as a Jewish homeland and not permit profits from oil to become primary and life secondary.

When it was confirmed that in Germany, a Christian nation, 6,000,000 Jews had been killed since 1939 for no other reason than that they were born of Jewish parents, Christians were appalled and vowed that such mass-murder would never again occur. Polish pogroms continue and, throughout Europe, anti-Semitism is still rampant.

The Christian world stands aghast and outraged in the presence of this un-Christian, anti-democratic conduct based upon hatred rather than love of God and neighbor. As a Christian clergyman, I am ashamed that Jews are still being killed by fellow-Christians. Human beings are brothers and it is a crime against our heavenly Father to lynch and murder without cause.

The world looks to the United States to offer freedom to its citizens, freedom of education, suffrage, employment and all other opportunities open to any. The world expects us to throw open our doors to receive the displaced persons of Europe and to assist their entry into Palestine.

While your Congressmen and Senators are at home, visit or write them and urge that they cooperate in supporting effective legislation to make our democracy truly a land of freedom for our citizens and a place of refuge for the displaced persons of Europe, urging likewise opening the doors of Palestine for all who wish to enter.

In the name of all that is human, decent and divine, I call upon Protestants, Catholics and Jews to put an end to fratricide and exclusion which, in the sight of man and God, are insults to democracy and freedom.

CROSSES

Lighting wooden crosses with flames of hate to exploit their fellowmen, hooded Klansmen are consumed in the fires of their own fears of impending changes in their static mode of shriveling thinking and benumbing living. They perish in the fiery crosses of their own kindling.

The erection and burning of the Klans crosses stand as a stark travesty of the Christian cross which represents an experience of sacrifice and love, not exploitation of our fellowmen. The Christian cross represents an experience to be borne, not burned. The Christian cross is a symbol of love to light the world, not a flame of hate to destroy and remove that which is different from ourselves.

CAUSE AND EFFECT?

You will recall that 2,000 copies of PIF, with an accompanying letter, were mailed to Congressman Rankin's home county constituents. Although Rankin won in the July primaries, he failed to carry his own county!

"Man loses his sense of direction when the compass of his soul is not magnetized by some great human star within the orbit of his experience."

The Protocols Revived

By Walter K. Lewis

The biggest story simmering in anti-Semitic circles is the revival of the distribution of the fraudulent *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion.* Declared by a Swiss Court several years ago to have been a forgery, the *Protocols* have won a wide distribution in the United States. In lieu of sexy art books imported from abroad, the *Protocols,* purporting to give the blueprint of world domination by Jewry, are being distributed openly throughout the United States and the British Empire.

Books have been written in scholarly fashion to circumvent the dastardly effects which the forgery might have on unsuspecting men and women. The *Protocols* attempt to make every Jew part of a conspiracy to rule the world. To the gullible, looking for scapegoats, the *Protocols* hits the bullseye. To the naive, sections of the *Protocols* are interpreted with some plausibility.

Henry H. Klein, a Jewish attorney practicing in New York, has defended several persons engaged in the dissemination of anti-Semitic material. One of these, Colonel Eugene Sanctuary, was indicted by the Federal Government for sedition. The others, Mertig and Elmhurst, have records of disseminating anti-Semitic material beyond dispute. Klein has just copyrighted what is called a "condensed and simplified version of the *Protocols.* Klein as a Jew, has given the *Protocols* a new meaning among professional anti-Semitic rabble rousers who now point to him as their authority—a Jew at that—whenever they are challenged to prove its authenticity. Klein has

written scores of articles defending the *Protocols*. One anti-Semitic organization with headquarters in Chicago, Ill., in addition to listing Arnold Lee's fantastic *Jewish Ritual Murder* and works by Col. E. N. Sanctuary, Milo Blish Pinkerton, T. W. Hughes and Lyrl Clark Van Hyning, sells Klein's books: *The Sanhedrin Produced World Destruction, The Poison in the Jew's Cup; Frankfurter Over the White House and Baruch Over Congress.*

Those who are inspired by the *Protocols* write articles such as one appearing in the June 27 issue of the *Women's Voice*: "This nation must be governed by American Citizens and not by International Jew Bankers and Money Changers. All labor bodies must be incorporated and licensed and bonded by all States making them liable for all damages growing out of riots. No alien should be allowed to hold office in any labor organization. . . . Unless we can redeem this nation from the Sanhedrins this fall by electing to both houses real Americans, men that believe we should be governed by the Constitution, we shall have to surrender to the Sanhedrins."

The article, by one Edward L. Fountain of Huntington Park, California, uses the word "Sanhedrin" in the *Protocols'* sense: a dominating world Jewry.

—*From the New Leader.*

FROM THE EDITOR'S MAILBOX

Dear Reverend Houck:

A check in the amount of $25.00 is enclosed as a donation to the PILGRIM INTERFAITH FORUM. With this go our best wishes for the continued success of the fine work you are doing.

(signed) Elias Lustig, President

Adam Hat Stores, Inc.

Servant of God—Greetings:

For several years, week after week, I have followed your wonderful works through the Bronx Home News. For twenty-one long years, you have fought bravely for the rights of the lowly and for those who have to suffer the scorn and rebukes of those who do not seem to understand that God made us all . . . I most humbly pray that God may spare you for many more years to carry on His Work and that other Daniels may be sent who will dare to preach the gospel of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. I hope that some day I may be able to sit in your church to hear and see a man who fights so bravely for the groups who are the "farthest down." I am

(signed) Deacon Sylvester Brown
Mt. Olivet Baptist Church
201 Lenox Ave., N. Y. C.

Dear Jack:

The Pilgrim Church, I know, is proud of its Pastor—and that is a salute well worth while. But I know that your good works are apparent far beyond the important limits of your own church. The Bronx as a whole is proud of you and the Bronx as a whole salutes you—and in saying so, I do not consider myself presumptuous. The community in all of its facets has more than once commended the spirit of racial fellowship exemplified by your activities and by the program of Pilgrim Church. Thus, when I speak of all of the Bronx participating in sending you greetings, I speak as one of the many thousands in the Bronx who truly appreciates what you have done. With kindest regards and best wishes,

Very sincerely,

(signed) Matthew M. Levy
Chairman Liberal Party, Bronx County

THE SICKNESS OF OUR SOCIETY — ITS CAUSE AND CURE

By Dwight J. Bradley, Director of The Religious Associates of the National Citizens Political Action Committee

Our country is established on two fundamental principles: integrity and tolerance. The one guarantees good order. The other guarantees freedom. When both are undermined there is nothing left of democracy except a kind of angry apathy; and this, under modern conditions, leads to some sort of fascism.

What Americans must have is a combination of goodness and goodwill, in precisely the same amount. A true American, therefore, is a man or woman who can be trusted to live up to his or her highest lights, and can be counted on to trust others to live up to their best.

Petty or private sins and individual or personal intolerance can be expected to go on for a long time. What can and must be ended is the vast epidemic of public evil and organized intolerance that is sweeping over the country. This shows itself in most malignant form in five particular ways:

1. In economic greed coupled with class hatred.
2. In religious formalism accompanied by religious bigotry.
3. In a perversion of Christianity working out in anti-Semitism.
4. In white decadence trying to keep down Negro advancement.
5. In political reaction fostering fear of "communists" and of Russia.

How can we get rid of them? That is the burning question. First, it is up to individuals. They have got to face themselves. Everything in a democracy begins just there. How much hatred do I feel for people and groups—say, like labor unions? How class conscious am I and why don't I want other people, on the other side of the tracks, to be as class-conscious as I am?

Or, how religious am I, really? If I'm a Protestant, what earthly reason have I for hating Catholics? And, vice versa? Is it because I love God so much? Or is it because I am in love with my own special idea of God? Is it because I love myself so much that I haven't any room in my heart for loving either my neighbor or God?

Again, what kind of Christianity do I really believe in? The kind that condones and even encourages inquisitions, pogroms, massacres, discrimination and Jim Crow? Or the kind that goes back to Jesus and the prophets for guidance and inspiration? Does my Christianity let me despise and exclude Jews?

Once more, why am I so proud and high-and-mighty about being "white?" Is the white race so fine and perfect? Why don't I do something about mass terrorism and lynchings?

Finally, why am I opposed to liberal and progressive political action? Why don't I want full employment legislation, increased social security, minimum wage laws, the extension of public works like the T.V.A., socialized medicine and a democratic foreign policy that encourages all people everywhere to fight for justice and for freedom from the old tyrannies?

Well—here are the questions. Am I good enough and tolerant enough to dare to ask them of myself? Have I the disposition to see that as far as I'm concerned they get the good and large-minded answer? Maybe I have. I hope so. Because, if I have, I am a true American.

YOUR PATTERN FOR PEACE

As the world struggles with the pattern for the peace, we would do well to ponder the causes of the problems still unsolved by the United Nations before peace prevails. The choice of UN lies in compromise that will lead to enduring peace or to dissension that will culminate in a Third World War and the possible extermination of mankind.

How can we soberly hope that the delegates of the UN will solve world problems amicably when Protestants, Catholics and Jews in our own country feud over differing creeds which all lead to faith in One God and peace? As there must be "give and take" among the UN delegates, so must there be compromise and cooperation among religious seekers of a peaceful world. There must be solidarity in religion before there can be federation among governments.

Religious people—churched and unchurched—in pulpit and pew, must expend more serious thought and effort upon strengthening their own faith and less upon attacking religious tenets of other groups if the world is to anchor its hope in the binding decisions of the UN. While men and women fail to respond to the call of world brotherhood through interfaith—united religion in action—we cannot hope that governments will unite in building for peace.

While some 600 foreign and domestic organizations are propagandizing the U. S. with anti-Semitic publications, it behooves Christians receiving such material to denounce the false and sensational charges against the Jew and to seek the truth about our neighbors. Such un-Christian propaganda is as destructive to creative religion as is the atom bomb to the creation of a peaceful world.

There are about 4 million Jews in the U. S. and about half that number live in N. Y. C., many in our borough. Christians dare not succumb to prejudice against the Jew and profess to practice Christianity, whose founder was Jesus, a Jew

Unless we are active, participating Christians, sowing the seeds of compassion, mercy, cooperation and understanding among those of all creeds and colors, we shall reap the fruits of increasing discord and dissension and view the twilight of civilization.

While I am its pastor, Pilgrim Church will continue to stand as a Citadel of Compassion for men and women of all creeds. Pilgrim Church will remain a seven-day-a-week Christian center, welcoming all who turn to it for counsel. Pilgrim Church and its pastor will unceasingly defend the freedom of all to worship God wherever, whenever and however they choose. That way leads to God's peace within men and among nations—a peace past all understanding.

"The crest and crown of all the good
The final star is BROTHERHOOD."

AN OPINION TO CONSIDER AND COMBAT

"This country is a 'white man's country,' but, in addition, it is a country belonging primarily to the elderly, male, upper-class, Protestant Northener "

—*from "An American Dilemma" by Gunnar Myrdal*

HAVE YOU RENEWED YOUR SUBSCRIPTION?
DO SO TODAY!

A HAND TO CLASP

THE DISAPPOINTINGLY sparse dispatches which have thus far reached our shores from Cambridge, England, and the meeting of the World Council of Churches do indicate one fact. There is a strong sentiment among Protestants of many lands for joint action with Catholics on world problems, especially on those vital to the establishment of a lasting peace. The current existence of such a sentiment, and whatever action Protestant bodies take to implement it, could hardly be more welcome.

It is up to Catholics to accept such gestures in the spirit in which they are offered. To greet them in all sincerity and without suspicion. Not to be outdone in generosity, cooperativeness and zeal for the common good.

And yet there is grave danger that attempted cooperative action in the interests of a just peace and a prosperous society will flicker out if there is not a realistic limitation of objectives. If the scope is too broad, either the projected collaboration will be confined to friendly generalities or too many differences on detail will frustrate any effective joint efforts. The gesture of the Council does not mean that Protestants have overcome their traditional anxiety about the Catholic Church. Basic differences as to religious beliefs have even widened. And many Catholics still resent the activity of Protestant missionaries in presumably Catholic countries, while numerous Protestants continually deplore certain policies of the Vatican (witness preoccupation with Mr. Myron Taylor). The point is that Christians (and Jews) everywhere realize that unless the moral forces in the world are brought to bear jointly in the cause of justice and peace, power politics in general and the cleavage between Russia and the West in particular will bring the peoples of the world to a holocaust ruinous literally for generations. *Interfaith collaboration in this area is of the essence now.*

It is encouraging to note that the *Christian Century,* which has always seemed to us excessively fearful of the objectives of the Catholic Church, while warning its readers of the limits it would set to interfaith cooperation, lists in its current issue a remarkable number of objectives on which Protestants should actively collaborate with Catholics: "social justice, industrial peace, economic recovery, the suppression of anti-Semitism and the abatement of inter-racial prejudice." Despite repeated appeals by Pius XII for cooperation of all Christians and other believers in God to heal the ills of society, American Catholics have been far too hesitant to take the forward step. Our duty here is plain.

—from *The Commonweal,*
a Catholic Weekly,
August 16, 1946.

"We must define democracy as that form of government and of society which is inspired above every other with the feeling and consciousness of the dignity of man."

—Thomas Mann.

PILGRIM INTERFAITH BAZAAR

OCTOBER 24 - 25 - 26

HOLD OPEN THE ABOVE DATES and attend the major fund-raising event to continue and expand our interfaith program. *The Bazaar will be only as successful as you, our subscribers and contributors, make it.* Your cooperation is earnestly sought in donations of merchandise, attendance as many nights as you can, and by returning a dollar for the card of prizes to be awarded. POSTERS and FLYERS are available for your distribution in stores and to groups in your neighborhood and we urge you to do your part in publicizing the event.

SPONSORS: Bronx American Jewish Congress, American Veterans Committee (Concourse Chapter), A.W.V.S., Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order, Jewish War Veterans, Pilgrim Church and Temple Adath Israel. If you are a member of an organizations which would like to join this list of sponsors, please let the editors know about your interest.

COOPERATE ATTEND PUBLICIZE

THIS IS AMERICA! WE ARE ALL BROTHERS!

WE WORK FOR ALL CREEDS!

THE TIME TO EXPAND IS NOW!

We believe the time is ripe to secure new readers. We must have new subscribers *now.*

If you believe that PILGRIM INTERFAITH FORUM represents true religion and democracy as it defends and protects human dignity, liberty, freedom, civil and religious rights, you can help us grow in two major ways: 1) By convincing your friends to subscribe. By subscribing for them or for your local organization; 2) By contributing to our sustaining and expansion fund for interfaith. Which do you choose?

The Magazine that Acknowledges One Truth The Fatherhood of God

Rev. John Walter Houck, Editor Pilgrim Interfaith Forum
175th Street and Grand Concourse, New York 57, N. Y.

☐ Enclosed you will find $.....for your sustaining and expansion fund for interfaith.

☐ Enclosed you will find one dollar for a one year subscription for:

Name.....

Address.....

City.....Zone.....State.....

My name is.....

Address.....

City.....Zone.....State.....

October 28, 1946

The Editor
Color Line
121 Beekman Avenue
Mt. Vernon, New York

Dear Sir:

May I point out a small error on the last page of Color Line for October 1946? Athens, Georgia, is cited as the location of a riot on August 10. This should have been Athens, Alabama. Athens, Alabama, and Athens, Tennessee, have had their riots but so far, thank goodness, Athens, Georgia, has not had one!

You are doing a swell job with Color Line. We find it very interesting and useful. Keep up the good work.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

Newspictures

TRINIDAD'S FATHER MATTHEWS
"Salvation is not racial."

right to private property is limited by moral obligations and is subject to social restrictions for the common good. Certain types of property, because of their importance to the community, ought properly to be under state or other forms of public ownership. . . .

¶ The moral purpose of economic life is social justice. . . . The purposes of economic life, therefore, are:

1) To develop natural resources and human skills for the benefit of mankind.

2) To distribute God's gifts equitably.

3) To provide useful employment for everyone according to his abilities and needs under conditions that are in accord with his human dignity as a child of God.

4) To develop human personality through cooperation with others in work and ownership.

¶ The profit motive must be subordinated to the moral law. . . .

¶ The common good necessitates the organization of men into free associations of their own choosing. . . .

¶ Organized cooperation of the functional economic groups among themselves and with the Government must be substituted for the rule of competition. . . .

¶ It is the duty of the state to intervene in economic life whenever necessary to protect the rights of individuals and groups and to aid in the advancement of the general economic welfare. . . .

¶ International economic life is likewise subject to the moral law. . . ."

Ambassador of Justice

In race-troubled Detroit last week, at the Church of St. Benedict the Moor, Solemn High Mass was celebrated by a tall, handsome Negro whose brown face and hands contrasted dramatically with the shining white of his alb. The Rev. Dom Basil Matthews, O.S.B., reputedly the first of his race to be ordained a Benedictine priest, had been invited by the Roman Catholic diocese to further its drive for interracial amity.

Detroiters who turned out after Mass for the testimonial banquet in his honor were charmed by Father Matthews' urbane polish, his easy, fluid gestures, the Caribbean cadence of his speech. He told them: "It is sometimes alleged—not without some foundation in the past history of the culture-conflict of the Negro in the New World—that Negroes do not wish to be ministered to by priests of their own race. . . . To say that in this year of grace and achievement, 1946, is . . . a most vicious form of propaganda. . . . The business of salvation is not a racial enterprise. Christianity is an interracial economy in the mystical body of Christ. . . ."

Since 1941, when he first came to the U.S. to study, 35-year-old Father Matthews has been lecturing and teaching almost as much as he has been learning. His current schedule includes graduate courses in English at New York City's Fordham University (which this summer awarded him a Ph.D. in Sociology and Political Philosophy); completion of a book on Caribbean social forms; supervision of two research projects at Katherine Dunham's School of Dance and Theatre, where he also teaches philosophy; lectures to discussion groups, university students, etc.

Irresistible Vocation. Father Matthews' parents were school superintendents on Britain's tropical, oil-rich island of Trinidad. As a boy, young Basil often climbed the hill, eleven miles from Port of Spain, to visit the monastery of Mount St. Benedict, first West Indian outpost of the Benedictine order. Irresistibly drawn to "the splendor of the liturgical life" he found there, at 14 he was discussing his vocation with the prior.

Three years later Mount St. Benedict admitted him, gave him basic training and two years of philosophy, sent him on to the Benedictine College of Theology at Belgium's University of Louvain. Ordained a priest in 1935, Father Matthews took extension courses from University Correspondence College, Cambridge, came to the U.S. and Fordham on a scholarship in 1941.

For all his success in the U.S. and his opportunity for service there as "ambassador of interracial justice and charity," Father Matthews' heart and head belong to Trinidad and Mount St. Benedict. He looks forward to his return next spring to continue working on his chief study—the cultural forms of his own people as a matrix of the Gospel of Christ.

Says Father Matthews: "It holds just as true in religion as in politics. Any successful new system has got to be an organic outgrowth from the old one. Otherwise the new religion will be only a surface covering that can be taken off like you take off your coat at night. And to make the new religion grow organically out of the old, you've got to know the old inside out. . . . You've got to know the beliefs and customs of a people to know how they can best understand the Christian faith and accept it as their own."

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5-Church Race Relations

THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN AND CIVIL RIGHTS

A Guide to Study and Action

by

DOROTHY I. HEIGHT and J. OSCAR LEE

A Guide for analysis, study and action based on the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Ideal for church and community leaders working to secure for all people their basic civil rights.

Contents include: Christian responsibility for civil rights; organizational planning for effective action; a digest and interpretation of various sections of the Report; helpful suggestions on Things to Read, Discuss and Do.

Published jointly by Departments of Race Relations and Christian Social Relations, The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; and the National Board Young Women's Christian Associations.

Price $.50; $40 a hundred.
Remittance requested with order.

Write: Department of Race Relations
Federal Council of Churches
297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

Twenty-Five Major Accomplishments in Twenty-Five Years
1922—1947

A program of education and action, promoted by the Department of Race Relations of The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America "to assert the sufficiency of Christianity as the solution of race relations in America."

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Group Education Projects

1—**Race Relations Sunday:** — initiated in 1922; Silver Anniversary February 9, 1947; celebration programs expanded to Brotherhood Month in 1934.

2—**Interracial Conferences:**—local, state and national conducted; the First National Interracial Conference held in 1925; followed by a second similar in scope in 1928.

3—**Interracial Committees** established in many strategic communities; many have given continuous service over the period.

4—**Religious Extension Work,** commenced during 1940 in selected areas of Georgia with trained leadership in cooperation with the Home Missions Council of North America, has expanded over the South under the direction of the latter organization.

5—**National Conference of Church Leaders:**—organized in 1939; interracial, interdenominational; meets annually; original interest was better training and service opportunities for rural ministers; present topics of interest include various phases of interracial life in our country of major concern to the churches.

6—**Awards for Outstanding Achievement of Negroes and in race relations:** — administered for the Harmon Foundation from 1926 for five years. Also assisted the Foundation in promotion of Negro art exhibits in cities of America and South Africa.

7—**Enlistment for Interracial Brotherhood Crusade:** — Recruits from all walks of life sought through factual literature and advice, to become personally active in their own community for resolving race tensions and building friendly attitudes, understanding, and cooperative action.

8—**Interracial Clinics:** — Religious and scientific principles and techniques based upon long experience, promoted since 1943, to enable leaders in local communities where race tensions are imminent or potential to face their own community "ills," to agree upon things to do, and to get them into operation.

Economic Life Emphases

9—**Pioneer studies of cotton-growing communities** made in Alabama and Arkansas as steps toward legislation for farm-tenant improvement and in support of such work as that accomplished by the Farm Security Administration.

10—Land and home purchase, farm ownership, live-at-home farming endorsed and encouraged through published instructions on available resources and through representation before government officials.

11—Government officials and agricultural extension agents solicited and their co-operation secured with rural Negro ministers and churches.

12—**Consultations** held, advice and information given to employers, leaders of labor, etc. in fostering better understanding between white employers and Negro workers and among workers themselves of different racial groups.

13—National legislation for improving education and for social security analyzed and hearings before Senate Committees attended in behalf of equitable administration of funds for all minorities.

14—**National Recovery Codes:** — Joint Committee on National Recovery sponsored to protect the interests of Negro workers under NRA codes and to seek equality of treatment for Negroes and other minorities in other administrative measures.

15—**Consumers Cooperatives** encouraged and aided; study-action groups, credit unions, buyers' clubs encouraged and aided in Harlem, New York, and other communities.

16—**Fair Employment Practices:**—early studies made of discrimination in defense industries and other war-time projects; factual information published; representation before Senate and House Committees in support of national legislation for a permanent Fair Employment Practice law; similar steps to help enactment of state laws.

Work For Civic Justice

17—**Anti-Lynching Campaign** launched in 1922; drive for anti-lynching legislation supported; factual material circulated; an Honor Roll of States Free of Lynching published annually through 1934.

18—**Race discrimination in hotels:** — committee organized and conclusions published on principles and procedures to be followed in dealing with these practices.

19—**The Scottsboro Case:**—The American Scottsboro Committee, Inc. furnished with executive service and counsel; the first church organization which brought to the lawyers for the defense the moral and spiritual weight of Christian forces in the struggle for justice for the Scottsboro boys.

20—**Anti-Semitism campaign:** — packet of historical facts and suggestions circulated among church and other community groups to help combat the spread of anti-Semitic attitudes among Christian people.

Publications

21—**Over 66 pamphlets published up to 1947.** Among subjects covered; anti-lynching; better housing for Negroes; race attitudes in children; Negro achievement; the Mexican; cotton-growing communities; community programs; special Messages and programs for churches each year for Race Rela-

tions Sunday; information for speakers on racial minorities in the United States; reports on interracial conferences; interracial work of church women; an interracial play, "A Little Leaven"; studies of Negro migration; the Church and Negro Progress; the Crux of the American Race Problem; packets of factual material on anti-Semitism; on the Negro in Defense and World War II; analyses of race riots; a manual on enlisting for brotherhood; a manual on interracial clinics; reading lists.

22—**Interracial News Service** in circulation since 1930; a bi-monthly digest of facts and events among racial minorities in America and elsewhere.

23—**Assistance given** to investigators in study of Negroes and race relations in America including that made for the Carnegie Corporation's publication of Dr. Gunnar Myrdal's book, "An American Dilemma."

General Service and Cooperation

24—Constant service of staff given on committees, program-making bodies, discussion panels and forums, meetings of denominational, educational and civic organizations such as: local and state church federations and councils; The International Council of Religious Education; the Home Missions Council of North America; Japanese Resettlement agencies; social action and mission agencies of the national church bodies; the National Conference of Social Work; The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; the Southern Commission on Interracial Cooperation; the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches; The March-on-Washington Movement; intercultural groups, etc. Expansion and adjustment of program through analysis of Department's first ten years of work made in 1932 by a committee of experts.

25—The Department has been the service and clearance agency through which active work on race relations has been stimulated and projected by the boards and other agencies of the denominations, many of which now have their own social action departments and race relations divisions.

Those Who Shared

Pioneer workers in the early years: the late John J. Eagan and Bishop George C. Clement, the first and second chairmen of the Department; Dr. Charles S. MacFarland, General Secretary Emeritus of the Federal Council. Co-chairmen during past years: Bishop John A. Gregg, Mrs. Lucius R. Eastman, Dr. William H. Jernagin, Bishop W. Y. Bell and Mrs. Henry Hill Pierce. Among the Department staff: Miss Katherine Gardner, Irving K. Merchant, Marcus W. Collins, J. Oscar Lee, Miss Olyve L. Jeter.

To these co-workers, to Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, General Secretary, to other general and departmental secretaries in the Federal Council, and to church leaders too numerous to mention who gave devoted service in working on committees and delegations and in community clinics, to bring these large results of the twenty-five years,

I express heartfelt thanks and appreciation.

George Edmund Haynes

Executive Secretary, Department of Race Relations, 1922-1947

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THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
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Church + Race Relations

January 29, 1947

The Rev. Galen R. Weaver
Committee on Church and Race
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Weaver:

Thank you for your letter of January 22. Our pamphlet to be entitled "Separate but Equal" has been delayed and the time of its appearance is uncertain. The same is also true for the film strip. However, we shall keep you in mind and send you the pamphlet and film strip as soon as they are ready.

Under separate cover we are sending, with our compliments, two copies of the May 1946 issue of New South and copies of pamphlets by Vance, Dickens, and Raper. We are glad that you find our publications useful.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

Committee on Church and Race

AUTHORIZED BY

GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

287 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

DR. RONALD BRIDGES
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

REV. GALEN R. WEAVER
DIRECTOR

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REGISTRY DEPT.
Southern Regional Council

January 22, 1947

The Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

Will you kindly send us as soon as it is ready a copy of your pamphlet to be entitled, "Separate, But Equal"? Later I would like very much to know if you do produce a film strip with the same material and with the same title. I would like also to have a copy of New South for May if you still have any of this popular issue left. I have not had an opportunity to see Vance's "Wanted, The South's Future for the Nation" or Dorothy Dickens' "Wanted, A Healthy South". If you will kindly send me copies of these, I will be glad to refund the list price.

I follow with great interest your publication The New South and was particularly interested in the December issue reporting your annual meeting.

With appreciation for the excellent leadership that you are giving in the Southeastern region, I am

Sincerely yours,

Galen R Weaver

Galen R. Weaver
Director

GRW:ina

send: 25 Sol y
25 Which Way is Better
It Seems Queer
What One Woman Can Do
15 Christianity Roots
15 New South
10 Who Plans
5 Country
2 Brothers on Board

V. y.
2/10/47

February 17, 1947

Church & Race Relations

Miss Thelma Ball
Box 8, Meredith College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Miss Ball:

Thank you for your letters requesting material which you might use during Religious Emphasis Week. Under separate cover we are sending you literature dealing with problems in human relations and social problems. We have no publications dealing with the other subjects which you mentioned.

You might be interested in having the Director of the North Carolina Commission on Interracial Cooperation take part in your program. He is Mr. Cyrus M. Johnson, 336 South Salisbury Street, Raleigh. The North Carolina Commission is an affiliate of the Southern Regional Council.

I note that your letter was addressed to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The Commission is no longer in existence, having been absorbed by the Southern Regional Council at its charter meeting in February, 1944. We put considerable emphasis on problems of human relations, but we try to carry on a broad program of popular education on a variety of social and economic problems.

We appreciate your writing to us and we hope that you will find our material helpful. Please feel free to call on us again whenever we can be of service to you.

Cordially yours,

Margaret Price

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FEB 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

Box 8
Meredith College
Raleigh, N.C.
Feb. 14, 1947

The Commission on Interracial Cooperation
713 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

We are conducting a religious emphasis program during the first week in March. For our discussion groups we have invited the ministers of the different denominations in the City of Raleigh to be leaders of the different groups. We are anxious to have such free pamphlets as you distribute bearing on beliefs, church membership, personal and social issues, devotion, public worship, and Christian world-wide relationship, and courtship, marriage, and the family.

Anything you can send us will be used for distribution by student leaders and the ministers. We have a student body and a faculty totaling about six hundred. Thank you very much for this help.

Sincerely yours,
Thelma Ball

336 Schedule 5

Box 8
Meredith College
Raleigh, N. C.
Feb. 13, 1947

The Commission on
Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

FEB 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear Sir:

During our Religious Focus Week at Meredith our Young People are going to discuss "Facing Ethical Problems." Will you please be so kind as to send us copies of any free literature which may be available on this subject?

Yours very truly,
Helma Ball

ARKANSAS

Equal Votes Given Negroes

Two constitutional amendments, passed on their preliminary reading a year ago, were finally adopted by the annual convention of the diocese of Arkansas meeting in Helena on January 22d and 23d. The first amendment gave votes to all clergy on the basis of canonical status. The second amendment made uniform the lay representation of all congregations according to the status of each as a parish or mission. These amendments thus removed the discrimination which had existed since 1905 against the Negro clergy and congregations.

Other actions taken by the convention included: resolutions that the department of Christian education procure and distribute material for study with regard to Church unity; the recommendation that appropriations for the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn., and All Saints' College, Vicksburg, Miss., be included in parish and mission budgets; the recommendation that the development of the diocesan conference center on Mt. Petit Jean be made a major objective of the Episcopal Churchman's Association, the Woman's Auxiliary, and the Young Churchmen; a resolution that renewed effort be made to complete parish and mission goals for the R&A Fund.

The Rev. Arnold M. Lewis, executive secretary of the Presiding Bishop's Committee on Laymen's Work, was the preacher at the convention and spoke at the annual meeting of the Churchman's Association on January 21st.

The Woman's Auxiliary met concurrently with the convention, with Mrs. Clive R. Lane in the chair as president and Mrs. Leo G. McAfee, returned missionary from the Philippines, as the principal speaker.

ELECTIONS: Standing committee: Rev. Messrs. T. P. Devlin, Roland Moncure, C. P. Lewis, C. D. Lathrop; Messrs. W. H. Rector, E. B. Garrett, T. C. Treadway. Executive council and cathedral chapter: Rev. Messrs. P. R. Abbott, J. M. Allin, C. L. Jardine, M. J. Lindloff; Messrs. Clem Moore, W. J. Crouch, L. B. Bryan, F. N. Burke, Jr., L. L. Browne, W. R. Gamble.

Delegates to the synod: Rev. Messrs. P. R. Abbott, J. M. Allin, M. J. Lindloff, W. L. Jacobs, C. P. Lewis; Messrs. J. E. Doherty, George Moore, B. Mewis, Warren Angle, Harry Crowe, Fred Parish.

UTAH

Bishop Enthroned at Convocation

The new Bishop of Utah, the Rt. Rev. Stephen C. Clark was formally enthroned in St. Mark's Cathedral, Salt Lake City, at the opening service of the district's convocation on Sunday evening, January 26th. Bishop Moulton, the retired Bishop of Utah, officiated. Other bishops who were present included Bishop Lewis of Nevada, who preached, and Bishop Gooden, Suffragan of Los Angeles and president of the province of the Pacific.

The convocation on Monday heard Bishop Clark's plans for the missionary and financial expansion of the district. The sessions closed with a reception and dinner in honor of the Bishop and Mrs. Clark. Among those extending greetings to Bishop Clark were state and city officials and representatives of Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish organizations.

Mrs. Clark was the guest of honor and principal speaker at the annual meeting of the Woman's Auxiliary. An all-day meeting of the Bishop and clergy at St. Paul's Church on January 29th concluded the program of the convocation.

ELECTIONS: Council of advice: L. J. Battey replaced P. W. Dayer. Executive council: Rev. Mortimer Chester, J. W. Stokes, C. E. Bechtel. Delegates to synod: Rev. Messrs. R. D. Taylor, H. D. Liebler, J. B. Salter; Messrs. Albert Spann, C. E. Bechtel, Frank Gregory.

TEXAS

Racial Issue Subject of Debate At Convention in Beaumont

By WILLIAM E. KEYS

Creation of a bi-racial commission through which White and Negro communicants may work together more effectively was authorized by the annual council of the diocese of Texas held in St. Mark's Church, Beaumont, January 26th to 28th. The vote of 77 to 68 by which the authority was given was the climax of an extended and spirited discussion which began with the annual address of Bishop Hines, Coadjutor, on Sunday evening and continued on the convention floor for two days. Discussion and formal debate reflected various shades of opinions and attitudes on the part of clerical and lay delegates alike. Plainly indicated was a desire to do something intelligently about the problem of segregation; the differences were concerned mainly with the approaches to the solution.

Although this question was allotted a large share of the convention's time, there were numerous other actions of importance taken. These included:

Refusal to give immediate approval to proposed amendments of the constitution and canons to make women eligible to serve as delegates to council and members of vestries.

Approval to launch a subscription campaign for one million dollars to complete the financing of a $2,500,000 diocesan hospital presently authorized by canon. The hospital, St. Luke's, will be located in Houston within the Texas medical center.

Authority to accept from the city of Hearne, centrally located in the diocese, a 30-acre wooded tract which will replace Camp Allen, the diocesan conference center on Trinity Bay in the southeast portion of the diocese. The diocese proposes to purchase additional acreage adjoining the proffered site, to which the city will extend utilities without charge.

Admission of All Saints', Crockett, as a mission in union with the diocese and readmission of Epiphany, Burnet, as a mission.

Continuation of a special committee authorized to proceed with negotiations with Christ Church, Houston, looking forward to the designation of that parish as the cathedral church of the diocese.

Both Bishop Quin of Texas and Bishop Hines, Coadjutor, in their annual addresses referred to the problems arising from segregation. Bishop Quin said no amount of study will bring about equality of opportunity but that all must accept as Christians what the Prayer Book says: "O God, who has made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth." More specific in his reference, Bishop Hines suggested that the council adopt a policy of foregoing a meal, whether a diocesan banquet or something akin thereto, where White and Negro delegates cannot be served together.

Earlier Bishop Hines had suggested that delegates probably would discuss "dispassionately and intelligently, and above all in the bond of fellowship of Christ" a point in the policy of segregation of Negroes and Whites "which the more rigid regulations of municipalities make legally mandatory under a much less specific state segregation law." The point Bishop Hines was referring to was the municipal regulations of Beaumont which prevented the serving of a common meal in a hotel.*

Two lay delegates from St. Luke's, Houston, a Colored parish, on January 27th addressed a joint session of the council and Woman's Auxiliary at Bishop Quin's invitation. The delegates, Charles A. Shaw and Carter Wesley, contended that the Church had violated Christian principles in voluntarily accepting the policy of the hotel, and that they did not seek social equality but only the full application of Christian principles.†

On January 28th the issue arose again with the introduction of a resolution by

*The host parish, although willing to serve such a meal in the parish house, lacked the space and equipment to do so. A spokesman declared that the parish was willing to take full responsibility for the resulting situation.

†No Negro lay delegates sat in the convention except during the joint session at which they spoke on Monday. Two Negro clergy, the Rev. John D. Epps and the Rev. W. Bright-Davies, attended the entire convention.

Baker Duncan of Waco commending the host parish for observing state law and municipal ordinances. Ruled out of order as not being germain was a motion by Ray E. Lee of Austin to substitute the 37th Article of Religion for the reference to state law and municipal ordinances. The resolution was approved by a relatively small margin.

Then followed introduction of the resolution for a bi-racial commission offered by the Rev. C. A. Sumners of Austin. Lengthy debate preceded its adoption.

Bishop Hines, who was temporarily presiding, left the chair to deplore passage of Mr. Duncan's resolution. He urged approval of the resolution for a commission, declaring in part:

"We are sitting on a keg of dynamite of our own creation, one which will either explode and blow the Church to bits or one from which the fuse can be drawn by men who seek the Gospel of Christ."

A principal opponent of the commission was J. L. C. McFadden, Beaumont delegate, who emphasized that his remarks were based on his experience as a member of a local bi-racial commission. [Beaumont was the scene of a serious outbreak of racial strife June 15, 1943, when it was necessary to declare martial law.] He declared that creation of a diocesan bi-racial commission overlooks the welfare of the Church as a whole, overlooks the welfare of the Negro, and approaches the problem on a shallow basis. "What is it going to do to the Negro," he said, "to sup with him at our banquets and turn him away from our homes?"

He also raised the question of agitation which he described as a weapon that could be used to destroy the Church. He identified Carter Wesley, one of the two Negro speakers of the previous day, as editor of the Houston *Informer*, a newspaper which Mr. McFadden described as "causing plenty of trouble in Beaumont."*

ELECTIONS: Standing committee: Rev. Messrs. Percy Goddard, E. H. Gibson, C. A. Sumners; Messrs. C. H. Harrison, W. E. Japhet. Executive board: Rev. Messrs. H. H. Kellogg, J. P. Clements; Messrs. Max Wortham, E. Tucker, T. Marquis.

Delegates to synod: Rev. Messrs. J. J. Harte, J. T. Bagby, Thomas Yerxa, H. V. Little; Messrs. R. E. Lee, John Lansdale, Hiram Salisbury, A. W. Bowles.

SALINA

Fr. Litchman Elected

The Very Rev. Frederick Williams Litchman, formerly rector of Grace Church, Chanute, Kans., has accepted the call to be dean of Christ Cathedral, Salina, Kans. The new dean is assuming his new duties on Quinquagesima Sunday. Fr. Litchman will make his home in the deanery, 150 S. Eighth St., Salina, Kans.

The Very Rev. F. W. LITCHMAN

*According to Ayers' *Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals*, the *Informer*, a weekly established in 1893, is the second oldest newspaper published in Houston.

MILWAUKEE

Relics of Saints Deposited In Cathedral Chapel Altar

The relics of SS. Placidus, Victorinus, and Vitalis were deposited in the altar stone of the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in All Saints' Cathedral, Milwaukee, Wis., on January 26th. The deposition took place after the Mass, at which Bishop Ivins of Milwaukee pontificated. Clergy who participated in the service were the Very Rev. Malcolm DeP. Maynard and the Rev. Canons A. A. Mueller, E. H. Creviston, and Vivan A. Peterson, rector of St. James' Church, Cleveland, Ohio, who brought the relics to the cathedral.

The gift was made by the Rev. A. Hope Patten, administrator of the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, Norfolk, England. The relics of the saints, all martyrs, consist of fragments of bones. Because the earliest altars were the tombs of the martyrs, the custom grew out of the early Church for the relics of those slain for Christ to be enclosed in altars in the churches.

Fr. Botelho Appointed

The Rev. Eugene G. E. Botelho has recently been appointed assistant director of the Episcopal City Mission, Milwaukee, Wis. The new project was formed to care for the needs of the children in a blighted area, and the work has progressed rapidly. In addition the priests of the mission care for the patients in the county institutions and hospitals, and for underprivileged adults. Organizations for all age groups have been set up, and activities at the mission have been extended to all afternoons and all evenings in the week.

Because of the increase in activity, the services of another priest were urgently needed, and Fr. Botelho, who was formerly director of Lawrence Hall, Chicago, is well suited for his task. It is hoped that under the leadership of the director, the Rev. Reinhart B. Guttmann, the work will soon further expand.

WASHINGTON

Statue of Washington to be Installed in Cathedral

An heroic size marble statue of George Washington will be unveiled in the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul, Washington, D. C., on February 23d. The statue, which will be placed in the north transept until the cathedral is completed, was given by the supreme council of the 33d°, Scottish Rite Freemasonry of the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States. It will be formally dedicated by the council later in the year. The suggestion that a statue of Washington be placed in the cathedral was made by the late Bishop Freeman of Washington, himself a 33d° Mason.

The figure is seven feet, six inches tall, and is carved from pure white Vermont marble. The octagonal base is of aurosina, and bears inscriptions on the sides. The sculptor, Mr. Lee Lawrie, describing his work, said: "In the statue I have tried to show not the soldier, nor the President, but the man, Washington, coming into church (Christ Church, Alexandria, Va.), pausing a moment before going down the aisle to his pew."

MISSOURI

Bishop Tells Convention Views On Marriage and Unity Actions

The new marriage legislation of the Church permits the bishop of a diocese to authorize second marriages of divorced persons with "the freedom of a Christian man's conscience," Bishop Scarlett of Missouri told the convention of the diocese at Christ Church Cathedral, St. Louis, February 4th. He said:

"It is my conviction that if the bishops of the Church interpret this canon conservatively, we shall gradually build up a body of precedents on which permission to remarry may be granted. A questionnaire is now being prepared in this diocese which will be printed and given to the clergy to be filled out by the applicant for permission to marry. I hope that the clergy

Letters to the Editors

Additions in Five Presbyteries Are Studied

Another Home Missions First

To the Editors:

Recently I was appointed chairman of evangelism in Albemarle Presbytery. . . . I began my work by looking into the Assembly's Minutes (1945) for the record on professions of faith. Here are the results, showing the first five presbyteries on a percentage basis:

Presbytery	Synod	Prof.	Mbs.	%
Texas-Mexican....	Texas	241	2,623	92%
Central Ala.....	Sned.	58	638	91
Albemarle	N. C.	442	5,702	78
Lafayette	Mo.	191	2,560	75
Mangum	Okla.	121	1,805	70

I was pleased to note that Albemarle was among that group, being more than twice the size of any listed, and those won to Christ aggregate more than any two of the first five presbyteries combined. Yet, the significant thing to me is that when we study these people who make up these presbyteries we are further astonished by it.

There is Texas-Mexican, predominantly Mexican; next comes a Negro presbytery; third is Albemarle—the largest presbytery in geographical area in the synod. The largest city in the presbytery does not have more than 30,000 people. It is definitely a rural presbytery. In some areas of this presbytery 80 per cent of the people are unchurched. Three-fourths of the churches in the presbytery are receiving home mission support.

In Lafayette Presbytery is a large percentage of farmers and cattle raisers. Most of the farms are owned by the farmers themselves. Mangum Presbytery is to a large degree Indian population. (Southern Presbyterian Indian work in Oklahoma is largely in Indian Presbytery.—Eds.)

Three of these presbyteries are for the most part populated by minority groups in our church. The other two are in rural or small-town areas. This looks like **another "first"** for the home mission work of our church.

May we redouble our work to attain that goal of one profession of faith for every 10 members on our active membership roll.

SAM H. ZEALY.

Washington, N. C.

Once More From Mr. Viser

To the Editors:

When the Presbyterian Church, US, is finally rent asunder and is formed into two separate organizations, a major share of the responsibility for that eventuality may fairly be charged to THE PRESBYTERIAN OUTLOOK for the following reasons:

1. Its subtle, and often open, advocacy of a form of liberal theology which, while yet in an incipient stage, nevertheless is following the usual path of such defections from the historic Christian faith. The **direction** is indicated—only the **distance** towards apostasy remains to be traversed. (Details will be furnished upon request.)

2. It is the propaganda medium for an inclusivist church—looking, of course, towards a "Church of the World." Any thinking person can see that union with the U. S. A. church is only the first step towards a "Universal Church" in which a syncretic religion would predominate, and which would have for its central figure "another Jesus" than the One revealed in the Holy Scriptures and rightly revered and worshipped by the saints of every age.

3. It is persistently "plugging" for a complete change in the social order, not only of the Southland but where similar conditions prevail in other parts of our nation. There are many **workable** changes in the race relations of the two major races of the South which should be **immediately** put into effect—and every Christian person as well as every right-thinking citizen should advocate these wholeheartedly. I refer to a more equitable economic opportunity for colored as well as for the white "tenant farmer" and other labor groups in the South. I also include better educational and housing facilities for these less privileged classes. The guilty owners of some of these unmentionable vile slums—often men and women prominent in "Christian circles" should be brought to task for their defection from Christian love for one's neighbor. It is to the credit of our church that at last we are on the verge of undertaking a satisfactory program for the colored people which will include a proper place for Christian training. But the erasure of all social barriers which is being advocated in and by THE OUTLOOK is only stirring afresh the fires of a racial antagonism which may result in defeating the very ends which all true Christians seek to accomplish. If these same earnest efforts were devoted to bettering the colored race **within racial lines** (as a large number of the best of both races desire)—instead of advocating a complete intermingling of the races—salutary results would follow and a more Christian spirit be engendered.

More rapidly than most of us thought possible the breach within our beloved church has been widened in a few short years. As I see it, we are already divided into two growingly hostile camps. Only a Holy Spirit generated revival can save the church now. That revival, if or when it comes, will have at its center that dear Cross where hung God's Bleeding Lamb—and will surely culminate in a return to a child-like acceptance of the "faith once for all delivered to the saints."

J. H. VISER.

Greenville, S. C.

Missouri IS Overwhelming

To the Editors:

I have been reading carefully your paper for some five months or more, and find many good things in it. But in the issue of Jan. 27 are these statements to which I wish to call your attention: "Missouri Synod votes overwhelmingly for Presbyterian Union." "Southern Presbyterians in Missouri are overwhelmingly in favor of uniting the American Presbyterian churches."

I believe that I have no feeling against the USA Church, since I was ordained by Presbytery of Louisville, USA, served for six years in that presbytery, and our only child graduated from a USA school, Maryville, Tenn. I have received and read for over twenty years a USA church paper.

But when you make the above statements, are you not going far before the truth? Missouri Synod has never voted on union. The synod advised its churches to have a vote on this subject; some then said they would not present the matter, as many in the congregation were not well enough informed on the subject. But aside from that, can you truthfully say what is given above, when there are at least 120 churches in the Synod of Missouri, and you say only 27 have reported, not all favorably to union?

I am not opposing union, but any reliable stable union must be promoted upon truth, and not misrepresent an issue. I am an alumnus of Westminster College and Louisville Presbyterian Seminary. But if too strong pressure, force is continued the cause of union will be hindered. There is too much of the effort to ostracize, put out of places of service and influence those who are not promoting union. Many of our younger men in the ministry know little or nothing about the USA church and its operations, its beliefs, of many of its leaders.

I realize that there are many ministers of USA church whose doctrines are as sound as any could desire, their aims as worthy as could be desired, but you likely know this is not true of many of them.

(No, we do not know this; we think quite the reverse is true.—Eds.)

WM. J. GAMMON.

Eldon, Mo.

• EDITORS' NOTE—Mr. Gammon has not allowed us to use speech that is common throughout the church. "Synod" usually has a general, not a specific, meaning, as in referring to the number of professions of faith in a synod or the financial contributions by a synod. Everyone knows what is intended. The article made it very clear.. However, we still say that Southern Presbyterians in Missouri are "overwhelmingly" in favor of uniting the American Presbyterian churches. There are many evidences to confirm that belief.. Even in a straw vote, when churches respond 26-1 in favor of union, we call that "overwhelming."

Important to Sessions

To the Editors:

The Bureau of the Census of the United States Government is conducting a census of religious bodies for 1946. Mr. J. C. Capt, director, has requested that our churches give full cooperation in making this census as accurate and complete as possible.

The Sessions of our churches are requested to study carefully the forms which are being sent to them and return them promptly. While our statistical reports make no distinction between sex or age in the membership this religious census **does** and we should make every effort to make our reports conform to the classification which will be used in the census. It should not be very difficult for a committee from each Session to classify the membership according to sex and age. The division according to age is made at age 13.

The data secured from this census will be published in book form by the Government. The entire expense has been provided for by an appropriation of Congress and it is to the interest of our church that meticulous care be exercised by every Session in order that our church may be correctly and accurately presented to the many people who will refer to this census.

E. C. SCOTT, Stated Clerk.

Dallas, Texas.

THE PRESBYTERIAN OUTLOOK re-entered as second class matter, June 15, 1910, at the postoffice at Richmond, Va., under the act of March 3, 1879. Published weekly on Monday by Presbyterian of the South, Inc., Room 307, 403 East Franklin Street, Richmond 19, Virginia. Telephone 2-9492. 10c a copy, $3.00 a year. Foreign postage $1 extra.

Letters to the Editors

Here's an Out-of-the-Ordinary Y. P. Meeting

Corpus Christi Stresses Brotherhood

To the Editors:

The cause of interfaith, interracial brotherhood was pushed a slight step forward when the young people's groups of the First Presbyterian church, Corpus Christi, Texas, invited to their church, February 13, representatives of all young people's societies of the city churches. One hundred and thirty came.

The city has nearly 20 per cent Latin-American population; about five per cent Negro; also 300 Jewish families, all of which groups were represented. Most unique, however, was the response given the gathering by the young people themselves. Each church was asked to choose one of its representatives to speak on the theme: "Know Your Neighbor." The Bible reference was cited from Matthew 22:37-39: "and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

One young woman from the St. Matthew Baptist Church (Negro) made a very stirring talk, saying, "Unless we do get down to know our neighbors of other races, we will not be able to find the full salvation of God we all seek. It is the primary duty of every young person to seek such a salvation now."

One could hardly determine which one of the young people gave the best digest of this Bible reference because all vied for honors here. The summary talks were given by the Rev. W. C. Black of the St. Matthew Baptist Church and Rabbi Sidney A. Wolf of Temple Beth El. Mr. Black saw this meeting, with many others of similar intent, as the means of bringing all Christian knowledge from the heart out to the point of action where we are able to see with all men that we are brothers in God in truth as well as in word. Rabbi Wolf believed it was for youth today to show us the way of brotherhood which their adults had grossly neglected.

Charles T. Campbell, minister of youth of the host church, led the young people's groups to arrange the banquet gratis to all guests and set up the program. A return invitation was extended by Rabbi Wolf for a similar group to come to Temple Beth El in the very near future.

CHARLES T. CAMPBELL,
Minister of Youth.

First Church,
Corpus Christi, Texas.

Negroes in the Army

To the Editors:

I have been reading with a great deal of interest the recent letters in THE OUTLOOK regarding the Christian's attitude toward the Negro.

Having had the privilege of spending twenty-eight months in the E. T. O. as a soldier during World War II, I had many chances to observe the conduct of the Negro soldier and to see just what he would do when given the opportunity. Therefore I feel that my observations might shed some light on the question under discussion.

Being on detached service with the dock military police for four weeks in the beautiful city of Belfast, North Ireland, I was walking along Antrim Road, one of the main thoroughfares of the city, one afternoon shortly after my arrival in that place, when I chanced to look across the street and there I saw two beautiful young girls about eighteen years of age. One of them had a real black Negro by the arm and the other was holding on to the arm of a half-yellow Negro.

In England, Negro soldiers kept company with white girls, and it was a common sight to see beautiful white girls keeping company with Negro soldiers. You could also see white girls with babies whose fathers were Negroes.

I spent thirteen months as a guard in stockades for American prisoners. As a fighting man the average Negro was no good. Ninety-nine white soldiers placed at the front would stay there, but nine out of every ten Negroes would not stay at the front. In fact, most of the Negroes were in rear eschelon groups and it was from these groups that we got most of our prisoners. While I served as guard at the stockade near Cherbourg, France, we had over 800 at one time, and over 600 of them were Negroes.

I guarded 26 prisoners in an old German pillbox once. All of these prisoners were condemned to die, and all but four of them were Negroes.

Once at Cherbourg some Negro soldiers, during the last war, made improper advances to a French girl. She refused them and they shot at her and killed a seven-year-old child who was walking behind her.

All these incidents could have been avoided if our army authorities had made a rule forbidding Negro soldiers to associate with white women.

I have heard the Negro soldier say what he intended to do when he came back to the States. I have even heard Negro soldiers say they intended to kill people when they came back to America.

We had people of all nationalities in our army, and I helped to handle German, French, Russian, Polish, and Mongolian prisoners, but the American Negro prisoner was the worst and most vicious of any of them.

If we allow the Negro to mix with the white people we will have the same things happening in our own country which I have mentioned in this letter.

By all means give the Negro equal educational and industrial opportunities as white people have, and help him financially with church and school if necessary, but keep their churches and schools separate from those of the white people! Christianity does not require social mixing of the races. In educating the Negro let him understand that there are certain social barriers that must not be cast aside.

A Negro from the South gave us much less trouble in the army than a Negro from the North or the West. The South has always had the best policy in regard to the Negro. Let us not change it.

FRANCIS D. GUM.

Mountain Grove, Va.

Would If He Could

To the Editors:

(Here's a difference Martin Luther did not know about.)

In a recent issue of THE OUTLOOK (Feb. 24), Dr. Edgar Gammon makes an appeal for the Hampden-Sydney campaign, stating that, in every instance, those churches had raised their quotas where the pastor took the lead in putting it over; that the reverse was also true. This is in line with the prevalent idea that the minister is the "Key Man," and thus becomes the "object of attack" by every cause, every campaign and every movement. Of course, he is in a strategic position, but perhaps we should remember that no one key can unlock every door.

In a ministers' meeting in Charlotte, a Roman Catholic priest protested that his small parish had been assigned more than their share in carrying out a citywide campaign of one sort or another. A Baptist preacher replied, "Father, you ought not to mind. In the Catholic Church, you priests can tell your people what to do, or they will go to hell. In the Protestant churches, we pastors tell our people what to do and they tell us to go to hell!"

THE REV. WOOD IFHECOOD.

Protests Reported Endorsement

To the Editors:

Herewith I register my protest against the Federal Council of Churches reported under a United Press date line of Feb. 17 as urging the confirmation of David Lilienthal as head of the Civilian Atomic Commission. It is not the part of our church to enter into a political debate of this kind. In view of the fact that our church is a member of the Federal Council of Churches, we find ourselves involved in a very bitter political controversy. I regard the action of the Federal Council of Churches as highly discourteous, to say the least, toward our church. For the Federal CoCuncil of Churches to speak on political matters for our church is intolerable.

JAMES H. TAYLOR.

Charleston, S. C.

FC Made No Statement

New York. (RNS)—Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, has denied that the Federal Council signed a statement which deplored recent Congressional attacks on the principles of the Acheson-Lilienthal Report on international control of atomic energy.

The statement referred to was reported from Washington, D. C., to have been signed by representatives of 21 national organizations, including nine religious groups.

"The council," Dr. Cavert said, "has made no statement about the Congressional hearings on atomic energy or about the ratification of any member of the Commission on Atomic Energy. The council is on record as supporting the basic principles of the Acheson-Lilienthal Report, but it is contrary to the policy of the council either to endorse or oppose the appointment of any specific person to public office."

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Info - Ch. & Miss Bd

April 11, 1947

Mr. Martin Kieffer
Union Theological Seminary
Broadway at 122nd Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Kieffer:

Dr. Guy Johnson came in the office for a day and then left immediately for an extended business trip. He asked me to answer your letter requesting information about interracial policies of the major protestant denominations.

Since we have no material on your subject here in the office, Dr. Johnson suggests that you write the denominational headquarters of the various churches. You can find the addresses in the Yearbook of American Churches. I think you will be able to obtain information on what Methodist women are doing from Miss Thelma Stevens, Department of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities of the Woman's Society of Christian Service, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Enclosed are pages torn from the Southern Baptist Handbook, 1945, published by the Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. Perhaps you can obtain additional information about the interracial policies of the Southern Baptist Church from the Sunday School Board.

I trust that this information will be helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Price

April 4, 1947

Mr. Martin Kieffer
Union Theological Seminary
Broadway at 122nd Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Kieffer:

Your letter to Dr. Guy B. Johnson has arrived while he is out of the city. He will return to the office April 9, and I am sure he will give your letter his immediate attention.

In the meantime may I suggest that you write to Mr. R. B. Eleazer, Department of General Church School Work, General Board of Education of the Methodist Church, 810 Broadway, Nashville, Tennessee. Mr. Eleazer, a former member of the staff of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, handles race relations materials for the Methodist Church and may be able to give you helpful information.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Price

New-York, April Ist I947

RECEIVED
APR 4 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear Sir,

I am the french fellow at Union Theological Seminary, and I am working for the degree of Master of Sacred Theology, on a thesis entitled: "The policies and practices of the major protestant denominations of U.S. on the Negro issue."

There are many books dealing with the Negro question from a general point of view, but I find it practically almost impossible to get direct documentation concerning the practical working plans and accomplishments current in the Southern States.

If you could furnish me with the type of information which would be helpful in my study, you would favor me greatly and I should appreciate deeply your kindness.

I shall be pleased to defray the cost of any literature you may decide to send me.

As my thesis has to be finished before the end of the present month, I would be very glad if you were to reply as soon as convenient.

Very grateful yours,

Martin Kieffer

Martin Kieffer

M. Kieffer
U.T.Seminary
Broadway at I22nd Street
New-York, 27.

Church & RR

January 8, 1946

Mr. Curtis Tull
Enid, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Tull:

Your letter of December 17 addressed to me at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, has been forwarded to me. I have been living in Atlanta for the past two years, having resigned my position at the University of North Carolina to become Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council.

I regret to say that the manuscript on The Church and the Race Problem, which Mrs. Johnson and I prepared for the Carnegie-Myrdal Study, is stored away with a great many of our personal belongings at Chapel Hill. I am sorry that it will not be possible to make it available for your use.

Let me say, however, that you will find a good deal of the material from the manuscript embodied in Dr. Myrdal's two-volume work An American Dilemma. Also, let me suggest that you write to Professor Edward McDowell, Southern Baptist Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, and ask his advice on your thesis project with particular reference to the activity of the Baptist Churches on race relations. You might also find it worthwhile to write to Mrs. Dorothy Porter, Library, Howard University, Washington, D. C., and ask whether she has an up-to-date bibliography on this subject.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Enid, Oklahoma;
December I7,I945.

Dr. Guy Benton Johnson
Box 652
Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I'm a graduate student in Phillips University Bible College; also a student minister serving a church in Kansas over the week end. At the present time I am busily engaged working on a M.A. thesis in the Church History department. My thesis subject is: THE AMERICAN CHURCH AND THE NEGRO PROBLEM TODAY. I'm interested in finding out just what the churches in America are doing objectively about the problem. In my reading I have discovered that you have an unpublished manuscript on "The Church and the Race Problem in the United States". I am wondering if there might be a way wherby I could get the manuscript and study it in relation to my present work. I would appreciate any help, suggestion, or material that you could put in ny hand.

A Merry Christmas!

Yours very truly,
Curtis Tull
Curtis Tull

5-C - Misc. -
Carhart, Mrs. E.R.

November 4, 1948
Dict. November 1

Mrs. E. Richard Carhart
Girl Scouts
155 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Carhart:

At a meeting of the Florida Division of the Southern Regional Council in Jacksonville, Florida last week, I was approached by a Negro social worker from Bartow who said that in her town the lack of recreational outlets for young girls of her race was particularly acute.

I told her I would write to you and that I felt sure you would be in touch with her and offer what help you could toward getting the Girl Scouts going for her people in that town.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Her address:
Miss Sadie E. Lewis
Route 1, Box 71 A
Bartow, Florida

GSM:t

GIRL SCOUTS

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION 155 EAST 44TH STREET TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-2505

New York 17, N.Y.

Sept. 16, 1948.

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Your letter of September 14th arrived after Mrs. Carhart left the office for a long field trip. I am forwarding it to her, and I know she will be very happy to read that you expect to be in town at the time she plans to reach there.

Sincerely,

Martha Menacho

Martha Menacho - Secretary to Mrs. Carhart

RECEIVED
SEP 20 1948
Southern Regional Council

5-Church + Race Rels

WHAT THE DEPARTMENT OF RACE RELATIONS IS DOING

to enable the churches of America to face their special task for inter-racial justice and goodwill:

Promotes Race Relations Sunday, the second Sunday each February, marking Brotherhood Month—for fellowship and cooperative community activities.

Holds interracial "clinics" with national, state and local leaders—to recruit, inform and inspire church and community leaders for programs to improve race relations.

Sponsors The National Conference of Church Leaders for exchange of thoughts, views and plans.

Publishes

a) Interracial News Service (bi-monthly).

b) Leaflets on questions affecting racial minorities in America, with suggested remedies.

Cooperates with religious, civic and national agencies in seeking fair governmental legislation and administration, and equitable civic rights for all races.

Serves as a clearing house of advice and information on interracial questions.

The Department's official personnel comprises representatives from the twenty-five denominations constituent to The Federal Council of Churches.

(over)

DEPARTMENT OF RACE RELATIONS

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
297 Fourth Avenue New York 10, N. Y.

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BROTHERHOOD

BASIS FOR PEACE

RECEIVED
JAN

RACE RELATIONS SUNDAY

(27th Annual Observance)

marking

BROTHERHOOD MONTH

FEBRUARY 13, 1949

Brotherhood — Basis for Peace.

A Message for Race Relations Sunday, February 13, 1949, from The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

"Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; in honor preferring one another." (ROMANS 12:10)

DIVINE Love makes Christian brotherhood different from every other kind of human association. This love requires for every person justice and full opportunity because of his dignity and worth as God's creature and the object of His redemptive love. To profess to love God and to give offense to our brother because of racial difference is to sin. The love of God and the love of our fellowman go together.

Christians, therefore, face the task of making love a reality in their own lives by the practice of brotherhood. There are persons, known and unknown, who in spite of difficulties live lives of real Christian brotherhood with those of other races. Some individuals, however, fear the loss of personal status and community influence which they assume the practice of Christian brotherhood in race relations would bring. In practice they allow such fear to outweigh the belief that the brotherhood of love under the Fatherhood of God is the highest goal of life. They do not apply Jesus' words: ". . . seek ye first the Kingdom of God . . ."

The practice of Christian love calls for continuous examination of human motives, for courageous and intelligent facing of worldly pressures from without and emotional pressures from within, for complete and daily dedication to Christ.

The Christian Church can point to experiences within its own life which are examples of brotherhood. An impressive illustration of this was found in the Christian fellowship achieved by representatives of many races in the first Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam, Holland, in the summer of 1948. There is also a challenge in its statement:

". . . the Church has failed most lamentably, where it has reflected and, by its practices, then sanctified the racial prejudice that is rampant in the world. And yet it is here today that its guidance concerning what God wills for it is especially clear. It knows that it must call society away from prejudices based upon race and color and from the practices of discrimination and segregation as denials of justice and human dignity, but it cannot say a convincing word to society unless it takes

steps to eliminate these from the Christian community because they contradict all that it believes about God's love for all His children."

The churches must recognize in our own nation the unrighteousness of segregation and such racial injustices as denial of the right to vote; the actual inequality of the so-called "separate but equal" opportunities in education, health, public services; racial discrimination in employment; racial restrictions in housing, and sometimes the use of law and mob violence to enforce these practices. To their hopes and prayers for peace the churches must add evidence of Christian power to uproot seeds of racial conflict in the community.

The warning is clear and grows swiftly clearer that judgment awaits us if we fail to practice love. In the words of John's Epistle: "He who hateth his brother . . . walketh in darkness and knoweth not whither he goeth." The failure to heed the warning has resulted in the sharp racial division of our own nation. It is essentially the cause for the fear and hatred that hover over all the nations of the earth.

How can we Christians expect the nations to settle their problems on grounds of justice if we continue to withhold justice from brothers of another color? What can we say to the non-Christian peoples of the world? How can our nation take effective leadership in developing an international bill of rights if we do not live up to our own Bill of Rights?

We must face this responsibility not only on Race Relations Sunday but every day. We must break away from every unchristian racial relationship now. Individually and in the fellowship of the Church, Christians must take the lead in correcting racial injustices and in strengthening the spirit of brotherhood. In the brotherhood that Christ has revealed as the will of God, there is healing for the nations and a solid foundation for lasting peace.

WHAT CHURCHES CAN DO

1. Make *every* Sunday and *every* day a time of examination into their Christian responsibility in race relations; confess freely their failings.

2. Encourage the organization of a committee on social action or Christian social relations to

   a—Make sure that practices of your church in attendance at service, membership and use of facilities are inclusive of all Christians, regardless of race.

   b—Get the facts about civil rights, disseminate and discuss them
   —study the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights
   —find out about the condition of civil rights in the local community

c—Conduct educational projects for effective Christian citizenship, such as
—the achievement of full political rights for all citizens
—the mechanics of voting
—the problems of local, state and national government
—international relations and world order

d—Discover the community organizations working for interracial goodwill and civil rights; participate in their programs.

e—Use the resources of the church to build public opinion for legislation to protect civil rights for all people.

f—Encourage other groups in the church, especially those using the home and foreign missions study courses, to carry out action projects for improving race relations.

WHAT THE INDIVIDUAL CAN DO

1. As a church member, find out:

a—What other racial groups live in your community
b—What their churches and civic organizations are doing to build a better community
c—What your denomination is doing about race relations
d—What your local church is doing about race relations
e—What other community agencies are doing to improve race relations and how you can cooperate.

2. Seek continuously to understand the meaning of being a Christian in race relations

a—When voting
b—When seeking office
c—When discharging the duties of political office

3. Seek to be Christian in business by treating men, regardless of race, as the sons of God

a—In selling
b—In buying
c—In employing
d—In promoting
e—In compensating

4. Act as a neighbor in the Christian sense

a—By learning the basic facts about race
b—In speech (avoid generalizations, correct derogatory or incorrect statements based on race)
c—In refusing to join with others to restrict neighborhoods against any because of race
d—In urging that every child have an equal opportunity to those things coveted for your own child, including education, recreation, health, etc.
e—In supporting legislation to guarantee civil rights regardless of race.

Published by
DEPARTMENT OF RACE RELATIONS
THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Interracial Publication No. 72

Price of this leaflet, $1.50 a hundred. Complete packet of program suggestions $6.25 per hundred. To save cost of billing we urge remittance with all orders. When ordering this leaflet specify "Message."

GSM

5 - Churches & Race Rel.

The Presbyterian Outlook

Established 1819

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The Georgia Reporter (1826)
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The N. C. Presbyterian (1858)
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EDITORIAL

Long Pastorates

The letter which we carry on page two merits earnest consideration—and prayer. The problem which it discusses is no easy one to solve. It is highly complex. Long pastorates, which all too often enervate the spiritual resources of a congregation, have to be considered from several angles, because any power to do something about such cases requires that ministers and churches forfeit some of their vaunted freedom. Yet, when a minister cannot get another call and a church cannot have its present pastoral relationship dissolved, the amount of our so-called freedom which we now exercise is questionable.

Doubtless our readers will contribute several highly profitable discussions of this situation, within brief compass, we must insist.

Race and Realism

In the editorial from the Jackson, Miss., **Daily News** which appears in an adjoining column, we can see at work the mind of a realist. Seldom are we willing to be realistic about these various matters of race or our traditional customs. We much prefer to hide our thoughts behind cliches, smooth-worn proverbs, or socially accepted prejudices. But the Jackson editor says it is time to be done with all this and to recognize a few facts. His editorial, while lacking some of the feeling for the Displaced Persons which our Christian sympathies must provide, points to several practical, attainable next steps which all right-minded people of the South will support.

Wise Selections

Two additions to the church's official family reported in last week's news columns will be applauded. As James M. Carr goes from his post as regional director of religious education for Appalachia Synod to direct town and country church work for the home missions committee, everybody who knows him will feel that his selection was wise. Dr. Carr will give vigorous and able leadership to this important phase of the church's program.

Bernard McIlhany, with good experience in pastorates, in student work, in presbytery and synod leadership, in addition to his earlier opportunities in business, will be a strong addition to the staff of Christian Education and Ministerial Relief. For Dr. McIlhany and for Dr. Carr, the church will wish the most fruitful and inspiring service.

GUEST EDITORS

Must Give Negroes a Square Deal

Governor Fielding Wright is quoted as saying that he favors the importation of displaced European workers who will fit well into our industrial and agricultural life—people to replace Negroes migrating Northward.

The Governor's proposal is dubious. He ought to do some clearer thinking through on the subject.

Instead of planning for importation of European labor it would be much better for our industrial and agricultural leaders to put on their thinking caps and see if better living and working conditions cannot be provided for Negro labor being tempted to move to industrial centers in Northern and Eastern states.

Meaning specifically that our Negroes, who are more efficient in nearly all respects than any displaced persons we are likely to get from Europe, should be provided with better schools, homes and living conditions.

We must frankly admit among ourselves that we are not giving the Negro a square deal in these and some respects.

We know, as a matter of cold truth, that Negroes generally speaking, are better adapted to work on our farms and in our factories than are the homeless and poverty-stricken persons in Europe who cannot speak our language and do not understand our ways.

Let's be perfectly fair about it.

Our Negroes have been migrating to Northern industrial centers in order to better their own conditions—something all human beings have a right to do.

If we are losing this class of wealth producers—and the Negroes really are our chief wealth producers—it is our own fault. We should have been according them better treatment in the way of better wages, better schools and better living conditions.

It is not too late to stop the migratory movement.

Negroes, generally speaking, prefer to live in the South. They like our genial and kindly climate. They get along more amicably with the Southern white people than they do with Northern folks.

Let's be truthful among ourselves.

We need our Negro citizens.

We should do all within our power that is reasonable to keep them among us.

We should not seek to keep them subservient.

We should give them a fair chance to better conditions for themselves and their families.

In our industrial centers we should see to it that they have parks and playgrounds, swimming pools and recreational centers, just as we provide for white folks.

We should see that they get better hospital and medical care.

No matter how badly they may be needed to till our crops and work in our factories and various other forms of employment, many thousands of the Negroes who have left Mississippi for points above the Mason and Dixon line are not coming back to their home state unless forced to do so by an era of depression and unemployment. That heavy economic loss we have suffered is permanent.

Therefore, we should be doing our best to keep what we have left; we should strive to make the Negroes who work for us more contented with their surroundings, pay them wages commensurate with the work they perform, and strive in every way possible to cultivate more friendly relations between our races. . . .

Instead of worrying about displaced persons in Europe we ought to be doing a lot more worrying about our industrial and economic conditions here at home, with especial reference to racial problems that we must face squarely and courageously and deal fairly with those who earn their livings in the sweat of their faces and who are the chief producers of our material wealth.

Mississippi has urgent need of her citizenry, both white and colored. We should hold fast to what we have rather than seek the migration of aliens whom we do not understand, and who may never learn to understand our people and their way of living.—Jackson (Miss.) DAILY NEWS. (See also p. 10.)

Courtesy Mr. Sells

Church — Race Relations

December 27, 1949

Rev. W. Albert Smith
First Baptist Church
Sheffield, Alabama

Dear Mr. Smith:

We had a letter from Rabbi Mantinband praising warmly the step taken by the Sheffield Ministerial Association in welcoming the pastors of the local Negro churches into the group. That is a praiseworthy thing to have done, and I should like to express our appreciation of it.

Sheffield, in this way, joins a very considerable number of southern communities in which the ministerial associations are really inclusive.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TRI-CITIES JEWISH CONGREGATION

FLORENCE, SHEFFIELD, TUSCUMBIA
ALABAMA

RABBI CHARLES MANTINBAND
206 NORTH WOOD AVE.
FLORENCE

TEMPLE B'NAI ISRAEL
ATLANTA AVE.
SHEFFIELD

December 14, 1949

Mr. George Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

At the December meeting of the Sheffield Ministerial Association it was voted to welcome the pastors of all the local Negro churches into our group. Several of the colored brethren were present and expressed their appreciation.

Promoter of this effort was Rev. W. Albert Smith of the First Baptist Church, Sheffield. I think he might appreciate a word of commendation.

Yours sincerely,

C. Mantinband

Charles Mantinband

RECEIVED
DEC 16 1949
Southern Regional Council

Church & Race Relation

RECEIVED
APR 9 1951
Southern Regional Council

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
287 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

GALEN R. WEAVER
RELIGION AND RACE

April 6, 1951

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Varying replies came to me in response to my letter of January 26 which suggested the possibility of a consultation with you and others at several points in the Southeast. In the light of these responses Oscar Lee and I have come to the decision that it would not be wise to take this step at the present time. It is true that a few correspondents were somewhat enthusiastic about gatherings in which we might discuss face to face some possible further steps in the area of the church and race relations including the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations. To the degree that there is interest in pursuing these matters we hope that it may be met by initiative coming from some of you who reside in the Southeast. We are counseling with Ernest Arnold, Executive of the Southeast Regional Office of the National Council of Churches, and perhaps in time the way will open for further consultations and planning. It also turns out that Oscar Lee is presently so involved in responsibilities and decisions connected with the transition of his Department from the Federal Council to the National Council of Churches that it is impossible for him to get away this spring for such a trip. Neither he nor I had anticipated the terrific complexity of this changeover process.

Your extremely helpful replies and reactions will be made available for further study and I trust that some wise and affirmative further developments will emerge within the next year or so.

It occurs to me that one immediate way to conserve and harness the interest shown is to participate yourself or help to enlist one or more other persons to share in our interdenominational Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations to be held this summer. Last summer a number of men and women from the South did enroll in two of these four-day workshops -- at Lincoln University, Pa. and at Eden Seminary in St. Louis. All were enthusiastic over their total experience and the help they got and were able to give to others. The new folders will be off the press soon. I am venturing to send two to each of you when ready and you may have others of course on request. It would be well to address inquiries to Dr. J. Oscar Lee at 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10.

With appreciation for your willingness to share your considered judgment with us, I am

Very cordially yours,

Galen Weaver

Galen R. Weaver

GRW:a

The program of Religion and Race, including the work of George Thomas of Los Angeles, is jointly supported by the American Missionary Association Division and the Council for Social Action.

Church Race Rels.

October 15, 1951

Mr. Willis T. Spivey
Box 1337
Sparta, N. J.

Dear Mr. Spivey:

I wonder whether you have put your lines out to the various missionary training schools in the South? I think of the Presbyterian one at Richmond and the Baptist one in Louisville. And there must be others scattered about. I suppose those institutions are in rather thick-walled cocoons, but still there should be a way to get a trickle of their students to spend a year or many months in your training place.

The right man in Louisville to correspond with is Hugh Brimm, secretary of the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, Box 38, St. Matthew's Branch, Louisville 7, Kentucky. He isn't administratively a part of the Training School, but he's across the street from it and could advise helpfully.

At Richmond I am told that you would find the imagination and responsiveness in Miss Margie Wakefield, The Assembly's Training School, 3400 Brook Road, Richmond, Virginia.

Quite possibly you have explored both these groups and all the others.

I will talk (when he returns to the city) with Harry Richardson at Gammon Theological Seminary. That's the Methodist Negro seminary, and Richardson is a grand guy. Will let you know if anything turns up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

CHRISTIAN SERVICE FOUNDATION

RESEARCH AND ADVISORY COUNSEL
In
TRAINING LEADERS FOR PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN SERVICE

BABSON PARK
FLORIDA

Reply to:
Box 1337
Sparta, N.J.

October 9, 1951.

RECEIVED
OCT 11 1951
Southern Regional Coun

Dr. George Mitchell,
Westley Building
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We attach several copies of a letter we are sending to some of our friends. From our recent conversations, we know you are as much interested as we are in our common problem of helping needy people to help themselves.

Because the need for trained leaders is so great, we believe these "Challenges" should have wider circulation than our limited list will permit.

We will greatly appreciate your cooperation in sending us a list of people who should receive them:-

a. Sources from whom such personnel might come.
b. Prospects for these positions.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Willis T. Spivey

Willis T. Spivey

PEACE AND WORLD SURVIVAL DEPEND UPON OUR SHOWING NEEDY PEOPLE HOW TO MEET THEIR SPIRITUAL, MENTAL, SOCIAL, PHYSICAL, AND ECONOMIC HUNGERS

CHRISTIAN SERVICE FOUNDATION

RESEARCH AND ADVISORY COUNSEL
In
TRAINING LEADERS FOR PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN SERVICE

BABSON PARK
FLORIDA

Please Reply To:
P. O. Box 1337
Sparta, N. J.

A CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIAN SERVICE

Over half the people of the world, including millions in our own country, suffer one or all of the five great hungers.

Cooperative Christian Service, using the demonstration method, is the key to helping these needy people help themselves. They will do it if we show them how.

As a Southern philanthropic foundation, directed by Southerners who know the rural South, we are convinced that the greatest need today is for trained leaders. We need many part-time, as well as full time, leaders to learn how to help their needy neighbors.

Thousands in our church communities want to serve. But wanting is not helping. It is equally important to learn the methods of practical Christian Service as to learn the techniques of medicine and other careers. This ''know-how'' can best be learned in demonstration centers, where the world's knowledge and experience can be assembled and passed on to future leaders.

Toward meeting these needs, we are providing funds to help find and develop:-

1. Extension Coordinators - To organize self-help programs in rural areas.
2. Coordinating Demonstrators - For work in a demonstration center.
3. Demonstrator-Trainees - To learn-by-doing how to help needy people.
   (a) Prospective full time Christian Service or mission workers.
   (b) Church laymen who want to serve at home.

These staff couples and trainees will live in simple but comfortable housing in a Demonstration Center in Central Florida, with pleasant living conditions, near good churches and schools. Homestead needs will be furnished, with salaries, commensurate with experience and service.

The first type of position is permanent. The man should be married and the wife a ''member of the team''. A college degree or equivalent is essential, with experience in Christian Community Service. For the second permanent position, good basic education and practical rural experience are essential.

Demonstrator-Trainees should have a good basic education. For them, this is an ''Internship'' of one to three years, - an unusual opportunity for service while learning.

We will be glad to send more complete information upon request.

CHRISTIAN SERVICE FOUNDATION

P.S. Please forward this to someone you think should be interested.

PEACE AND WORLD SURVIVAL DEPEND UPON OUR SHOWING NEEDY PEOPLE HOW TO MEET THEIR SPIRITUAL, MENTAL, SOCIAL, PHYSICAL, AND ECONOMIC HUNGERS

Church & Race

Sent to various Episcopal Bishops in the South.

also Baptists

Rels.

August 12, 1953

Rt. Rev. D. M. Gray D. D.
Box 953
Jackson, Miss.

Dear Bishop Gray:

Our Council lately obtained a small supply of copies of this quite interesting pamphlet from South Africa.

You will see that it was prepared under the presidency of the Archbishop of Cape Town.

It is surprising to see how often here in the South the old twisted Bible arguments on racial separateness still pop up.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

Same letter: All Methodist Bishops in SRC area (including Central Jurisdiction bishops.)

August 12, 1953

Bishop Arthur J. Moore
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Bishop Moore:

Here is an interesting little resource pamphlet which reaches us by way of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

Church & Race Rels.

Aug. 24, 1953

The Most Rev. Vincent S. Waters
Bishop of Raleigh
15 N. McDowell St.
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Bishop Waters:

Many thanks for your letter of August 14. I agree that the South African publication on the Bible and Race relations is neither vigorous nor very clear, but compared with most that comes from South Africa these days it seems praiseworthy.

I have written to Rosary College at River Forest for copies of their pamphlets which you spoke of.

I had the privilege of spending much of last week at Belmont Abbey with Father Shean's group and profited greatly from it.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

BISHOP'S RESIDENCE
15 NORTH McDOWELL STREET
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

RECEIVED
AUG 17
Southern Regional Council

August 14,1953

Mr.George S.Mitchell
Executive Director
Room 432, Auburn Avenue,N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I appreciate your letter and enclosure of August 12th. I have read most of the pamphlet on "What the Bible Says about Race Relations", but it does not seem to be vigorous enough or to be clear enough to suit me.

I have only one copy of two pamphlets which I will be happy to send you if you are interested. One is Racial Myth, the other is, Heresy of Race, and the third is A Moral Appraisal of an Individual Act of Race Discrimination. It might be helpful in some cases. These pamphlets are printed by Rosary College at River Forest, Illinois.

I am glad to learn that you have been able to do so much good work among our Sisters. I am sure that everyone I have spoken to who heard you were most enthusiastic over your lecture.

With sincere best wishes and hoping to see you whenever you are in this neighborhood, I remain

Sincerely in Christ,

+Vincent S. Waters

Vincent S. Waters,
Bishop of Raleigh

Ch 1 8 2

A RESOLUTION FROM THE ATLANTA METHODIST MINISTERS' ASSOCIATION

Whereas certain individuals and groups within the state of Georgia seem determined to stir up strife, hatred, and prejudice among the people of Georgia for political purposes, and:

Whereas we believe this strife and hatred would tend to destroy the friendly relations which now exist between the races of people in this state, for which the Church and all fair-minded people have long worked and prayed, therefore:

Be it resolved, that we, the Methodist Ministers of Atlanta, Georgia, reaffirm our faith in the principles and the teachings of Jesus Christ with reference to his declaration of the brotherhood of man and as well, the Fatherhood of God. We believe that God is the Father of all men, and that for this reason, we are each brothers of all men. We deplore any effort on the part of any person or any group of persons to stir up racial prejudice for political,or any other purpose, among our people in Georgia. We believe that all human beings, regardless of race, creed, or color belong to the human family and have equal rights before God and in human society. We, therefore, call upon all of our people to stand for liberty, justice, and freedom for each and every citizen of this state.

File: Church & Race Rel.

A SUGGESTION

FOR THE FORMATION OF AN

ALL PEOPLES' CHURCH

IN THE SOUTH

MADE BY

WITHERSPOON DODGE

As stated, this idea is submitted only as a suggestion, not a proposal. It is offered for consideration by the official Board of the First Congregational Church, Atlanta, Georgia, and for discussion between that board and myself at a later time if desired. In accord with Congregational polity, it might then be submitted, at the pleasure of the Board, to the membership of the Church for such action as they wished to take.

NEED

These are serious times. They pose such needs as the world and the church have never known before. The possible need for such a church as is here suggested is indicated by both the nature of the Christian religion, and the present conditions of society in the South and in the world.

The Christian religion is a religion for all people. It admits no distinction based on race or color. A prophet before the days of Jesus said, "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all people." Jesus himself taught and preached one God, the Father of all, and said, "One is your Master, and all ye are brethren." Paul wrote, "There is one God, the Father, who is over all, and in all, and through all."

The present conditions of society in the South are characterized by many unchristian aspects, but none are so flagrantly unChristian as those in the realm of racial relations. Variations from, and violations of, Christian principle extend all the way from religious separation to personal and social disrespect, animosity, and violence. Besides these traditional attitudes and acts, there has taken place a recent resurgence of unChristian principles and practices which forebode an intensification of such evils to an alarming degree. The day for releasing counteractive forces against these evils cannot dawn too soon. The Christian religion, through its individual and collective forces in the organized church, should take its place in the forefront of all such endeavors.

REASONS

The satisfactory solution of all human and social needs should be based on sound reasons. The work of the church is founded no less on reason than on revelation. There is no contradiction betweem two.

1. The Christian religion reconizes no racial or color line separating the true worshipers of the One God. The church operates on this principle in its missionary work in foreign lands. It sends its missionaries to Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea, whose populations are composed to peoples of all races and colors. Should the church compass land and sea to make one convert while practising hypocrisy at home?

2. The present separation of white people and Negroes in the churches of the South is based on the tradition of men, not on the Word and will of God. Jesus said, "By your traditions ye have made of none effect the Word of God."

3. The Church sets the standards of society. Society cannot be expected to make any change in its ways and customs, its attitudes and relationships, beyond the position taken by the church. On the contrary, society seeks justification for its unChristian ways from the sanction of the church. Shall the church of the living God continue to sanction customs which violate its own principles, and at the same time are inimical to the welfare of society?

4. The chief function of the Christian religion is to bring God and men together, and to unite men in the common bonds of brotherhood. This function cannot be exercised, nor this responsibility discharged, so long as the church recognizes a separation based on racial differences. Men, society, and God Himself are the losers under such a perversion of Christian principle.

5. The present crucial social and religious situation in the South therefore constitutes an imperative and immediate challenge to the church to right its ways in accord with the principles and Word of God. Whence shall the initiation of such a change take place? Under existing circumstances it cannot reasonably be expected that any prominent white church will take the lead in accepting this challenge. For it to take so bold a position, led by some minister with a few followers, would mean its utter disruption. Meantime the fascist forces of darkness and evil seem to be gaining power more rapidly than the forces of light and good will. Hence, sole dependence by the church of our day on a policy of slow gradualism to arrest the forces of intolerance and evil, and perhaps to avert social catastrophe, is manifestly inadequate. However desirable that such a movement toward Christian brotherhood be initiated by the white churches, it would seem that it must be started in the present Negro churches.

REQUIREMENTS

Major reguirements for such a church as suggested relate chiefly to the name of the new church, the number of its ministers, and the attitude and spirit of the vast majority of its present membership.

1. In order to effect the broad objectives in mind it would be necessary to change the name of the church from that of the First Congregational Church to that of an All Peoples' Church, or some similar title. While it might be advisable, in deference to existing denominational divisions within the official Body of Christ, to retain at least for the present the sub-title of "Congregational," yet the more comprehensively Christian and broadly human title suggested should be featured. Pertinent to this point is the hope that such a church might make a definite contribution to the present pronounced movement in many denominations toward a unification of the religious forces of the world.

2. If possible - certainly preferably - there should be an associate ministry, that of a white man and a Negro. Both of them also, at least at the initiation of the movement, be native southerners who have spent their entire lives in the South. This would both obviate some inevitable negative criticism, and constitute a positive asset toward the success of the work.

3. If financial or other considerations did not permit the employment of two associate ministers, a white minister would be necessary to make it an All Peoples' Church. If a start were made on this basis, it would be hoped that the rapid growth of the church would make possible in the near future the addition of an associate Negro minister.

4. Absolutely essential to the initiation of such a Christian venture would be the enthusiastic approval and whole-hearted support of it by the vast majority of the present members of the existing church. The present church has behind it a record of great and noble achievement. It is now doing an excellent work in the community. No change should be made which would not enlarge its field of usefulness and service. It is only in line with that purpose that the present suggestion is being made.

OPPORTUNITIES

It is believed that in view of present-day needs and reasons for such a church, there does stretch before it a field for larger opportunities of usefulness and service.

1. It would mean the initiation of a movement toward truly Christian and human relations between all the people of the South in the field of the South's most highly recognized and greatest potential power - that of religion and the church. However derelict the white churches of the South have been in exercising their highest spiritual and social obligations to all people, the church in the South is still recognized as the greatest potential power for good of any of its institutions. Its professions are the most idealistic. It holds social respect. It has a very large following and membership. If it could be completely captured for the expression of Christian principles and living, so that its professions became a matter of everday practice, its power to change social customs would be beyond all calculation.

2. It would serve as a living and powerful example of right human relationships in its community, and throughout the South. People are much more influenced to change their thinking and living by example than by exhortation, by deed than by word, by demonstration than by doctrine. The daily impingement upon their consciousness and conscience of a house of God for all people would do more than any other force to stimulate thought, promote discussion, and provoke them to reexamine their professions and practices in light of the teachings of their religion found in the Word of God.

3. It would provide continuously a free and powerful voice for right human relations which hitherto has remained all but silent in the white churches until some outrageous depredation has been committed against the liberties and life of some of our citizens. Civilizations always tend too much to fall into a pattern of caution and conformity, of compromise and complacency. While men sleep, the enemy sows his evil seed. Only when the horrible harvest begins to show its ugly head do men say the things which should have been said long before. There is always need of a prophet in the land, however powerful a hold the priests may have on things as they are. It may not yet be too late for an exemplification of moral and spiritual courage. If this example is not set now, the time may come later for an entirely different kind of courage, with the terrific toll it always exacts.

4. This movement would undoubtedly focus upon the South, even more than has already been done, the eyes of the entire nation. Recent events in the South have already greatly attracted the nation's eyes. Among these events are the unspeakable atrocities perpetrated in several places upon the liberties and lives of Negro citizens; the further threats of out-and-out fascist organizations; the fearful menace of public officials elected to political

positions; and the resurgence of the unChristian, fascist doctrine of white supremacy, not only among grossly-ignorant and demagogic forces, but to a fearsome degree among many people in the so-called respectable classes. This frightfully foreboding situation gives all the publicity and pressure possible from all parts of the nation to compel the South, either by rational choice and action, or under national humiliation and shame, to recognize that it is an integral part of the nation's life, and that its pattern of thought and behavior affect not only its own people, but as well as the people of the entire country and of the whole world. The values of both democracy and religion are at stake in this realization, as America is expected to provide an example for all the world. The implications of national chaos, civil war, world war, and survival itself are resident in the hopes and fears contingent upon the right solution of the race problem here.

5. Accompanying the emphasis on the immediate problem of better race relations embodied in this example, there would be presented to the community a broader and more constructive program of proper church activity than that which is cusomary. The teachings of true religion and ethics would be applied not only to individual salvation and the building of personal character, but to all of the social problems affecting the environment of individuals and groups. The highest ideal of both religion and democracy is that of an abundant life for all. Education in accord with the highest standards should be fully provided for all. Economics is a powerful factor in the life of everyone. Citizenship and politics as forces determining everyday conditions of life cannot be over-emphasized. Home life, family income, housing, health, recreation, sanitation, street pavements and lighting, and public welfare generally, all have their proper place within the purview of Christian principle. On a number of these matters the voice of the conventional church - in particular, the white churches - are all but silent. This church would be vocal on them all.

OBJECTIONS

It is recognized that the successful achievement of such an organization is not to be taken for granted. It would not be easy. It has many angels. It readily raises many questions and possible objections. These should be faced frankly, and answered if possible. Among others the following are listed.

1. Would it not be an innovation - something new and different - of such large proportions as not to be feasible?

Answer: All true religion, as well as all genuine democracy, has always been a matter of innovation. Early Christianity was. American democracy was. Conservatives have always questioned it; reactionaries have always opposed it. Yet, progress has come only on the heels of innovation. Our own congregational Church has behind it a history of bold and noble innovations. Its forerunners were the first to set foot upon the soil of America, in the person of the Pilgrims Fathers who landed on Plymouth Rock. They came here in search of freedom. Their successors were leaders in the Abolition Movement. Their sons and daughters came into the South during Reconstructions Days as missionaries to plant educational institutions for the poor whites and the Negroes. And in the reinterpretation of Christianity in the terms of a more liberal and reasonable theology, and in its social application to the problems of society, it has been in the vanguard of America religious denominations.

2. Would the members of the church wish the leadership of a white minister?

Answer: Such a question, in light of the relationships of most Negroes with most white people, would be readily understood. In my opinion the matter would depend mostly on the white man. Unless he could speak to, and have fellowship with them, not as a white man, but as a man of God, the arrangement could not be successfully carried out. But it is my belief that most Negroes are no more anxious to perpetuate the present separation of the races than are the right kind of white people. Any objection on this score would greatly weaken the position of Negroes on the subject of separation.

3. Would Negro ministers and members in other churches favor it? Answer: Frankly, not having talked with any of them, I do not know. But I do know many of the outstanding Negro ministers of the city, and many church members, and my relations with them have always been of the most cordial, Christian kind. I believe they would welcome the arrangement, and tender their full cooperation.

4. Would a white minister in his preaching tend to dwell too much on the exsisting race issue, to the neglect of spiritual instruction and edification?

Answer: I can readily and fully appreciate this possible objection. There might easily be a temptat tion in the direction indicated. If so, the temptation should be sedulously guarded against. Any minister should seek to make his ministry one of education and enlightment, of conviction as well as challenge, of comfort for the individual as well as of crusading for society, of stimulation and inspiration to mind and soul, and of the application of spiritual and social principle toward the creation of character and the development of human attitudes and relationships. He should constantly keep in mind the thought that all people are simply people, needing inward strength with which to meet the outward difficulties of the days as they come and go.

5. Would the members of the church fear both for me personally, and for themselves and their church property, various forms of unjust and illegal treatment, threats, and even violence on the part of the fascist forces of the community?

Answer: I question seriously anything more along this line than the reception of a few anonymous letters, and some anonymous telephone calls. While I do not under-estimate the possible ferocity of fascist fiends, at the same time the citadel of a prominent city church affords the best security a ainst any outlandish forms of opposition. I think it more likely that such forces of evil would adopt the policy of ignoring our work, so that it might receive as little publicity as possible. But speaking for myself, I wish to say that I do not ask exemption from any of the possible consequences suffered by the men of all ages who have sought to be true to themselves, to their fellow-men, and to the God whom they served. I am sure the members of the church will be able to reach their own decision on this matter.

Home Mission Board
Southern Baptist Conv.
Una R. Lawrence

Church & Race Relations

TO HELP YOU TEACH
HMB 1946 Series on the Negro
Lilly May and Dan for Sunbeams
March On for Junior RAs and GAs

SRCP has

Lilly May and Dan is a reading book for older Sunbeams, so written that it will be interesting when read to younger Sunbeams.
March On is a reading book for Juniors, a collection of stories of great Baptist Negroes of the South who became leaders in some phase of American life.
These teaching helps have been prepared to give you the needed materials for using these books in class study in your organization.

1. Read the book and these Helps carefully, marking every idea that appeals to you. No leader or teacher can do everything here suggested. So choose what you need and make out your own teaching outline.

2. Order all the material you will need. Have everything in readiness before you begin the study. All books and picture materials may be ordered from the Baptist Book Store serving your State. See other addresses for additional materials.

If you have no music store near, find out the nearest place where you can order records. We hope you can have at least one of these lovely records to play for your boys and girls.

3. Negro Artists on the Radio. Watch for radio programs on which outstanding Negro artists sing often and call attention to them. Marian Anderson, often on the Telephone Hour and other major musical programs; Paul Robeson, both speaking and singing; Dorothy Maynor; Southernaires and Wings Over Jordan every Sunday morning; Fiske Jubilee Singers, Tuskegee Choral Choir, Hampton Singers, Golden Gate Quartet and other Negro musican organizations.

Records of Negro Artists

Victor Records:	Marian Anderson	
18314	Carry Me Back to Ole Virginny--Old Kentucky Home	$1.00
2032	Deep River--Dere's No Hidin' Place	1.00
1040	*Let Us Break Bread Together--Beautiful City	.75
1799	Go Down, Moses--My Soul's Been Anchored	.75
1896	I Know the Lord--Trampin'	.75
	Hall Johnson Choir	
5560	Joshua Fit the Battle of Jericho--Bye and Bye	.75
	Golden Gate Quartet	
B7278	Wonderful Savior--Bedside of a Neighbor	.35
B7126	Gospel Train--Gabriel Blows His Horn	.35
B8190	Precious Lord--Ol' Man River	.35
	Paul Robeson	
90793	Deep River--I'm Goin' to Tell God All My Troubles	.50
	Dorothy Maynor	
M-879	Spirituals (sold only in sets of four) Contains two beautiful Christmas spirituals: Rise Up Shepherds--Go Tell it to the Mountains	3.50
Columbia:	Paul Robeson	
71367-D	Cradle Song--Within Four Walls	1.00
	Wings Over Jordan	
M-499	Set Radio Hour Spirituals (set of four records)	3.50
	Roland Hayes	
69812	Hear de Lam's a-Cryin'--Plenty Good Room	1.00
617275	Li'l Boy--You Are Tired, Chile	.75

*Let us break bread together on our knees;
Let us break bread together on our knees;
And we'll all rise together to face the rising sun,
Oh Lord, have mercy, if you please.

Supplementary Books

1. Story Books:

sec has Lilly May and Dan	Brown	(Sunbeams)	HMB Series 1946	.40
" " March On	Eubanks	(Junior)	HMB Series 1946	.50
Twelve Negro Americans	Jenness		M. E. M.	.60
Two books of stories of Negro leaders for Juniors				
Great Negro Americans	Richardson		Crowell	$2.50
Thirteen Against the Odds	Embree		Viking	2.75
Biographies for older people--story sources				
Southland Spirituals	Rodeheaver			.25

2. Factual Books: See list under Southern Regional Council (next page)

sec has Of One	Maston	(Adult)	HMB Series 1946	.50

Pictures

Collect from current magazines pictures of children of all races, their homes, mothers and fathers, schools and churches. Many popular magazines have picture sections in which many such pictures can be found: Life, Coronet, Colliers, Ladies Home Journal, etc.

The following recent issues have interesting pictures: Coronet, August 1945, .25¢ from 919 North Michigan Ave., Chicago; Life, February 4, 1946 (Picture Marian Anderson); See also January, February, March, 1946 issues World Comrades, Window of Y. W. A. and Southern Baptist Home Missions.

1. The Associated Publishers Series of pictures of famous Negroes contain the following:
   Size 11 x 14 inches, each $1.00
   - Booker T. Washington — James Weldon Johnson
   - Roland Hayes — Paul Lawrence Dunbar

   Size 5 x 7 inches, each .10¢ dozen 1.00
   - Booker T. Washington — George W. Carver
   - Roland Hayes — Marian Anderson
   - Nannie H. Burroughs — Maggie L. Walker
   - Robert R. Moton — Andrew Bryan
2. Standard Color Prints 10x12 each .15¢
   Miniature Color Prints (for handwork) dozen .20¢
   - Jesus the Hope of the World #694; min. #97
   - Jesus Feeding the Five Thousand #6; min. #79

Order from Baptist Book Store serving your State.

Home Mission Board Work

1. Schools

American Baptist Theological Seminary, Nashville, Tennessee
Arkansas Baptist College, Little Rock, Arkansas
Benedict College, Columbia, South Carolina
Bishop College, Marshall, Texas
Bryant Theological Seminary, Fitzgerald, Georgia
Butler College, Tyler, Texas
Florida Normal and Industrial Institute, St. Augustine, Florida
Friendship Baptist College, Rock Hill, South Carolina
Leland College, Baker, Louisiana
Mississippi Union Theology Seminary, Prentiss, Mississippi
Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia
Morris-Booker College, Dermott, Arkansas
Morris College, Sumter, South Carolina
Natchez College, Natchez, Mississippi
Oklahoma School of Religion, Langston, Oklahoma
Selma University, Selma, Alabama
Shaw University, Durham, North Carolina
Simmons University, Louisville, Kentucky
Storer College, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia
Union Baptist Seminary, New Orleans, Louisiana
Washington Baptist Seminary, Washington, D. C.
Western Baptist Seminary, Kansas City, Missouri
Virginia Theological College and Seminary, Lynchburg, Virginia
Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia

2. Centers

Fellowship Center, 1023 W. Madison Street, Louisville 3, Kentucky
Negro Baptist Center, 115 Federal Avenue, Morgan City, Louisiana
Negro Baptist Center, 511 East 3rd Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Negro Baptist Center, 1434 McCullough Street, Baltimore 17, Maryland
Negro Baptist Center, 108 Hannon Avenue, Mobile, Alabama
Negro Baptist Center, 2168 Meharry Boulevard, Nashville, Tennessee
Atlanta Baptist Center, Chamberlain and Jackson, Atlanta, Georgia

Addresses You Need

Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.
Free factual and story leaflets:
"I Never Knowed" by Margaret Fisher
"Let's Not Forget that We're All Foreigners" by Frank Sinatra
"Unhealthy Roots" by Mrs. Roberts of Amarillo
"It Seems Queer" by Sgt. Gilmer
"Brothers in Black" by Dr. McDowall of Columbia Theological Seminary (Presbyterian)
"Information Please" by R. B. Eleazar
"The Courage of a Negro Soldier", January, 1946 issue New South
Priced pamphlets on Negro Life in the South especially suited to this book.

Tenth Man (rev. 1944) facts about the Negro		.10¢
Singers in the Dawn, Collection of Negro poetry		.10¢
Songs of the South, small collection of Spirituals		.10¢
Understanding Our Neighbors (Facts you need)		.10¢
New South, monthly magazine	per year	$1.00

Woman's Convention, auxiliary to National Baptist Convention
Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, Corresponding Secretary,
Lincoln Heights, Washington, D. C.
Manuals and guide books for missionary organizations
Foreign Mission Board of National Baptist Convention
701 South 19th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
The Mission Herald, monthly per year $1.00

THE TEACHER'S PRAYER

Lord, who am I to teach the way
To little children day by day,
So prone myself to go astray?

I teach them Knowledge, but I know
How faint they flicker and how low
The candle of my knowledge glows.

I teach them Power to will and do.
But only now to learn anew
My own great weakness through and through.

I teach them Love of all mankind
And all God's creatures, but I find
My love comes lagging far behind.

Lord, if their guide I still must be,
Oh, let the little children see
The teacher leaning hard on Thee!

Leslie Pinckney Hill
President Cheyney Teachers College

A little Negro girl named Lula Weeden wrote this poem about a dandelion.

The dandelion stares
In the yellow sunlight.
How very still it is!

When it is old and grey
I blow its white hair away,
And leave it with a bald head.

Quoted from We Sing America MEM .60¢

Teaching Outline--Lilly May and Dan

by Marel Brown
Prepared by Una Roberts Lawrence

Five Sessions

FIRST SESSION

Theme: Children Who Must Do Without. Stories I and II

Stories: These two stories tell about children who live in homes where there is not much money; where the mother must work to get food and clothes for the children, and there is little left for playthings or any extras. There are many such children in the south of all races. (See list of pictures)

Negro mothers and fathers do not always make as much as mothers and fathers of white children, even when they do the same work. Yet food and clothes and houses to live in cost the same for everybody. Lilly May's mother would have to pay as much for an apple as your mother.

So, many little children must learn to do without, and be cheerful and helpful to their mothers at the same time.

Song: "Jesus Loves the Little Children"

Picture Study: Look for pictures of children who must do without--hungry, homeless, orphans, etc., in the current magazines, such as Life, Colliers, Ladies Home Journal, etc. See the following: (1) Mother and children in tent, World Comrades, March, 1946; (2) Negro mother carrying firewood, Home Missions cover, February, 1946; (3) A home of some who must do without, (in rural south), Window of Y. W. A., page 11, February 1946; (4) Little Japanese-American children without homes, cover and page 14 of same issue.

To Find Out: Where do the Negro children you know live? Do they have safe places to play? How do their fathers and mothers earn money for food, houses and clothes? What do the little children do when the mother must work? What is a Day Nursery? What is a Kindergarten? Would one help the little children of these homes?

(A Day Nursery is a place where an experienced woman who loves children and knows how to care for them keeps children while their mothers work. There are little beds for the daytime naps, hot food and milk and a place to play. Most of the time the mothers pay for the cost; sometimes it is provided all or in part by churches or missionary organizations. Western Seminary, Kansas City, Missouri has had a Day Nursery as the need arose for it; and a Kindergarten is carried on in the Negro Center in Morgan City, La., Miss Lottie Stephens, director. (See list of schools and centers where the Home Mission Board has workers)

To Make: Cards on which to mount some pictures. Cut colored cardboard into mounting cards and let the children bind the edges with passepartout or colored paper tape from the dime store. Have these ready for next session if you plan to use the small pictures.

SECOND SESSION

Theme: Making the Best of What You Have. Stories III and IV.

Stories: Follow up previous session by talking about our Negro schools and churches. What kind of schools do the Negro children have in your town? Do you have a Kindergarten for white children? For Negro children? Wouldn't it be nice to have them, if you do not?

Are the school houses clean, with enough room and teachers for all the children, white and colored? Do the Negro children have plenty of books? seats? A good playground, with swings and other things that your school has?

What kind of churches do the Negro children have? Do they have seats for little children or do they have to sit on large seats? What kind of Sunday School literature do they have and is it enough? Do they have a Sunshine Band? (See, Do you know?)

If your town is big enough to have policemen, do you have any Negro policemen? They help a lot where there are many Negro people.

Song: "America" first and fourth verses. This is the song of all the many kinds of people who make up the wonderful nation we call the United States of America. Read the words first to the children, let everybody sing it, then have the Salute to the Flag.

Picture Study: Jesus, the Hope of the World. (Standard Color Print #694, 10 x 12 in. .15 each, Miniature Color Print #97, for handwork, .20 dozen.)

To Find Out: Where do the Negro children you know go to school, to church? Is their school and church as good as yours? If not, can you find out why not? If it takes a good school and a good church to help little children grow up to be good citizens in their community, should we not see to it that Negro children have the best possible chance? If you can, visit the nearest Negro school and church.

To Make: Mount on the cards you made last session, the small pictures of Jesus and all the children of the world, and remember that He loves them all, of every race and color.

Talk about the children in the picture representing all the races of the world. Do you know a Negro child, a Chinese, or a Japanese? A Hawaiian, or Hindu? An American-Indian? A Caucasian?

Sing Again:

Jesus loves the little children,
All the children of the world,
Red and yellow, black and white,
They are precious in His sight,
Jesus loves the little children of the world.

Supplementary Stories:

Some great teachers:
"Robert the Courageous" in March On
"Mary McLeod Bethune" in Thirteen Against the Odds

Some great preachers:
"Drums and Bells Tell of Jesus",
"An Ambassador of Christ", and
"Spirituals Take Wings" in March On
"Adam Clayton Powell, Sr.," in Great American Negroes
"Mordecai W. Johnson" in Thirteen Against the Odds

THIRD SESSION

Theme: Helping Each Other. Stories V and VI.

Stories: How Negro people help each other. Mrs. Warren helped her brother, Jackson, when he was a boy; he now helps her and her two children. Granny helps the mother by taking care of the children when she is at work; Dan helps take care of Lilly May.

White and Negro people help each other: the Warrens had helped Mrs. Jones when her husband died; Mrs. Jones helps the Warrens when sickness comes; Dr. Freeman helps with his skill and prompt attention, not only to Mrs. Warren, but also to Lilly May.

Negro people help their own talented young people. They helped Marian Anderson get the training for her wonderful voice, and white people helped her, too. Negro people help white people and white people help Negro people because it is right to do so, and because they all live in the same community where everything that hurts one also hurts the other. And what helps one helps all.

Song: "Let Us Break Bread Together", Record by Marian Anderson. (See list of records)

Picture Study: Pictures of great singers: Roland Hayes, 11 x 14 $1.00 each, 5 x 7 .10¢ each $1.00 doz., Marian Anderson, 5 x 7, .10 each $1.00 doz. (Associated Publishers)

To Find Out: Do you know who takes care of Negro people in your community when they are sick? Do you know a Negro doctor or nurse? Where is the nearest hospital where a little Negro girl or boy could go for a needed operation? Where is the nearest hospital in which Negro doctors and nurses can be trained?

Could you visit the ward where sick Negro children are cared for? They would enjoy picture books and toys just like you do when you have to stay in bed.

To Make: Finish your mounted pictures. Plan to take them and some pretty toys and picture books to a hospital where there are sick Negro children. Talk to the pastor of the nearest Negro Baptist Church about crippled and shutin Negro children, if there is no hospital near.

Supplementary Stories:

Some doctors and nurses who have helped:

"The Doctor Who Helped Hearts to Lie Down", in March On
"Dr. Charles Drew"-the Blood Plasma Man, in Great American Negroes
"Beatrice's Secret", in We Have Tomorrow
The nurse who helped conquer malaria.
"Daniel Hale Williams", in In Spite of Handicaps
The doctor who first operated successfully on the human heart.

Some musicians who have helped:

"The Baby Alto of Union Church Choir", in March On
"Deep River of Song", in Thirteen Against the Odds
"Marian Anderson", in Great American Negroes
Three accounts of the life of Marian Anderson.
"Music Maker" story of William Grant Still
"Voice of Freedom" Paul Robeson, in Thirteen Against the Odds

FOURTH SESSION

Theme: How the Lord Helps Us. Stories VII and VIII.

Stories: Dan learns how the Lord helped Dr. Carver find the secrets of nature; how Grandpa asks the Lord to help him raise good crops. Lilly May learns how the Lord used a church choir to help Negro and white people understand each other better. The whole family learns how God can change things for them, giving them a happier home with better school and church.

Baptist Schools for Negroes built in the south by Baptists of the Northern States, after the war, have educated hundreds of Baptist preachers and leaders. For ten years the Home Mission Board has been investing in teachers of the Bible departments of these schools who also serve as missionaries among the churches. Uncle Jackson is one of these Home Mission Board teacher-missionaries. (See list of schools) Have you given to the Co-operative Program and Annie Armstrong Offering which provides the money for these?

Song: "Go Down Moses", Record by Marian Anderson. This is the theme song of Wings Over Jordan.

Let the leader, or an older Sunbeam, sing the words and everybody sing, "Let my people go", then all sing together the chorus. In the same way you might sing "Lord I Want to be a Christian", and "Somebody's Knocking at my Door." (In Songs of the South)

Picture Study: Picture of Doctor Carver 5 x 7, .10¢ each $1.00 dozen (Associated Publishers). A lovely picture of Marian Anderson in the R. C. A. Victor advertisement in Life, February 4, 1946.

To Find Out: Where did the Negro preacher in your town go to school? If he has not attended any school for the study of the Bible, could you help him go to a summer session of your State Baptist Negro School of Preacher's Institute? Find out from your State Mission Board headquarters where and when these are held.

Could you buy some books that he needs or some books for the children of his church? Find out if the Negro church in your town has little chairs for the children's department; picture cards or story papers; picture books; missionary story books; a piano, and pictures on the walls such as you like to have. Maybe you could help them get some.

To Make: With heavy paper (light brown wrapping paper from the store is fine) make books in which to mount pictures of the Negro people you can find in magazines. Some have been suggested. Search old issues of Southern Baptist Home Missions, World Comrades, Window of Y. W. A. and The Commission, for all the pictures of Negro Baptists and what they are doing. See how beautiful a book you can make.

Supplementary Stories:

"The Girl Who Made God Her Partner" in March On

"For the One-Room Cabin School"--Story of a school that went to the homes.

"Making Bricks Without Straw"--The girl who became a college president.

Two stories from Twelve Negro Americans

FIFTH SESSION

Theme: Helping the Lord in His World. Chapters IX and X.

Stories: How the little boy helped Jesus feed the five thousand by giving all his lunch to Jesus. How Lilly May and Dan are helping Jesus by giving their pennies for missions and being secretary of the Sunshine Band.

Do you have a Vacation Bible School? Do the Negro children of your town have one? If not could you help them have one? Talk to the pastor of the Negro Baptist church about it?

See if you can tell what happened to Lilly May and Dan in this one year our book tells about? What was the most interesting? What was the best that happened?

Not all Negro children are so fortunate as these two friends we have come to know. Is there an Orphans Home for those who have no homes and no mothers and fathers? If not, then who takes care of them?

Would this not be a better world if we all knew each other better and were friendly? You might find some little colored boys and girls as nice as Lilly May and Dan.

Song: Which song you learned from the book did you like best? Which records? Sing together "Yes Jesus Loves Me" both in English and in Chinese.

Picture Study: "Jesus Feeding the Five Thousand" (Standard Color Print #6, Series A, 10 x 12, each .15¢ Minature Color Prints #79, for handwork, .20¢ per dozen.

Would you like to see the Sunshine Band Manual which Dan ordered? Then send.10¢ in stamps to Miss Nannie Burroughs, the Corresponding Secretary of the Woman's Convention of the National Baptist Convention and she will send it to you. Use the same address Dan used.

The Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention has a magazine The Mission Herald that tells about their missionaries in Africa, South and Central America. Would you like to have a copy? Send .10¢ in stamps to Dr. C. C. Adams, Corresponding Secretary, 701 South 19th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. for a sample copy. He will send you also, if you ask for it, a Christmas candle like the one Lilly May had. In the Herald you will find where our American Negro Baptists have their missionaries. Do you know where we have missionaries in Africa?

Are you helping the Home Mission Board keep the teachers in the Bible departments of the twenty Baptist Schools in the south? Your gifts to the Co-operative Program or Annie Armstrong Offering of W. M. U. will help. Where is the school in your State? (See list)

To Make: Finish your picture cards and take them to colored children in the hospital, if there is one near you, or to crippled, sick and shutin colored children in their homes.

If you have ordered a Christmas Candle, use it as a pattern to cut a candle to color and paste on the last page of your scrapbook. Finish your scrapbook and show it to your mother and father. Tell them what you have learned from this story of Lilly May and Dan; sing one of the songs you have learned; and show the pictures you have used.

Teaching Outline for March On
Junior R.A.s and G.A.s

To the Teacher: Read all these Helps carefully.

You will need: 1 copy music and words "Lift Every Voice and Sing", .15 from your music store, or order from Edward B. Marks Music Corporation, R. C. A. Building, Radio City, New York. 1 copy Tenth Man, 10¢ pamphlet, Southern Regional Council; free and priced literature, pictures, records, (from lists).

Projects

1. A Scrapbook, One large book on which all work together, using large pictures; or individual ones in which each Junior will make his own designs with smaller pictures. See list picture magazines.

2. A Mural Screen of American Negroes. Find an old folding screen, or have a Junior and his father make one especially. Cover with light brown wrapping paper. Collect pictures of great Negroes (See list), pictures of Negroes, homes, etc., and other races from magazines; paste in attractive designs on paper. A background map of U. S. would be attractive.

3. Plan a program for close of class; invite mothers and fathers. Sing "Lift Every Voice"; use your records; tell the story you decide is the best. Display scrapbooks and close with every Junior telling in one sentence "what I learned I never knew before."

4. Get acquainted with the Negro Baptist pastor, school teacher and other Negroes who are leaders in your town. Write a letter to the Negro Baptist School and Center nearest you, asking if there is anything you can do to help in their work. Find out about hospital beds, doctors and nurses for the Negro sick in your town; where can crippled Negro children get treatment. See what else you can find to do from the book itself.

Session Plans

Session I--Theme: How the Slaves Became Christians.
Tell about slavery--from Tenth Man; how the Negroes adjusted to American climate, language, customs, and loss of freedom. The one good thing slavery brought was Christianity. How did they hear the Gospel? Let a Junior tell about Caesar McLemore; Leader, two great FIRSTS, George Leile.

Session II--Theme: Rising in Freedom.
The changes freedom brought and struggle to become good, self-supporting citizens. A Junior tells about Richard Carroll. From Tenth Man get facts of Negro business and education. Leader, Story of Maggie Walker.

Session III--Theme: Taking Christianity to Africa.
How Negro Baptists became missionary. Sons and grandsons of slaves return with the gospel to Africa. The man who started the Foreign Mission Board of Negro Baptists, L. G. Jordan, told by a Junior. A Woman Doctor for Africa. Use picture of James Weldon Johnson; learn to sing "Lift Every Voice."

Session IV--Theme: Building America.
Stories of great Americans of whom we are all proud. A great scientist, told by a Junior; a great educator, told by leader. America needs more like these.

Session V--Theme: Singing the Gospel to the World.
Out of slavery days came the spirituals, songs of faith in God under great distress. Today the beautiful voices of great singers give these to the world. What can we do to give Negro boys and girls who have great talent a chance to develop these and bless the world as Marian Anderson and Glenn Settle have done?

Dr. Walter H. Brooks, pastor Nineteenth Street Baptist Church, Washington D. C. for 63 years wrote:

"I'm not ashamed of what I am
The spirit is the man.
What others have attained unto,
By grace of God, I can.

So shall I follow in his steps,
Who bids me follow him:
The victor's crown in heaven waits;
Its star grow never dim."

5 - Church & Race Relations

Sept. 7 & 8.
Methodists meeting

WORSHIP

IF THE FOUNDATIONS BE DESTROYED WHAT CAN THE RIGHTEOUS DO-
Psalm 11: 3

READER - The Voice of the Prophets -

For it is He who forms the mountains and creates the wind and reveals His inner mind to man. He who makes the dawn and darkness, who marches over the heights of the earth,- His name is the Eternal, God of Hosts. He it is who made the Pleiades and Orion, who turns black darkness into dawn and darkens day again into the night, who summons floods and pours them on the earth; His name is the Eternal.

Listen to the word of Mine against you house of Israel, ye who make justice a bitter thing, trampling on the law. I know your countless crimes, your mamifold wickedness, browbeating honest men, accepting bribes, defrauding the poor of justice. It is time when the prudent make no protest, sp evil is the time. But the Eternal speaks, the God of Hosts declares- Your sacred festivals? I hate them, scorn them; Your sacrifices? I will not smell their smoke. You offer me your gifts? I will not take them. You offer fatted cattle I will not look at them. No more of your hymns for me ! I will not listen to your lutes. N o, let justice wall up like fresh water, let honesty roll in full tide.

Amos speaking , the herdsman prophet of Tekoa- To the people of the of the East this was a startling message, It was as if Amos should appear among us and say, Your fine churches? Your revival meetings? Your missionary programs and all your lavish services mean nothimg to God. Nothing whatever! If you want to win His favor , then abolish your slums, stop your wars, readjust your wage scales, clean your cities. Put an end to racial discrimination! Amos further warns, Woe to the careless citizens, so confident in high Samaria". Isaiah , noble and devout layman, proclaimed that righteousness is the highest patriotism. He was equally interested in social and moral

reform because they contributed to any political success. Isaiah believed implicitly in the character and dependability of God saying, He who has faith in me will never flinch". We would say that the prophet had a supreme confidence in the moral order of the universe. Isaiah organized and led for years a political party based on faith in God and and applying the faith to the problems of the nation -

Miss Hilburn- a Voice of Georgia -

I am ---------- of the League of Women Voters of Georgia, one of a small band of women who feel that there is work for us to do- work not just in our homes but in our communities, our cities, our counties, our state- yes, even in our nation and the world. We see many injustices, many things that need to be done if we are to make our homes what they were meant to be. We need many more women working with us. Politics- government- is everybody's business, There is not a home in the land not affected by it. N ot one of us can afford to be too busy, too tired, or uninterested.

What you ask, can you do about it? What are some of the injustices, some of the problems confronting us today?

One of the greatest- one of the most unjust- and yet the one we CAN do something about almost immediately is the county unit system.

After all, you ask, what is really so wrong with the county unit system?

First of all, each year increasing numbers of voters are being disfranchised by the county unit system. Each census shows about a third of our counties growing and more than a hundred shrinking. The 67 smallest counties combined have less population than Fulton , yet they have 134 county unit votes to Fulton's 6. Under this system it is entirely possible for counties having 26 perecnt of the population of the state to carry an election with 206 county unit votes. Thus the other counties , with three-fourths of the state's population, are in effect completely disfranchised.

Those who would have us keep this vastly unjust system prate constantly of "vicious city machines", of "Fulton running the State". Fulton County is

not dominated by a "machine." Some other counties are. Fulton's voting machines assure honest elections. It is said elections in some other counties are not so honest.

V. O. Key, in his book, "Southern Politics," says that a political campaign in Georgia is really made up of 159 separate races - one for each county for its county unit votes. "The unit system thus requires that candidates deal with local patriarchs and also probably provides a stimulus for the construction of local rings and perhaps for electoral irregularities. Moreover, all these pressures tend to be concentrated on the 'close' counties. Campaign effort is concentrated within about one-third of the counties where there is a great premium on controlled blocks of votes. Whether such a block is under the thumb of a single official or subject to a courthouse ring or responsive to the behest of a leading citizen of economic and civic prominence, it can often supply the difference between victory and defeat. Thus it seems that the hold of small county courthouse rings is as bad as any big city machine could be. There seems little reason to doubt that some counties can be bought and sold. One of the worst accusations is that some of these leaders secure a proprietary position over an entire county and its population. The people who fear big city machines might stop to think, for instance, that in Alabama, Birmingham does not run that state, and the same holds true with large cities in other Southern states. Political problems in Georgia are much the same as in the other Southern states, yet none of them use this electoral devide. Indeed, Georgia is the only state in the union to use this vastly unequal method.

All Georgia citizens want an equal say-so in our government. We want equal rights to register - equal rights to vote - and equal value of our votes. The League is convinced that in a representative government the vote of one citizen should be equal to the vote of another. Although the county unit system has only been applied in the primary until now, on November 7 you are being asked to vote on

a constitutional amendment which would bring the county unit into the general election.

VOTE AGAINST THE AMENDMENT.

We must show the nation and the world that Georgia lives its democracy. We must show them that we have faith in each other- and that we know that the vote of one citizen in the state in all fairness should be equal to the vote of any other citizen - not one vote in Chattachoochee worth 106 in Fulton or 1 vote in Echols worth 11 in DeKalb.

The League of Women Voters of Georgia urges you to accept your responsibility as a citizen in this great fight. In this day of totalitarianism, let's keep the General Election free- open - and democratic. Defeat the amendment!

THE VOICE OF THE PROPHETS -

Hosea, the gentle and loving prophet, deeply concerned for the welfare of Israel speaks - "My people are dying for a want of knowledge". He grieves over his people saying, "Israel, hear the word of the Eternal, for the Eternal has a charge to bring against the dwellers in the land; there is no fidelity, no kindness, no knowledge of God in the land".

Mrs. Fred Knight - Voice of Georgia

I am Mrs. Fred Knight, Chairman of Safety Committee , National Congress of Parents and Teachers. Our desire for equal opportunities in education for the children and youth of our state will become a reality when the Minimum Foundation Program of Education now on the statute books of Georgia, is financed in full.

Even then it will be a minimum standard let us keep that fact in mind. However, when the money is made available to put the program into full scale action our class rooms will be less crowded. Our children will receive more individual attention - something very necessary but impossoble under present over-crowded conditions.

It will mean not only more teachers but better qqualified ones. When we can

pay more then we can ask for qualifications which we know should be met.

Pupil transportation is far from what it should be - The health and safety of our children us at stake.

Maintenance of existing buildings is as necessary as that of building new ones.

This idea of a Building Authority suggested by leaders of our state makes sense to me. It appears to be a practical way tp give equal facilities to all in the shortest period of time. Details are being worked out. Each school system would carry its own load, One school would not be paying taxes on another. The contract would be with the individual county or independent system. It might be on a rental basis or by pledging part of the funds received from the Minimum Foundation Program.

We are looking forward to the passage of necessary legislation to finance this program when the next session of our legislature convenes. All of us must face the fact that we are asking for services better than those we have had at the present. If we demand bigger and better opportunities for the young citizens of our state then we as adult citizens must be willing to foot the bill.

Although all of us will not be seated in the halls of our State Capitol as the General Assembly meets , we can speak through our representatives in no uncertain terms. We will have to dig deeper into our pockets but it will be money well invested , no matter what the price.

Our only hope that every child in Georgia, regardless of whom they are or where they may live, may have even a semblance of equal educational advantages in the financing in full Georgia's Minimum Foundation Program of Education -

THE VOICE OF THE PROPHETS

Micah, a countryman from a small village, called to be a prophet of the Lord, saw the whole problem of Judah centering in the question of social and economic system of justice. Pious pretenders advised the prophet to stick to religion

and not to meddle in economic and political matters. Micah cries out against them - Y ou are the worst foes of my folk, attacking peaceful men, and plundering quiet passers by, evicting women from their happy homes, branding their babies with slavery. Away with you! Begone this is no place for you! - depravity shall ruin you beyond all remedy. I said also, Listen now, leader of Jacob, judges over the house of Israel, you haters and lovers of wrong, is not a sense of justice due from you? But they devour my people's flesh and strip them of their skin, laying bare their very bones, chopping them up like flesh for the pot! Like meat in a cauldron! One day they shall cry to the Eternal , but He will never heed them. He will hide His face from them, for the crimes they have committed.

VOICE OF GEORGIA -

I am M. M. Smith, Fulton County Repesentative in the Georgia Legislature- My first contact with the Ku Klux Klan was sudden and dramatic, My wife was to teach the sixth grade at a school located in a rather bad section of our city and I had gone with her on opening day of school to meet her pupils. During the course of the morning, I noticed a slight, curly haired, blue eyed boy about twelve years old. I asked one of the children nearest me who he was. "Oh, that's B illy--" he replied and then, proud of his evident association and knowledge, added, "They beat his Papa to death". I looked at the child again, "Who did", I asked my young informant. His instant reply was no surprise. "The Ku Klux Klan", he said flatly. My mind flashed back to the newspaper articles of a decade before. I remembered. the papers. "No good"! so "They" said. A shapeless body beaten almost beyond recognition, found lying in a frost covered field early in the morning, dead . A widow saying "he was good to me. He loved us". A child becoming a hero because "My Daddy got beaten to death".

It is ten o'clock at night and a man, his wife and two year old child are riding down the lonely road from Swainsboro to Statesboro. The child is half

asleep and the driver is peering into the darkness as he drives toward his destination. which is Savannah. Suddenly they come upon a row of automobiles going about forty-five miles per hour. The wife speaks, "Honey, look, there are two old farm ladies in the back of that car wearing old-fashioned bonnets" The road is clear and the driver turns out to pass the last car in the line. He barely glances at the occupant's until his wife excitedly whispers, "They are not old ladies, they are Ku Klux". Imagine if you can that man's feelings. a lonely road late at night! Car laods of hoodlums with sheets over their faces and carrying the viciousness that comes to cowards, who have their faces covered, in their minds.

Imagine, if you can, the thoughts of the driver. Suppose he were to pull into the line too suddenly or incite the easily aroused ire of the occupant of one of the cars. Men seldom travel in mobs with their faces covered without being amenable to mob violence. It was not fear, it was rather anger and a feeling that caused the driver to speed past the remaining cars and continue far down the road well away from the night riders, I was that driver and that was my family, I resolved then that immediately upon my entrance into the State Legoislature, I would introduce a bill that would forever ban such parades. at least, I would have them take off their masks and reveal them to the world for the weak cowards they are.

Headlines come to my mind- "MASKED MEN KILL FOUR NEGROES IN WALTON COUNTY", "CROSS BURNED IN FRONT OF NEGRO'S HOME", "SOPERTON MAYOR DEFIES KLAN", "ANGERED SCHOOL TEACHER CHAES MASKED MEN FROM YARD". These and many others carry their story of the shame of Georgia all over the entire world. These antics by a pitiful minority giving propaganda to our communist enemies themselves. These and many other blasting the good name of Georgia and causing us all to wear the mantle of their shame. All degradation and the shame of it!

I say to you that the KuKlux Klan is a sordid , dirty, cowardly, filthy band of face-covered ignoramuses. It is only seeking an exploitation of the

ignorant people in our communiyy. It is race hating, unchristian group living in the slime of ignominy and feasting upon the cursed souls of its members. It must be entirely destroyed and the destruction is so very, very simple. Removing the mask from their faces reveals them for the weaklings that they are. Any action in "voluntarily" unmasking is merely an evidence of their desire to prevent legislation. Without a law they can and will go back under their hoods. God willing, I shall continue the fight to unmask them through the legal and due process of law.

VOICE OF THE PROPHETS -

These prophets were men to whom all of life sacred. They did not divide life into two compartments- sacred and secular. It was all of one piece and must be made satisfactory to God in every respect. This was their fundamental message. Social standards, economic systems, religioud rites, political rights, national policies, sacrifices, personal morals- all had to have the approval of God. They spoke the words of a merciful God outraged at the social injustices suffered by His people, Never-the-less because God is merciful, there is hope for the sinner through repentance and seeking the gracious forgiveness of God. Amos urges , "Seek the good not evil, that ye may live", and Isaiah, "Seek ye Lord while He may be found". And the prophets of Galilee tells us,"Whosoever of you will be chieftest, shall be servant of all. For the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give His life a ransome for all".

"How,happy is the nation whose God is the Lord.
The people that He has chosen as His heritage'
May Thy goodness, O Lord be over us, according as we hope in Thee-
PS: 33: 12, 22

VOICE OF GEORGIA — DEMOCRACY

I am Ruby Taylor, chairman of B usiness Woman's Division of the Georgia Council of Church Women-

We have a democracy. A democracy is a system of government. All systems of government are founded on ideas. The idea on which our government is founded is freedom. It is a great idea. It is the idea which has pulled mankind out

of serfdom, out of slavery, out of the hands of tyrants. It is the only idea which can offer mankind progress. It has proved to be a good idea, It has been proved that it works. Today in other countries men havel lost their freedom. We look at these countries and we see what that means. We begin to think about freedom. We begin to realize what we have.

VOICE OF GEORGIA - DEMOCRACY

I am Mrs. Annie Martin, chairman of Business Women's Division of the Atlanta Council of Church Women.

"Anthropology provides no scientific basis fir discrimination against any people on the ground of racial inferiority"- From a resolution adopted by the American Anthropological Association -"An American is one who understands the plan of America, and works to carry out that plan.

From the words of Walt Whitman's eloquent plea -

For you, O Democracy!

Come I will make the continent insissoluble,

I will make the most splrndid race, the sun ever shone upon,

I will make divine magnetic lands,

With love of comrades,

With the life long love of comrades!

VOICE OF THE PROPHETS

What of our own country? We stand before the world as a living symbol of democracy, of human rights, of civil liberties. In our short history, we have given mankind an abundabce of great documents and great deeds on behalf of human liberty. But is there not still a gap between what we say and what we do? As a nation much is expected of us. We cannot fail to live up to those expectations. What we want for ourselves - what we strive to secure for our fellow citizens, for our children, we seek for the rest of the world as well. Freedom, equality, dignity and decency -- we can secure these good things for ourselves and for people throughout the world. We can make these a part of the Great Commission

of going into all the world to release the captive and free the bonds of those held down and oppressed.

VOICE OF THE WORLD --

I am Arva Floyd - - - - - - - - - -

VOICE OF THE PROPHETS-

A new spirit in the world - this alone, will save it from decay and death. It is the mission of the Church to interpret the Gospel in relation to all issues of life today.

O man, He has told you what is good

What does the Eternal ask of you- but to be just and kind and live in quiet fellowship with your God - Micah 6 :8

PRAYER -- Dr. Dr. Forrest Weir, Soytheastern Inter-Council

Church + Race Relations

PRAYER OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI

Lord, make me an instrument of Your peace;
Where there is hatred, let me sow love;
Where there is injury, pardon;
Where there is doubt, faith;
Where there is despair, hope;
Where there is darkness, light;
And where there is sadness, joy.

O Divine Master, grant that I may not so much
Seek to be consoled as to console;
To be understood, as to understand;
To be loved as to love;
FOR IT IS IN GIVING THAT WE RECEIVE,
IT IS IN PARDONING THAT WE ARE PARDONED,
And it is in dying that we are
Born to eternal life.

Published by the

FOUNDATION OF CATHOLICS FOR HUMAN BROTHERHOOD

Under the Patronage of
Our Lady and St. Jude Thaddeus

384 East 149th Street, New York 55, N. Y.
Room 300

Series No. 1, Leaflet No. 7

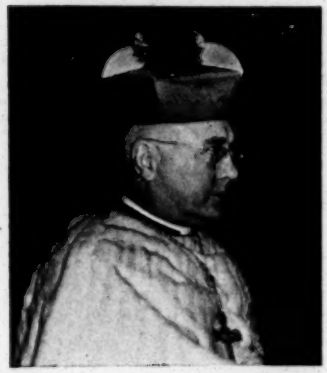
Two Noted Catholics Speak:

"We must guard . . . against hatreds, falsehoods, bigotry and intolerance."

ARCHBISHOP SPELLMAN

"Tolerance . . . is no less than justice."

ARCHBISHOP CUSHING



Wide World

ARCHBISHOP FRANCIS J. SPELLMAN

WE must be men of principle, and courageously guard America and ourselves against those who, in hypocrisy, wear the soft, sheer garments of democracy's defenders, but in truth are enemies of the people's sacred rights and freedoms.

We must guard America and ourselves against hatreds, falsehoods, bigotry and intolerance, for they are the seeds from which sprung the curse of this world's worst war and which, sown again, will toll the end of civilization.

Every true American and true Catholic must be the unequivocal opponent of every species of bigotry, the octopian monster that can destroy our cherished American inheritance and institutions. We must be on our guard lest hysteria following this war give rise to despotic bigotry, political, racial, occupational or religious.

Excerpt from an address by
ARCHBISHOP FRANCIS J. SPELLMAN

Bachrach

ARCHBISHOP RICHARD J. CUSHING

I CAN answer for the Catholic. When he fails to take a stand against race intolerance, he is a slacker in the army of the Church Militant at a time when history's most crucial battle is being waged to determine whether the spiritual or the pagan conception of life will rule the world. Christ placed all this on a supernatural basis. He knew that once men had seen the relationship of all men to God and to one another, then it would be easier to see the dignity of one's fellow-man. Only on a supernatural basis can the great truth of the brotherhood of men come to fruition. Christ identified Himself with the poor, the lowly, and no Catholic can despise a fellow-man and remain a true follower of the Nazarene. The believer who considers the Negro on the basis of the color of his skin is at once untrue to his religion and blind to this great national problem.

There is no master race here in the United States, thanks be to God! God has not given to any race a monopoly on intelligence, char-

acter or patriotism. Our country has never pretended, in principle, that He did. But our lofty principles are being contradicted; and not all the challenge is abroad. Our worst enemies are within. They are spiritual enemies; they attack our moral reserves and fortresses. So, the future of our nation — great though we are — will not be assured until we again make spiritual and moral principles, in a word religion, the vitalizing force of our lives.

From religion are distilled justice, charity and mercy; these are the world's greatest needs. We shall always have to struggle to preserve what we have won. But the struggle will be easy if we love one another; love our neighbor, and love him irrespective of race, creed or color.

Tolerance such as this is no less than justice. It spells no compromise with true Faith. Any devout Protestant, any believing Jew, will know well how to paraphrase for himself these Catholic words:

Truth is truth, we cannot be tolerant of error.
Right is right, we cannot hear willingly the claims of evil.
Christ to me and to millions of others is the Light of the World.
We cannot be asked to walk in darkness,
But we can be kind and loving and merciful to all.

Excerpt from an address by
ARCHBISHOP RICHARD J. CUSHING

For additional copies
write to
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

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RECEIVED
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September 18, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

The attached report reflects the statements of the West Coast Human Relations officials on the status of "violence and vandalism" as related to inter-racial behavior here. There is consistency and satisfaction in the general feeling that "all is practically quiet on the western front."

I have had word from:

Los Angeles - - - George L. Thomas, Executive Director, Conference on Community Relations of Los Angeles County

T. Dale Gardner, Executive Secretary, Committee on Human Relations, County of Los Angeles

San Francisco - Harry Winton, Area Director, Western Regional Office, The American Jewish Committee

Edward Howden, Executive Director, Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco

Portland - - - - Myron C. Cole, The First Christian Church (formerly with Human Relations Committee)

E. Shelton Hill, Industrial Secretary, Urban League of Portland

Seattle - - - - Leonard Schroeter, State of Washington Regional Office, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Lewis Watts, Urban League

Louise P. Blackham, Civic Unity Committee

MEMBER
Community Chest & Council

George S. Mitchell September 18, 1953

Vancouver, B. C.: - - - Knute Buttedahl, Executive Director,
Vancouver Civic Unity Council.

Sincerely,

Louise

Louise P. Blackham
Executive Secretary

LPB:ps
Attachment

November 11, 1953

City News Publishing Co.
33 West 42nd St.
New York 36, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Please send us five copies of the July 15, 1953 issue of VITAL SPEECHES.

Bill us for the issues at the above address.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

G. F. DOLLINGER
PRESIDENT
WILLIAM C. PURNELL
LEONARD A. A. SIEMS

THOMAS J. MURPHY
CHIEF EXAMINER & SECRETARY

CITY SERVICE COMMISSION
CITY HALL
BALTIMORE 2

OCT 17 1955

October 14, 1955

Southern Regional Council
East Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

You have received a letter dated July 12, 1955 from Mr. Arthur D. McVoy, Director, Department of Planning, Baltimore, Maryland. This letter requested your assistance in securing applicants for the newly created position of Community Organization Specialist.

At the time of this letter this position was open to persons with an outstanding reputation for community organization work and stressed that a Negro was essential. It has now been found that the Department of Planning anticipates approximately three vacancies for this position during the current year and white, as well as colored applicants, will be considered for this position. This position currently carries the title of Community Organization Advisor.

We are enclosing, for your use, public notices and applications which you may wish to distribute to your various offices, agencies, or to interested persons. If you should find that you need more material than that enclosed, you may direct a communication to, or have the interested party write to City Service Commission, Room 107 City Hall.

You will note on the public notice that provision is made for persons interested in taking the written examination out of state. We feel that this will enable more national coverage for this position. Providing applicants successfully complete the written examination they will then be required to appear in Baltimore for the oral duties, if such are to be held.

We greatly appreciate the assistance which your agency has rendered us in connection with this examination.

Very truly yours,

Thomas J. Murphy

Thomas J. Murphy
Secretary

JZM:EE
Enclosures

CITY SERVICE COMMISSION OF BALTIMORE 216-55
(902)

Announcement of Open Competitive Examination for the Position of

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION ADVISOR - $5,775 PER ANNUM

WITH ANNUAL AUTOMATIC INCREASE UNTIL A MAXIMUM OF $6,775 IS REACHED IN FIVE YEARS.

for the purpose of establishing an employment list from which vacancies in the class *Community Organization Advisor* will be filled.

TIME FOR FILING APPLICATIONS: Applications *MUST* be filed in the office of the Commission before the close of business on *November 14, 1955*, or must be post-marked not later than *midnight November 14, 1955.*

TIME OF EXAMINATION: The tentative holding date for this examination is *November 28, 1955.*

NOTE: OUT-OF-TOWN APPLICANTS MAY REQUEST AT THE TIME OF APPLICATION, THAT THE WRITTEN DUTIES PART OF THE EXAMINATION BE ADMINISTERED AT A LOCAL CIVIL SERVICE OFFICE. THE WRITTEN REQUEST *MUST* BE SUBMITTED *AT THE TIME OF APPLICATION* SO THAT ARRANGEMENTS MAY BE MADE FOR OUT-OF-TOWN ADMINISTRATION OF THE TEST. ALL COSTS OF SUCH ADMINISTRATION ARE TO BE BORNE BY THE APPLICANT. APPLICANTS MUST APPEAR IN BALTIMORE FOR THE ORAL DUTIES.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CLASS: Under direction, in the Department of Planning, organizes and advises neighborhood groups as participants in community planning; and does related work as required.

EXAMPLES OF DUTIES: Assists in organizing community groups in areas designated for an urban renewal program; acts as liaison between community groups and city and other agencies concerned with urban renewal; conducts educational programs and coordinates all other informational activities pertaining to urban renewal; recommends that social studies be made and assists in formulating study methods and procedures and in evaluating the data obtained; explains the total planning program to interested groups of citizens by participation in workshops, institutes, and similar activities; determines and evaluates community reaction to the urban renewal program; prepares press releases, brochures, and other materials explaining the program.

MINIMUM QUALIFICATIONS:

Training and Experience: Graduation from a university or college of recognized standing; four years of experience with a public or private agency in the conduct of community organization activities; provided that graduate study in social work or human relations in a university or college of recognized standing may be substituted on a year for year basis for two years of the experience requirement.

Knowledge and Skills: General knowledge of the objectives of urban renewal and community planning programs; knowledge of community organization and techniques of coordinating efforts of local groups and citizens in developing community programs; organizing and administrative ability.

NOTE: This test is open to *persons* who are citizens of the United States.

ALTERNATE PARTS AND WEIGHTS IN TESTS:

Training and Experience	20		---		---
Duties (written)	30	OR	50	OR	100
Duties (oral)	50		50		---

October 13, 1955. (OVER)

HOW TO APPLY

Write, telephone, or come in person to the Baltimore City Service Commission, Room 107, City Hall, Baltimore 2, Maryland (Phone: PLaza 2–2000 - Extension 2145). Ask for a copy of the Examination Announcement and for an Application for Examination.

Fill in your application carefully and completely. To avoid having your application returned to you for completion be sure to answer every question on the application.

The Commission reserves the right to reject any application, for cause. Applicants are notified in writing, if rejected.

THE EXAMINATION

If your application is accepted you will be notified in writing when and where to appear for the test(s).

It is necessary to pass each part of the examination and to make a final average of not less than 70 on a scale of 100 to be placed on the eligible list, except where Veterans' Preference is allowed.

MEDICAL EXAMINATION

If you pass the fitness test(s) you will be required to pass a medical examination before your name is certified for appointment. Applicants who will probably be certified during the one year period the list is in effect, will be notified when and where to appear for medical examination.

AGE LIMITS

A minimum age limit of sixteen is required in order to qualify for any examination. If a higher minimum age limit is required for this examination, it is given on the reverse side of this notice. Retirement is compulsory at age 70.

VETERANS' PREFERENCE

AT THE TIME OF FILING APPLICATION veterans claiming preference or requesting waiving of age limitation shall furnish proof of military service. No credit may be allowed for veterans' preference after the holding date of the examination. Age limits are not waived on uniformed classes such as Patrolman–Police Department, Firefighter, etc.

June 11, 1957

Miss Dorothea de Schweinitz
Executive Director
Citizens Committee on the Fair Labor
Standards Act
718 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss de Schweinitz:

My failure to reply earlier to your letter of May 23rd is due solely to my perplexity as to how we may be of help in your effort.

Personally, I am most sympathetic with your objectives, but organizationally I am afraid that there is nothing we can do. We are prevented both by the non-political status of the Southern Regional Council and by our policy which precludes the use of our mailing list for other purposes.

I wish we could be of help.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Secretary

HCF/mf

NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE

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CLEVELAND, OHIO

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
DOROTHEA DE SCHWEINITZ
WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 23, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

By the enclosed folder and sample bulletin you will see the work which the Citizens Committee is trying to accomplish.

We have a mailing list of some two thousand names, but we should be reaching more people with our information and requests for action by Members of Congress. Have you any names and addresses which you could properly give me to include in our mailing list so that this work can become more effective?

Right now we are waiting to hear what the Senate Labor Committee will report to the Floor of the Senate. The House hearings will continue during June. If the Senate acts, we are hopeful that work in the House will be speeded up. If some sort of legislation could be passed during this Session, it would bring relief to many thousands of workers who are still earning less than a dollar an hour and working more than forty-hours a week without overtime payment.

Any help that you might give us will certainly be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothea de Schweinitz

Dorothea de Schweinitz
Executive Director

DDS:bh
Encls.

Citizens Committee on the Fair Labor Standards Act

(PARTIAL LIST)

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Mary Anderson
Washington, D. C.

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National Consumers League

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Chairman
The Very Rev. Francis B. Sayre, Jr.
Washington, D. C.

Vice Chairmen
Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas, Washington, D. C.
Morris S. Rosenthal, New York
Edwin Witte, Wisconsin

Secretary
Elizabeth S. Magee
National Consumers League
Cleveland, Ohio

Executive Director
Dorothea de Schweinitz

Bulletin No. 2 March 8, 1957

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS FOR ALL

"Mrs. S. has worked two years in a laundry. She earns $27.50 for a 52½ hour week, or about 52 cents an hour. Her earnings are the sole source of income for herself and her two children living at home, ages 15 and 13.

"Mrs. S. says she has not spent $10 in clothing on herself in the last two years. 'I have gone back and forth to work with my feet on the ground - with holes in my shoes,' she said. Her children are also in need of shoes and clothes.

"She feels her son needs vitamins. Her daughter can't get the dental care she needs, and Mrs. S. herself needs glasses which she can't afford to buy." (From the testimony, March 4, 1957, of Stanley Ruttenberg, AFL-CIO. This was a report from a survey in Pennsylvania, Missouri and North Carolina.)

In response to a question as to what would be done if hourly wages were raised to a dollar, family after family, according to the testimony, listed: pay back debts, buy better food for the children, obtain medical and dental care. None of these workers were covered under the Fair Labor Standards Act.

HEARINGS ON SENATE BILL, S. 1267, TO INCREASE COVERAGE UNDER F.L.S.A.

The hearings were opened February 25 by Senator John F. Kennedy, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Labor Standards. Secretary of Labor, James P. Mitchell, presented the Administration's proposals in contradistinction to S. 1267. On succeeding days, testimony was received from the following organizations:

United States Chamber of Commerce
Farm Bureau Federation
National Automobile Dealers Assn.
Western Union Telegraph Company
American Hotel Association
American Institute of Lanudry
American Trucking Associates
U.S. Independent Telephone Assn.
National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters

On March 4, 6, and 8, the following labor testimony was heard:

George Meany, President, AFL-CIO
Stanley Ruttenberg, Research Dir., AFL-CIO
International Assn. of Retail Clerks
International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers
National Agricultural Workers Union
Laundry Workers Internation Union
Communications Workers of America
Retail, Wholesale and Dept. Store Union
Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America
International Woodworkers of America
Amalgamated Assn. of Street and Electric Railway Employees
New York Trades Council

TURNPIKE PRESS
112

On March 8, also, Mr. Morris Rosenthal, President, National Consumers League, was the first witness from the citizens groups. Others will follow in the current two weeks.

THREE POINTS OF VIEW

1. Employers

Without exception, each of the employers' organizations opposed any extension of coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act or any release from the current exemptions in the Act. (The Small Market Radio and TV Stations did not object to minimum wage coverage but would wish exemptions from over-time provisions.)

2. The Administration's Proposals

Secretary Mitchell proposed, for the Administration, that all employees should be covered if they are engaged in an enterprise "in which (a) the total annual value of incoming merchandise ... moving directly across state lines to its place or places of business is one million dollars or more, and (b) one hundred employees are employed by the employer." He recommended that such employees receive the federal minimum wage but that they should not be covered by the hour provisions which would grant them time-and-a-half pay for more than 40 hours a week. Mr. Mitchell would change the provisions for the current exempted industries so that employers of 100 or more employees would come under the requirements of the Act. He made no recommendations for the relief of agricultural workers.

Mr. Mitchell estimates that 2,500,000 wage and salary workers, now exempted, would be given the protection of the wage provision of the Act. But, he also estimates that all except 400,000 of these employees are already receiving the current federal minimum of a dollar an hour.

3. The Proposal of Senate Bill 1267

This bill, by extending the definition of interstate commerce, would give wage and hour protection to 9,600,000 employees now exempt. It does not affect the small employer in retail, service, dry-cleaning and laundering industries because of an exemption of those who have an annual business of $500,000 or less. It covers the agricultural (and migratory) worker if his employer has hired in any quarter of the previous four quarters a number of workers which would add up to 400 man-days in the quarter. This would involve the large "factories in the fields" but would exclude the family farmer. The bill would remove the exemptions applying to various special groups now unprotected.

There was general agreement among the Subcommittee members of both political parties and of labor's representatives that there is no question that all workers should receive at least a dollar an hour but the question was how this could be accomplished constitutionally. How and for how many workers?

NOW is the TIME TO WRITE or WIRE to SENATORS on the SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR STANDARDS
Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.

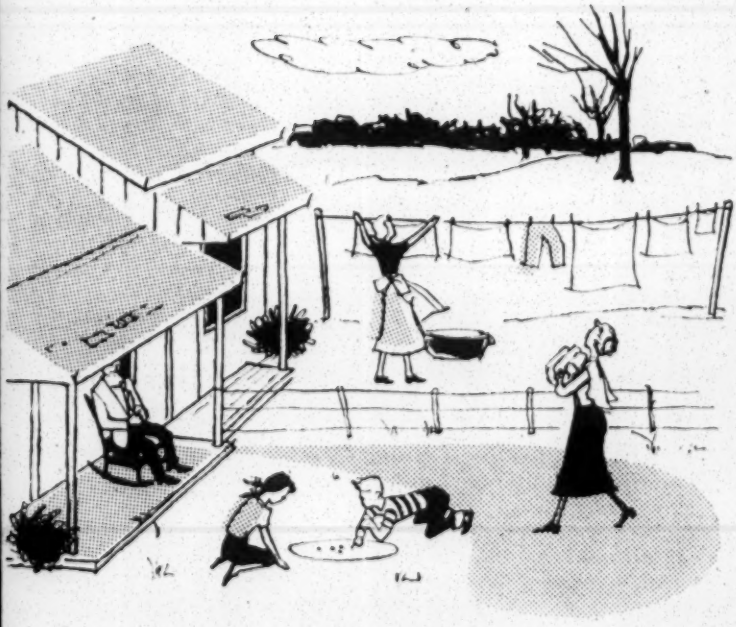
The Hon. John F. Kennedy, Chairman, (D), Massachusetts

Matthew M. Neely, (D) West Virginia
Patrick V. McNamara, (D) Michigan
Wayne Morse, (D) Oregon

Irving M. Ives, (R) New York
Barry M. Goldwater, (R) Arizona
William A. Purtell, (R) Connecticut

(Send a copy to the Citizens Committee)

America's Other Citizens



The Case for Extended Coverage of the Minimum Wage Law

POVERTY and suffering have not disappeared from America. Low wages are still with us. Today, millions of wage earners and their families are excluded from coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

For these Americans, there is no minimum wage of $1 an hour and no overtime pay for working more than 40 hours each week—legal rights taken for granted by millions of other workers.

A large number of these excluded workers earn pitifully low incomes. Outside the ranks of organized labor, many of them have no voice in their earnings. Even with our booming economy, such wage earners, often the sole support of their families, are receiving less than $1 an hour for as many as 50 and 60 hours of labor each week.

ONE DOLLAR an hour is not much money by our present standards. A man or woman working 40 hours each week makes $2080 a year; for 60 hours each week he earns $3120 annually.

Economists estimate, based on a 1951 Department of Labor budget, that today's family of four must earn at least $4300 "to maintain a minimum standard of decency."

Many of the workers excluded from the minimum wage law are unable to feed, clothe and educate their families in what the rest of us call the American Way.

As one midwest hotel worker with a family of five said:

"We don't eat like we ought to. I don't mean meat every day; I mean things like meat once in a while, and fresh food and vegetables, and maybe a candy bar for the girls.

"As for clothes, we got them new shoes and dresses when school started, but we haven't bought any for my wife or myself for a long time."

This man earns 56 cents an hour. This is the kind of family we forget when we talk of our country's high standard of living and great prosperity. These are our "other" citizens.

WHO ARE THESE PEOPLE? Some of them are the employees of the multi-state retail chain stores, the large department stores, restaurants and hotels. Some are employed by the big laundries and dry-cleaning establishments.

Others toil as farm laborers on the "factories in the field" which spread over thousands of square miles in the midwest, southwest and farwest. Still others work in agricultural processing plants, in canneries and for seafood processing firms. Or they are seamen, sawmill workers and construction workers.

Then there are the white-collar workers: outside salesmen, small telephone exchange operators, finance and insurance company employees.

The vast majority of these wage earners are excluded from the present minimum wage law.

These workers were excluded from the federal law for reasons of expediency when it was first enacted in 1938. This injustice has never been corrected. Today, only 25 million American wage earners receive protection; 20 million do not.

LEGISLATION to aid a large portion of this forgotten group of Americans is long overdue. Until these workers receive the minimum protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act, many of them will continue to serve as unwilling anchors, holding back the advancement of our communities.

Such legislation is now before Congress. Known as the Morse-Kelley bills, the bills seek to amend the present minimum wage law by expanding its present definition of interstate commerce and including previously exempted types of employment. The companion bills would bring protection to an additional 9.6 million Americans.

The Morse-Kelley bills do not seek to place federal wage controls over small business or family-type farms. The corner drugstore, grocer and hardware store proprietors would be exempt.

These small store owners will benefit through the increased purchasing power of their customers and a reduction in cut-throat competition from the one-store-in-every-town enterprises.

The Morse-Kelley bills will help the whole community, too. Higher wages lead to self-support and decreased expenditures for public relief.

BOTH POLITICAL parties have supported extended coverage in their party platforms. While there

may be disagreement on the extent of expanded protection, there is no disagreement on the need for some action during this session of Congress. The important question is how much?

But there are many powerful, self-interested organizations opposed to any changes in the present law.

These organizations claim extension of coverage is an invasion of states' rights. State action, however, is incomplete and inadequate. Nineteen states have no minimum wage legislation. Only eight states have minimum wages for men. Only one state has as much as a dollar an hour as a statutory wage. Meaningful legislation must come at the federal level.

THE HUMAN MISERY that results from low wages is obvious. Until these workers and their families are given their economic rights, they will continue to live the lives of sub-standard and ignored Americans.

As conscientious fellow-citizens, it is our duty and responsibility to make sure that these less fortunate citizens are no longer forgotten.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

- Urge passage of S. 1267 by writing to:
  The Hon. Lister Hill, Chrm.
  Labor and Public Welfare Committee
  Senate Office Building
  Washington 25, D. C.
- Urge passage of H. R. 4575 by writing to:
  The Hon. Graham Barden, Chrm.
  Labor and Education Committee
  House Office Building
  Washington 25, D. C.
- Write your own Senators and Representatives calling for support of these two bills and enclose copies of your letters to the committee chairmen.
- Urge your church and other organizations to do likewise.

Partial List of Members

CITIZENS COMMITTEE

on the

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

Mrs. Margaret F. Ackroyd
Providence, R. I.

Arthur J. Altmeyer
Madison, Wis.

Mary Anderson
Washington, D. C.

John C. Bennett
New York, N. Y.

The Hon. Theodore M. Berry
Cincinnati, Ohio

Mrs. Charles E. Bingham
Newton, N. J.

The Rev. John P. Boland
Buffalo, N. Y.

Elizabeth Brandeis
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Mrs. Leisa Bronson
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The Rev. Daniel M. Cantwell
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Washington, D. C.

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Brooklyn, N. Y.

Alfred Baker Lewis
Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

Isador Lubin
New York, N. Y.

Archbishop Robert E. Lucey
San Antonio, Tex.

Mrs. Thomas McAllister
Grand Rapids, Mich.

The Rev. Francis J. McDonnell
Boston, Mass.

The Rev. Joseph Mackin
Helena, Mont.

Mrs. William T. Mason
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Robert J. Mozer
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Donald M. Murtha
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Detroit, Mich.

Emil Rieve
New York, N. Y.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
New York, N. Y.

Marvin Rosenberg
New York, N. Y.

The Rt. Rev. William Scarlett
Castine, Maine

Prof. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.
Cambridge, Mass.

The Rev. James D. Shaughnessy
Creve Coeur, Ill.

The Rev. Thomas Guthrie Speers
Baltimore, Md.

Esther C. Stamats
New York, N. Y.

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Robert C. Wells
Cedar Falls, Iowa

Arthur J. White
New York, N. Y.

The Rev. Robert L. Wilken
Charlotte, N. C.

Josephine Wilkins
Atlanta, Ga.

National Consumers League

CITIZENS COMMITTEE

on the

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

The Very Rev. Francis B. Sayre, Jr.
Chairman

Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas
Vice Chairman

Elizabeth S. Magee
Secretary

Morris S. Rosenthal
Vice Chairman

Dorothea de Schweinitz
Executive Director

Edwin Witte
Vice Chairman

718 JACKSON PLACE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

August 1, 1958

Mr. Robert H. Horwitz
Assistant Professor
Civic Education Program
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Mr. Horwitz:

Thank you for your announcement of July 25th concerning the 1958 Supplement to Civic Education in the United States.

Please note one change in the information about the Southern Regional Council: The Council's current president is Mr. James M. Dabbs rather than Marion A. Wright who was president in 1957.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA:ls
encl. 1958 Supplement

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY East Lansing

College of Business and Public Service

July 25, 1958

Dear Sir:

You will find attached the final, corrected copy submitted by your organization some months ago for the 1958 Supplement to Civic Education in the United States. Inasmuch as publication was delayed until this summer, we want to take this opportunity to secure verification of the address of your organization and the names and title of personnel.

The correctness and adequacy of other portions of this supplementary write-up were checked previously with you, and it will be recalled that the information on program, publications, etc. is designed solely to supplement the existing description of the civic education activities of your organization as described in Civic Education in the United States.

Since the 1958 Supplement and Civic Education in the United States cannot be used separately, we have made arrangments for the reissue of the latter volume by the Governmental Research Bureau of Michigan State University. Information on prices and procedures for ordering is enclosed.

Our publisher's schedule calls for composition to begin August 15 on the Supplement. Your copy will go to press in the attached form unless any indicated corrections are feceived by then. With thanks again for your generous cooperation in the past, and with assurances of our appreciation for this final check of your copy, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Robert H. Horwitz

Robert H. Horwitz
Assistant Professor
Civic Education Program

Enclosures:

via air mail

August 8, 1960

Mr. J. L. LeFlore
Director of Case Work
The Citizens' Committee
Room 5, Franklin Building
578 Davis Avenue
Mobile 6, Alabama

Dear Mr. LeFlore:

Please forgive my delay in answering your kind letters of recent date. I trust you have received the voting information sent by our research staff.

While I am honored by your invitation to speak again in Mobile, I should like to suggest an alternative that would be to our mutual benefit. My schedule through the fall is so full, including several weeks of travel, that I don't feel I can accept another out-of-town engagement, as much as I should like to. For that reason -- and also because I am sure he will serve you far better than I can -- let me suggest that you invite Mr. Marion A. Wright, past president and now vice-president of the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Wright is natianally recognized for his speeches and articles in this field. I am enclosing copies of his speeches and a biographical sketch.

Should you decide to invite Mr. Wright -- as I hope you will -- I shall be glad to add a word of support.

Paul Rilling, who is now on our staff, asks me to extend his greetings and regards, along with my own.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

HCF: when Les gets together the figures for Mr. Scammon, I'll send the same to Mr. LeFlore. MA

August 3, 1960

Mr. J. L. LeFlore
Director of Case Work
The Citizens' Committee
Room 5, Franklin Bldg.
578 Davis Avenue
P. O. Box 1091
Mobile 6, Alabama

Dear Mr. LeFlore:

Last Friday we mailed you, under separate cover, copies of our two voting studies, The Negro Voter in the South and The Negro and the Ballot in the South. As soon as we get out our annual report on school desegregation, which is presently taking everyone's time, we will send you all the more recent figures we have accumulated from official and newspaper sources. Since the publication of the 1958 voting study (in 1959) we have not carried on any more research, other than some field studies that are not to be published.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

Mailed separately:
two voting studies, 2 copies of each

"Freedom belongs to those who earn it"

THE NON-PARTISAN VOTERS LEAGUE OF MOBILE AND MOBILE COUNTY
THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

PROF. C. E. POWELL
President

CONRAD DEANE
Chairman of the Board

Non-Partisan Voters League

ROOM 5, FRANKLIN BUILDING
578 DAVIS AVENUE - Tel. HE 3-7927
Mailing Address: P. O. BOX 1091 - MOBILE 6, ALABAMA

REV. CHARLES A. TUNSTALL
Chairman

J. L. LeFLORE
Director of Case Work

The Citizens' Committee

July 26, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Alburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Several years ago we were honored to have you as guest speaker for a Sunday afternoon meeting under auspices of the Mobile NAACP.

Citizens here have asked us to again extend to you an invitation to speak in Mobile on a Sunday date to your convenience during the summer or early fall of this year.

We feel that in view of your comprehensive knowledge of problems affecting the races, that your speaking here would certainly represent a worthy contribution in filling an important vacuum in community life. Mobile would again be honored in having you.

If you should be able to accept our invitation, please advise us of the honorarium expected. All other expenses in connection with your trip will be assumed by us.

A reply at your convenience will be appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

J. L. LeFlore

J. L. LeFlore,
Director of Case Work

THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

A. S. Crishon, President

Non-Partisan Voters League

FREEDOM RALLY-APRIL 30-MAY 1, 1960 HEAR CONGRESSMAN CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR., ILA AUDITORIUM

MA
Ret H.C.F.

"Freedom belongs to those who earn it"

THE NON-PARTISAN VOTERS LEAGUE OF MOBILE AND MOBILE COUNTY
THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

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REV. CHARLES A. TUNSTALL
Chairman

J. L. LeFLORE
Director of Case Work

The Citizens' Committee

July 26, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Alburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We have recently received numerous inquiries from various sources for a bi-racial breakdown of qualified voters in the several southern states.

Just yesterday we had such a request from a summer school student at Tuskegee Institute.

Will you be kind enough to send us a number of pamplets, if available, affording voter registration information, white and Negro, in the southern states, including Alabama?

RHA 8/1/60

I am enclosing a personal check for $5.00, representing for this time my usual annual contribution to the headquarters of the Southern Regional Council. We are appreciative of the magnificant job this organization is doing in the human relations field.

With every good wish and kindest personal regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

J. L. LeFlore

J. L. LeFlore,
Director of Case Work

THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

Encl:Chk

FREEDOM RALLY-APRIL 30-MAY 1, 1960 HEAR CONGRESSMAN CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR., ILA AUDITORIUM

PR✓
MF

"Freedom belongs to those who earn it"

THE NON-PARTISAN VOTERS LEAGUE OF MOBILE AND MOBILE COUNTY
THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

PROF. C. E. POWELL
President

CONRAD DEANE
Chairman of the Board

Non-Partisan Voters League

ROOM 5, FRANKLIN BUILDING
578 DAVIS AVENUE - Tel. HE 3-7927
Mailing Address: P. O. BOX 1091 - MOBILE 6, ALABAMA

REV. CHARLES A. TUNSTALL
Chairman

J. L. LeFLORE
Director of Case Work

The Citizens' Committee

October 5, 1960

RECEIVED
OCT 7 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Sometime ago we exchanged correspondence relative to an official member of the Southern Regional Council speaking in Mobile as our guest.

Under date of August 8, you wrote us suggesting that Mr. Marion J. Wright, past president and now vice-president of the Southern Regional Council be invited. You stated at the time that your schedule was such that you would not be able to accept another out of town engagement during the fall.

We are appreciative of your wise recommendation in the matter. However, our plans are not complete at the moment with regard to our program and, therefore, we must hold in abeyance plans which would include prominent our of town guest speakers.

We shall have further information on this subject within the next several weeks.

Kindest regards to Mr. Paul Rilling, Mr. Wright and yourself.

With every good wish, I am

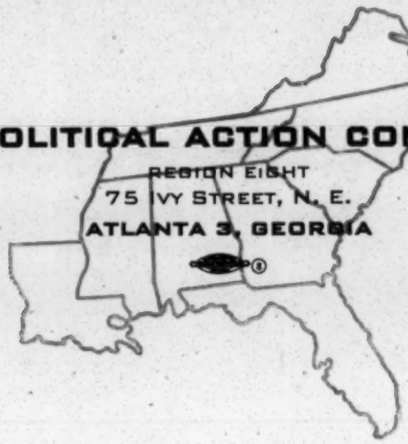
Very sincerely yours,

J. L. LeFlore

J. L. LeFlore,
Director of Case Work

THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

FREEDOM RALLY-APRIL 30-MAY 1, 1960 HEAR CONGRESSMAN CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR., ILA AUDITORIUM



CIO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
REGION EIGHT
75 IVY STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL
REGIONAL DIRECTOR

October 9, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
719 S tandard Bldg.
City

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The United Automobile Workers--CIO has produced a movie called HELL BENT FOR ELECTION. It is an animated color cartoon with sound, showing a race between a Rooseveltian streamliner and a Deweyite coal burner to get on track '44 for Washington. It runs fifteen minutes.

The movie is being widely shown at union meetings and is popular.

A special showing will be run Tuesday, October 17, at the CIO Hall at 75 Ivy St., N. E. at 8 P. M. One or two other brief films will be run also. We would very much like to have you come in for it, and bring any friends you wish.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell.

63 Auburn Ave., NE xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx Room 432

December 13, 1944

Mr. William H. Levitt, Director
International Education Department
1324 Maccabees Building
DETROIT 2, MICHIGAN

Dear Mr. Levitt:

Dr. Guy Johnson has discussed with me your letters of November 22 and December 5.

Though I should like very much to attend the conference of UAW-CIO, it will not be possible for me to do so at the time of the conference. I have an engagement in the East on January 7, which will prevent my full participation in the Milwaukee Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR/rha
cc: Dr. Guy Johnson

Misc. Organ

January 12, 1945

Mr. W. J. Reese
Director, Southeastern Area
National CIO War Relief Committee
1024 Mortgage-Guarantee Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Reese:

Thank you for your letter and for the booklet entitled "Citizen CIO". I think that this is a very interesting publication which tells its story in a striking way.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

W. J. REESE, Director, Southeastern Area
1024 Mortgage-Guarantee Bldg., Atlanta 3, Georgia WAlnut 0378

PHILIP MURRAY, Special Advisor • IRVING ABRAMSON, Chairman
JOHN BROPHY, Treasurer • TED F. SILVEY, Secretary • HAROLD J. GARNO
SAUL MILLS • JOHN PHILLIPS • AUGUST SCHOLLE
LEO PERLIS, National Director

January, 1945

Rec'd Jan. 10.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

There is a very important citizen around these days. You may know him slightly, or you may have known him for years for the good, dependable citizen that he is. (Do you know that he and his co-workers contributed to the combined Red Cross and Community-War Fund drives last year, approximately $36,000,000?) Regardless of the extent of your acquaintance, there are probably a few facts that have not come to your attention, very important facts, such as this citizen's growth and his activities. He has grown mightily in the past few years, and we have kept a record, put it all down for you to see and enjoy. This story of "Citizen C I O" is coming to you under separate cover. We are proud of his record, and when you see it we are sure that you will say that our pride is pardonable. And to think that he is 6,000,000 strong!

All of us from our work-bench, desk and lathe join you in the hope for a victorious New Year.

Cordially

W. J. Reese

W. J. Reese,
Director, Southeastern Area

WJR:nf

AT LEAST ONE HOUR'S PAY EACH MONTH
COOPERATING WITH NATIONAL WAR FUND AND AMERICAN RED CROSS
REGISTRATION NO. D-9, PRESIDENT'S WAR RELIEF CONTROL BOARD

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

75 Ivy Street, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 24, 1945

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Since March 9th there has been wide spread discussion in the Georgia press concerning conditions at the Milledgeville State Hospital. The attached two letters shed some light on this controversy and events leading up to it.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations in Georgia has two concerns in the matter: first, as citizens, we want to see the hospital and its management brought up to modern standards which will result in first-class care for the inmates; secondly, we hope that the employees will have freedom to organize a union which, in contrast to their present deplorable working conditions, will bring them whatever benefits may be obtainable under State law.

Sincerely,

C H Gillman

C. H. Gillman
Regional Director

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

75 Ivy Street, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 19, 1945

Honorable Ellis Arnall,
Governor of Georgia,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Governor:

Thank you for your letter of March 12th.

I am glad to know you have found that my letter of March 6th regarding the State Hospital at Milledgeville with copy of release attached, reached your office two days before the story was given to the press.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations heartily endorses your proposal for a widespread investigation of all state institutions in order that necessary improvements may be made. We would respectfully urge that scientifically qualified specialists be used by the Committee in such investigations and in the preparation of reports and recommendations.

As Georgia citizens, members of the CIO are vitally interested in all that pertains to the welfare of the people of the state. We hope that your recommendation for such investigations and improvements will speedily be put into effect.

However, while we are entirely in accord with your proposal for a broad investigation, we believe it of major importance that attention be not diverted from the situation in the Millodgeville State Hospital. To that end we again call your attention to the need for immediate action to correct the deplorable conditions exposed even by the obviously whitewash report of the Investigating Committee - a whitewash that was apparent from the start of the proceedings at Milledgeville when the Committee refused to open the Hearing to the public, to allow those of us who had brought the complaints to participate in the tour of the Hospital, and the barring of a newspaper photographer.

In calling your attention and then that of the public to the conditions existing at the Hospital, the CIO made certain specific statements which were substantiated by 27 affidavits from many sections of the Hospital. We pointed out understaffing, inadequate and unsanitary food, generally unsanitary conditions, improper medical care, lack of heat and clothing, strict censorship of mail, and non-segregation of communicable diseases. We charged further that one Negro patient had been burned to death by steam.

We have followed the press accounts of the investigation closely, and have before us a copy of the Committee report. Statements in the public press undeniably substantiate virtually all of the charges we have made.

It is manifest that the Committee report itself does not cover the situation. While it admits undermanning, improper diet, lack of heat, insufficient changes of clothing, censorship of mail, and the death of a Negro patient as a result of an "unfortunate accident," each admission is qualified with some excuse. For example: "The coal shortage was the result of a strike." Hospitals have a top priority on getting coal. Why was not a sufficient stockpile on hand? Why was coal not purchased and stored the summer before?

We still question the strict censorship of all outgoing mail and believe that inmates have a right to report conditions to their families. The fact that no effort was made to conceal the circumstances surrounding the death of a Negro patient does not wipe out the carelessness and irresponsibility of those in charge.

The Committee report makes no mention of the filth and unsanitary conditions, nor of the unclean food. And while it admits that untrained personnel have "sutured minor wounds" (we do not consider a wound on the head requiring 18 stitches "minor"), it makes no mention of the administration of drugs by unqualified persons.

The report wonders why the Congress of Industrial Organizations did not consult with the State Director of Public Welfare and with the management. Our answer is simple. No person closely connected with this institution could have been uninformed as to the true conditions. In the face of such indifference on their part, we had no confidence in those persons responsible for administration of this state institution.

Our complaint was not made to the Legislature for two reasons: first, we believe you have the authority to bring about corrections; secondly, our evidence was not complete.

And speaking of this session of the Legislature, in view of the findings presented and the acknowledgment of the administrators that 68¢ per patient per day is totally insufficient, we ask why the management and the Director of Public Welfare did not urge increased appropriations by that body. During this session just past, the Director of Public Welfare was commended for his economic administration of this most important department. We share the view expressed by Speaker Harris and reported in the press in connection with the Hospital that "the state had followed a policy of being penny wise and pound foolish."

Your approval of the Committee report and commendation of the management, as reported in yesterday's papers, have come as a distinct shock to us. In face of the evidence which has been presented to the public and the facts which have been uncovered, we are unable to understand your position and the lack of any specific corrective direction. According to the press, some of the investigating committee itself consider the report inadequate.

On March 10 you stated that "If the CIO has rendered a public service, it will be applauded." The CIO has sincerely attempted to render a public service. We are not concerned with applause. We are deeply concerned when applause is given those who are directly responsible and have neglected the welfare of citizens of Georgia. We are still more concerned that corrective measures be taken.

We respectfully urge that you get to the roots of the situation at Milledgeville; that a proper scientific survey be made by qualified persons; and that the State of Georgia immediately get underway with a sound and constructive program to the end that those less fortunate members of our society may have decent and proper care at the State Hospital in Milledgeville.

In order to make our position clear to the public, we are releasing this letter to the afternoon papers on Tuesday, March 20th.

Sincerely yours,

C H Gillman

C. H. GILLMAN,
REGIONAL DIRECTOR

CHG/c

CONGRESS OF INDUCTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

75 Ivy Street, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 6, 1945

Honorable Ellis Arnall,
Governor - State of Georgia,
State Capitol,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Governor Arnall:

As you may be aware, the CIO has had a representative or two in Milledgeville for the last several months engaged originally in organizing the Steelworkers there.

Our Milledgeville representative was approached a couple of months back by numerous employees of the Milledgeville State Hospital who asked that we help them also in getting organized. We responded to this request and a substantial proportion of the employees there have recently given evidence of their desire to form a Local Union of the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America, CIO.

As we got further into the work of organizing the employees, representatives have been repeatedly approached with complaints that conditions in the Hospital were scandalous.

With a view to pinning down these allegations in order that specific corrective measures could be requested of the Department of Welfare, and in order to document what we saw would necessarily become a request for full investigation by the State, we have taken some twenty four depositions from representative employees.

Some of the salient points in these depositions have been summarized in a press release which we shall be giving to the paper on Thursday.

As the controversy is one which concerns a State Institution it seems to me only courteous that you should be given advance notice of the charges which we are bringing.

Sincerely Yours,

C H Gillman

C. H. GILLMAN,
REGIONAL DIRECTOR

CHG/c

WE MUST HAVE JOBS

Excerpts from the testimony of PHILIP MURRAY, president, Congress of Industrial Organizations, in support of the Full Employment Bill (S. 380) before a subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency, United States Senate, August 22, 1945.

I come to your Committee today as a spokesman for millions of American workers and veterans who need above all else to have continuing employment at good wages so they may rear their families and contribute to their own happiness and to the growth of our nation.

For all these people and their families the burning question is whether they can expect soon to be gainfully re-employed—and, if they do get a job, for how long. They and the whole country need some immediate, concrete evidence that their elected representatives understand the needs of today, as they understand them.

Congress has an enormous opportunity and a solemn responsibility. The country must be mobilized for an attack upon poverty, ignorance and fear, that compares to our wartime effort. No one can say such a mobilization will cost us too much; the contrary is true—it will cost us too much to fail.

The total dollar cost of the war, to the United States, will be more than 400 billions. The sales lost through mass unemployment of Americans during the depression totalled 355 billion dollars. And even greater than wages and profit loss was the suffering of people, which cannot be measured.

The CIO believes that every citizen has a right to a job at a high income, commensurate with work performed.

The CIO believes that it is the responsibility of the national government to assure that right.

* * *

When the Mitchell bomber hit the Empire State Building in New York, the cables on one of the elevators were cut and the car dropped some 80 floors to the basement. The unemployment resulting from contract cancellations is causing a comparably sudden and precipitous drop in the buying power of our people, and just at the time when we need tremendously enlarged consumer purchasing power to take up the slack created by cessation of government war spending.

The American people will soon be asking: Why do the good things come only as part of war; why can't we have them in peacetime as well? They will ask: Are we to be concerned about the health and care of mothers and children only when the husbands and fathers are being killed or mutilated? Are we willing to provide housing on the basis of people's need for it only when soldiers in foxholes are away from home, with no place to lay their heads? Are we agreeable to feeding people adequately only when they are making or using engines of destruction, but not to nourishing them when war is done?

A Historic Statement for Full Employment

August, 1945—full of news of atomic bombs and the sudden ending of the war with Japan—is perhaps the most historic month in our nation's history. August was the month during which there were extensive hearings before a committee of the United States Senate on the Full Employment Bill*—a proposal which in its relation to permanent prosperity and future peace is as important as any question before the American people.

The Full Employment Bill is a proposal that the Government of the United States shall establish as a national policy that every person desiring employment and able to work shall have employment. Only the national government can assure employment, just as only the national government can assure freedom of speech, of assembly, of the press and of religion.

President Murray's argument for passage of the Bill was one of the newsworthy events of this newsworthy month. On August 22 he spoke for a full hour to the Committee in a hearing room packed with reporters and other auditors, who listened in church-like silence during his ringing presentation. His address occurred during the very days war plants were closing down all over the nation and millions of workers were being given layoff and discharge notice as their fruit of Victory.

The reading of the following excerpts from President Murray's testimony will stir your interest and excite your active support for the Full Employment Bill.

TED F. SILVEY, Chairman
CIO Reconversion Committee

*Introduced as S. 380 on January 22 by four Democratic Senators (Murray of Montana, Wagner of New York, Thomas of Utah, O'Mahoney of Wyoming) who were joined in reporting it out of subcommittee on September 15 by four Republican Senators (Morse of Oregon, Tobey of New Hampshire, Aiken of Vermont, Langer of North Dakota). In the House the bill is H. R. 2202, introduced by Representative Wright Patman of Texas and sponsored by 105 other Congressmen.

Our citizens are not foolish persons; they will ask all these and a multitude of similar questions. To preserve democracy, it will be necessary to give them very concrete demonstrations that the fruit of victory is something better than we have ever had before.

The people's questions have to be answered to their satisfaction soon. We need the Kilgore-Forand Unemployment Compensation Bill; the Pepper Amendment to the Wage-Hour Act; the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Social Security Bill; a permanent Fair Employment Practices Act; further improvements in existing laws that provide help for demobilized veterans; tax legislation to provide relief for low-income groups and to pull the idle wealth of the nation into healthy economic circulation; the anti-Poll Tax measure; a great program of roads, schools, hospitals, housing; and legislation to control the use of atomic power. The passage of the Full Employment Bill will show the people that Congress is trying to help them pass over the bridge to tomorrow. Failure to do these necessary things now will bring stronger questions. If the Congress fails to do NOW what I have pointed out as necessary—including the passage of this bill—a great deal more than this program will be necessary a year from now.

• • •

PAST FAILURES PROVIDE WARNING—It may be fruitful to look at the landmarks of failure in the struggle for a successful war and victory program. I don't want to rake up any old bones, but there are voices being raised against this bill and we ought to identify them and see to whom they belong and what their motive is.

In April, 1942, President Roosevelt sent to Congress the seven-point stabilization program. It was emphasized at the time that the entire seven points had to operate together to make the program effective. The adverse economic consequences of selecting only wage control for real policing, with almost no concern about profits and too little concern about prices, is apparent in the imbalance now existing between property ownership and workers' income.

In October, 1942, the Kilgore-Pepper-Tolan bill for total war mobilization was rejected.

In April, 1943, Congress repealed the $25,000 limitation on personal salaries, again giving concern only to those who have too much and ignoring the great mass of the people who have too little.

In February, 1944, the President's veto of tax legislation, a bill which was aptly described as giving "relief for the greedy, not for the needy," was overridden.

In August, 1944, after assuring corporations of all costs plus profits in a contract termination act, and promising them the exclusive use of government-owned plants in the Surplus War Property Act, Congress refused to report and pass the Murray-Kilgore bill to provide unemployment compensation and transportation costs to war workers.

Again, in May, 1945, when President Truman sent a message urging immediate passage of similar legislation, some ten weeks passed before a bill even was introduced.

• • •

EXCESS PROFITS FORGIVEN—Those members of Congress who are guilty of all these derelictions concerning the common people have not hesitated to add to the inflation of American corporate fortunes. Last July 20, a special interim tax measure was made law to hasten the return to the wealthy of some of the taxes they had been charged from their excess war profits. This action was taken at the same time President Truman's message urging unemployment compensation legislation was lying untouched.

Congress had already treated business royally. The Revenue Act of 1942 contained the carry-back, carry-forward provisions, as well as the provision for refunding 10 percent of corporations' excess profit taxes which had been paid during the war. These allowances made available to industry during reconversion a total of 30 billion dollars.

Against this huge coagulation of wealth, the cost of reconversion to industry will be only three billion dollars, according to Judge Vinson.

These figures become more significant when I point out that they mean the typical American corporation is protected against reconversion loss of income to the extent of 15 years of normal net income on the base of 1936–1939. If workers had benefited similarly from the war and federal legislation, the average wage earner would now have on hand war savings in the amount of $7,200; he would shortly receive a tax refund of $1,200 from the United States Treasury; and in case of reduced earnings, or no earnings, during the next year or two, he could call on the Treasury for additional payments up to $9,600. His total protection for the transition would add up to $18,000.

I mention these matters of neglect and discrimination to show that certain people in and out of Congress are opposed to purchasing power for workers.

• • •

SOME DO NOT WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT—These same people have been raising objections to this full employment bill and the necessary

related legislation. I should like to be quite direct about this: Who does not want full employment?

Can we look into the mind of a man who wants unemployment? What can the motive be? I am reminded of a remark attributed to Samuel Insull: "The surest guarantee of a contented working force is a long line at the employment office window." Some employers want to keep workers in constant fear, so they will make no demands for their share of the wealth they create, and so they will continue in subjection to the will of the mill master.

The economic struggle we have had and are now going through is teaching us that the common people are not primarily "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to accumulate wealth for others. In the technological society we have built, people are primarily consumers—and in order to consume they must have wages, an income. Consumption must be provided for in order to keep production and employment at the maximum. Investment depends wholly on consumption. Mass purchasing power comes from wages; therefore wages for consumption spending are more important than funds that only seek investment.

In tax legislation and concern for profits, Congress has been driving the post-war economy into a depression. A little while back I used the word "coagulation" with respect to the huge wealth of big property owners. You will see now why I emphasize the word; the huge sums in the control of the wealthy can only clot in the circulation system of our economy. Only when the mass of wage earners have money to keep goods moving into consumption, is there a virile pumping of lifeblood through the system. The present situation is a stage set for another, bigger, deeper depression, which could lead into another war. I think we have intelligence enough to survive; that's the reason we have legislation like Senate Bill 380.

* * *

SALES DEPEND ON INCOME, NOT SAVINGS—Mr. James H. Rassmussen, general sales manager of the Crosley Corporation of Cincinnati, said in an address to the Sales Executives Club of New York last winter, reported in the January 17 issue of the *Journal of Commerce:*

> **"While wartime savings have been estimated at 58 billion dollars, about 43 billions of this sum is in the hands of families with incomes above $5,000 a year, which constitute only about 9 percent of the total number of American families. . . . Families having incomes of $3,000 a year or less, which constitute 73 percent of the total number of families, have estimated war-time savings of only 8 billion dollars and many in this group will have to spend most of their savings for rent and food during the reconversion period."**

Automatic machinery in post-war production will have so high a production capacity—so much more can be turned out by fewer people—that it will become increasingly impossible to sell the output unless the mass of workers are continuously employed at high wages. The kind of society we have organized makes high income of the mass of people an economic necessity, quite aside from the ethical truth that common men and women should have a good share of the good things of life.

This fact makes more apparent than ever the utter fallacy of the doctrine of "pouring in at the top." There has been too much of the philosophy of paying business ever bigger profits with the idea that some of the purchasing power would trickle down. It does not do so; I have already shown how such wealth clots in the economic system.

The proper thing to do now, to prevent the coagulation of this huge wealth in unproductive idleness, would be to buy government-owned plants with it—and to pay it out to employees so they could buy what they need and thus keep up production and employment. Perhaps it would not matter if this wealth lay idle if the mass of workers in the nation had guaranteed incomes. They would spend, which would create sales, orders, and production. But when corporations have the reserves and won't spend them, when workers have little or no reserves to spend, sales decline, orders stop and production is held to that fraction of capacity which pays the highest profits at the lowest level of operation. This is the vicious downward spiral in operation.

Here, therefore, is the primary reason for the Full Employment Bill, S. 380. The manager of an individual business enterprise always makes his production plans on a scarcity basis, that is, he will make and offer for sale just a tiny bit less than his sales manager tells him the market can absorb. The merchandise is priced accordingly. For him to produce more than he can sell, in the face of low purchasing power and competition of other products, would be to create an unsaleable surplus and leave him with a loss. Through this bill, it is proposed that the national government shall step in with certain guarantees in order to reassure the individual business man, so he will expand his production and spend his hoarded wealth.

This proposal is quite moderate in the face of the situation before us. The realization that we stand on the threshold of the atomic age is beginning to dawn on us in fuller understanding.

UPSIDE-DOWN APPROACH—This bill is not conceived for such an age; it is a bill which should have been law a decade ago—certainly two war years ago. It does no more than direct the President to gather certain information, formulate it into a National Budget message, and recommend action to Congress.

Even while I support the bill and urge your quick action upon it, there is a certain word in it which alarms me. "When there is a prospective DEFICIENCY in the National Budget . . ." it says. The bill gives private enterprise two chances to make good—once under its own steam, and once with a stimulating injection by government. When private enterprise then fails, it calls for a making up of a "deficiency." This is certainly not the real vision we should have of the brave new world we are building.

The concept we in the CIO have is not that Congress shall benevolently step in when private enterprise is found wanting, and give the people something which shall keep them from starving. This is not a campaign to pass legislation merely to give us the right to barely stay alive. We want national government planning and preparation of a program that will permit the American people to achieve the full potential of what they can do for themselves.

This Senate Bill 380 provides the machinery for the planning, the estimating, the calculating of our full potential. We need not determine how many people can "normally" buy shoes or afford houses with plumbing, but how many pairs of shoes the American people need a year and how much plumbing. We need to gear our economy to an overall full employment plan of that kind, industry by industry, with some governmental guarantee that the individual business man will be able to dispose profitably of output expanded in accordance with such plan.

The "deficiency" thinking is an upside-down approach to our full production potential. Our vision is that now, for the first time in our history, all Americans can have abundance because we can all work together with science and technology to create abundance. This is not talk against private enterprise; rather it is a plea for a program that will permit private enterprise to really do its stuff! Especially, we conceive of it as a plan to give private enterprise vast new markets for goods and services their most imaginative sales managers never dreamed of . . . All I am saying is that we cannot stand aside helpless to see whether private enterprise is going to lift the millstone of unemployment that has fallen on us. We can't take that chance again.

This concept is the one which is set forth in the *CIO Reemployment Plan,* adopted by our 1944 convention in Chicago. One cannot object to such planning on the ground that it involves controls. Certainly controls are necessary; they are always present by necessity in the economy we have. The main question is whether the controls shall be exercised democratically through government or whether they shall be the controls imposed upon the people by financial barons whose decisions are based solely on their own narrow and selfish interests.

* * *

PLANNING FOR ABUNDANCE NECESSARY FOR SURVIVAL—At the beginning of this atomic age we need to take an entirely new approach to America's capacity to produce and consume. It is a problem in social engineering, more complex than designing a bridge or computing stresses in a skyscraper, because people and their feelings and desires are involved. The job can be done; it must be, if we are to survive.

There are people in the nation who are afraid of this program of full employment and production. Even in Congress, there are those who have village minds in a cosmopolitan society, and who manage to hold a penny so close to their eyes that they hide the whole blazing sun. The fact of these timid and frightened souls makes more imperative the energy and devotion of the rest of us in advancing this constructive and progressive program.

The last point I want to make is the urgency of speed, not only for passage of this bill, but for the other supporting legislation as well. If the bill were law now, it would not be applicable until July 1, 1946. We must get started now so the President can get the National Budget ready for submission to the Congress.

Many members of Congress have expressed an opinion that the legislative arm of the government is withering. This bill gives all power of final action to the elected representatives. Congress is given a responsibility greater than anything it has ever had.

FACTS FOR ACTION CIO

Prepared for publication by the DEPARTMENT OF RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, CIO. Kermit Eby, Director, 718 Jackson Pl., N. W., Washington 6, D. C. EXTRA COPIES, $1 per 100; $8 per 1,000; $30 per 5,000; $50 per 10,000. Publication No. 127.

Misc. Org.

CIO

November 30, 1944

Mr. William H. Levitt, Director
International Education Department
1324 Maccabees Building
Detroit 2, Michigan

Dear Levitt:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 22. It is good to hear from you. I have heard good things about your work with the UAW-CIO, and of course, I am glad because you are one of the Chapel Hill boys. Keep up the good work!

I hate like everything to miss the UAW-CIO Education Conference at Milwaukee on January 5, 6, and 7, but I already have made committments which I feel that I cannot call off. It is possible that Dr. Ira DeA. Reid might be able to attend the Conference. He is out of the office at present but I shall get in touch with him as soon as possible, and will add a note to this letter or write you again shortly.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

UNITED AUTOMOBILE · AIRCRAFT · AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS of AMERICA (UAW-CIO)

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VICE-PRESIDENT

IN REPLY REFER TO

INTERNATIONAL
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
1324 MACCABEES BUILDING
DETROIT 2, MICHIGAN

November 22, 1944

Mr. Guy S. Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

We would like very much to have you participate in the Second Annual UAW-CIO Education Conference at the Hotel Pfister, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, January 5, 6, and 7, 1945. We feel you would be able to add a great deal to the discussion on Discrimination.

Please let us know as soon as possible whether or not you will be able to attend, so our arrangements can be made well in advance.

Sincerely yours,

W. H. Levitt

William H. Levitt, Director
Int'l Education Department

P.S. We regret that because of our limited budget it will not be possible for us to pay expenses.

WL:T:hs
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cio

The CIO Case for Substantial Pay Increases

By

PHILIP MURRAY, ***President***

Congress of Industrial Organizations

NOVEMBER, 1945

Published By The

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

718 Jackson Place, N. W.

Washington 6, D. C.

C10

December 12, 1945

Mr. Kermit Eby, Director
Education and Research
Congress of Industrial Organizations
718 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Eby:

We were pleased to receive some time ago a copy of the colored picture leaflet entitled "There Are No Master Races." We should like to experiment with the distribution of this leaflet to young people in the South, and we should appreciate your letting us have 100 copies.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Congress of Industrial Organizations

718 Jackson Place, N. W. • Washington 6, D. C.

EXECUTIVE 5581

October 1945

Dear Sir and Brother:

Enclosed is a new leaflet, THERE ARE NO MASTER RACES. It is a colored picture strip adaptation of the much publicized pamphlet, RACES OF MANKIND. Through it, we hope to strengthen the American principle of racial tolerance.

In order to eliminate racial strife from industry, the CIO must effectively educate its membership along lines of non-discrimination. Otherwise, the disruptive tactics of the reactionary political enemies of labor will continue to raise havoc in the economic life of the nation.

Since this subject urgently calls for the attention of all trade unionists, especially in the reconversion period, we hope that you will cooperate in widely circulating this publication among your members and throughout your community. Because the cost of the printing has been underwritten for us, we are able to make you a gift of as many copies as you can effectively use.

Fraternally yours,

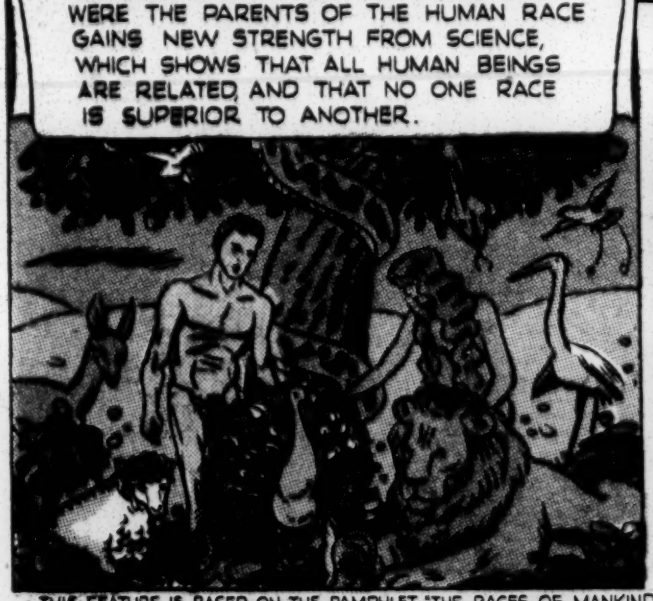
Kermit Eby

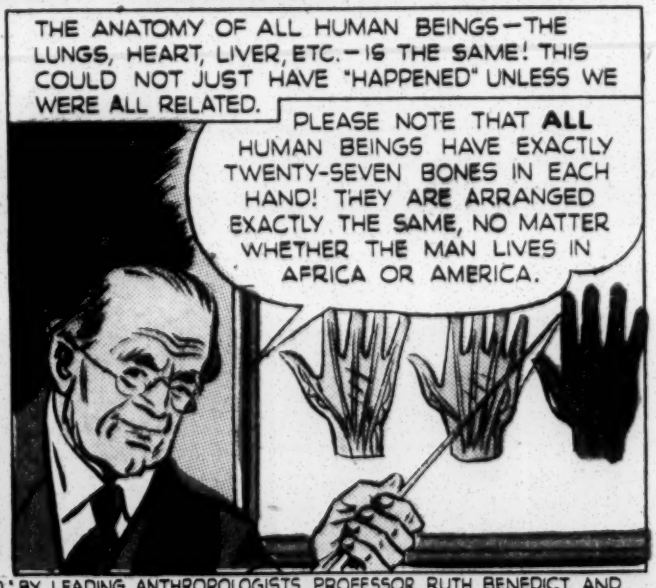
Kermit Eby, Director
Education and Research

KE:E

Reprinted from "True Comics" Magazine.

There Are NO MASTER RACES!

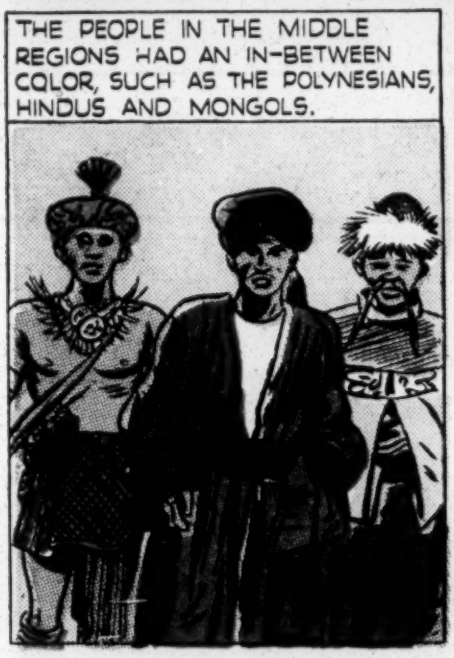




THIS FEATURE IS BASED ON THE PAMPHLET, "THE RACES OF MANKIND," BY LEADING ANTHROPOLOGISTS PROFESSOR RUTH BENEDICT AND DOCTOR GENE WELTFISH OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, PUBLISHED BY THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, INCORPORATED, 30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, NEW YORK, NEW YORK.

BUT IF WE ARE ALL THE SAME, WHY DO SOME PEOPLE HAVE DARK SKIN AND OTHERS HAVE LIGHT OR WHITE SKIN?
THAT'S A GOOD QUESTION, AND THE ANSWER TO IT IS A THRILLING ADVENTURE STORY! NOW, LOOK AT THIS MAP...

...MANY THOUSANDS OF YEARS AGO, MEN BEGAN TO MOVE FROM THEIR ORIGINAL HOMES IN THE CENTRAL REGIONS TO THE FAR CORNERS OF THE EARTH. SOME SETTLED IN THE NORTHERN SECTIONS, OTHERS, IN THE COUNTRIES NEARER THE EQUATOR. OTHERS STAYED IN THE MIDDLE.

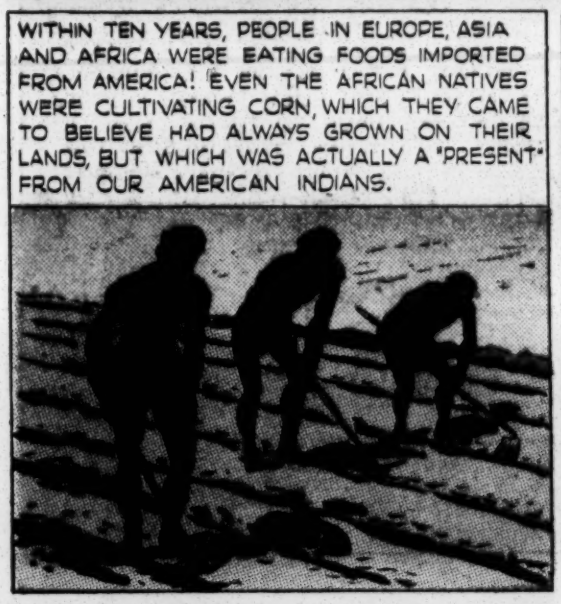

THE PEOPLE IN THE MIDDLE REGIONS HAD AN IN-BETWEEN COLOR, SUCH AS THE POLYNESIANS, HINDUS AND MONGOLS.

THE PEOPLE IN THE NORTHERN REGIONS HAD LIGHT SKIN.

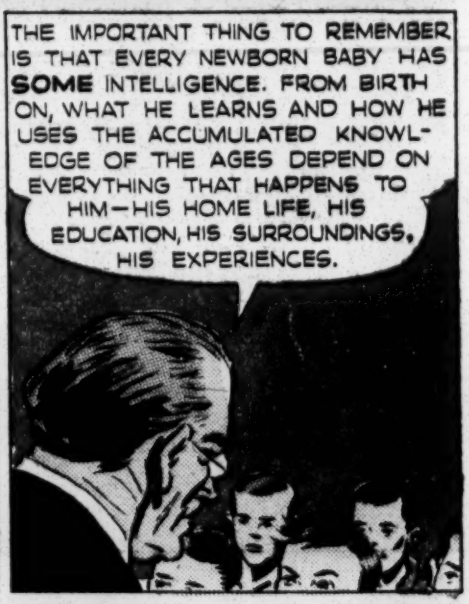
THE PEOPLE IN THE TROPICS HAD DARKER SKIN.

IN OTHER WORDS, DIFFERENCES IN SKIN COLOR ARE NOT AS BIG AS WE THOUGHT?
EXACTLY! ALL SKINS CONTAIN THE SAME CHEMICALS. PERSONS WITH YELLOW SKIN HAVE MORE CAROTENE IN THE SKIN, WHILE THOSE WITH DARK SKIN HAVE MORE MELANIN. THAT'S ALL THERE IS TO IT

NOW, CONSIDER INTELLIGENCE. MANY BELIEVE THAT EUROPEANS WERE THE FIRST TO HAVE SUPERIOR INTELLIGENCE. BUT WHILE THEY WERE STILL LIVING A PRIMITIVE LIFE, AROUND 3000 B.C...



THROUGHOUT HISTORY, PEOPLES OF ALL RACES HAVE BENEFITED BY THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF OTHER RACES. TODAY, THIS VAST POOL OF KNOWLEDGE IS A "BIRTHDAY PRESENT" TO ALL BABIES AND ALL BABIES CAN LEARN TO USE THIS KNOWLEDGE REGARDLESS OF RACE. SCIENCE HAS PROVED THAT PEOPLE OF **ALL** RACES ARE EQUALLY CAPABLE OF EDUCATION.



INTELLIGENCE HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH SKIN COLOR. IN WORLD WAR I, TESTS GIVEN TO U.S. SOLDIERS OF ALL COLORS SHOWED THAT EDUCATION, NOT SKIN COLOR, DETERMINED THEIR INTELLIGENCE RATING!

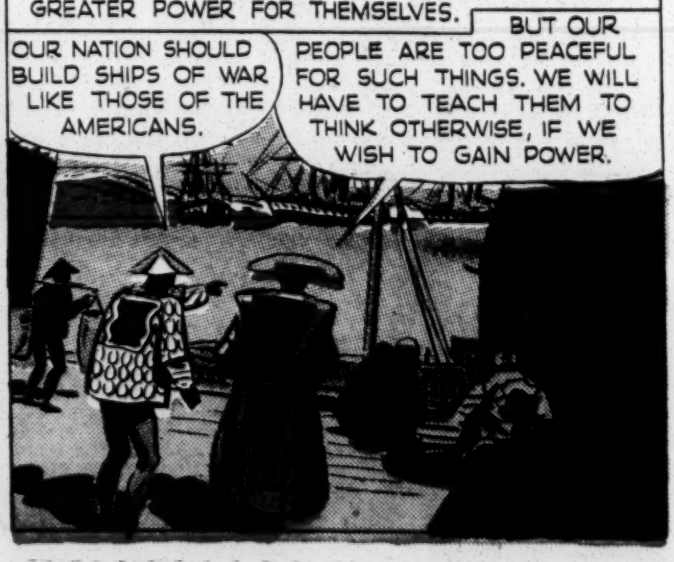
RACE HAS EVEN LESS TO DO WITH ONE'S IDEAS OF LIFE. THE POINTS OF VIEW OF INDIVIDUALS ARE NOT INBORN. THEY CAN BE GREATLY CHANGED BY EDUCATION, PROPAGANDA OR CIRCUMSTANCES. FOR EXAMPLE...

IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, THE INDIANS OF MEXICO WERE CONTINUALLY FIGHTING EACH OTHER—UNTIL THE SPANIARDS INVADED THE COUNTRY.

AFTER THE SPANISH CONQUEST, FIGHTING SPANIARDS AND BELLIGERENT INDIANS SETTLED DOWN AND INTERMARRIED. TODAY, THEIR DESCENDANTS ARE OUR PEACEFUL GOOD NEIGHBORS BELOW THE RIO GRANDE.

IN CONTRAST TO THE ONCE WARLIKE INDIANS, THE JAPANESE—AS RECENTLY AS FIFTY YEARS AGO—WERE PEACEFUL FISHERMEN AND FARMERS, POETS AND ARTISTS.

IN 1854, WHEN THE AMERICAN NAVY OPENED JAPAN'S GATES TO THE REST OF THE WORLD, SOME JAPANESE LEADERS SAW A CHANCE TO GAIN GREATER POWER FOR THEMSELVES.



SO, WITHIN TWO GENERATIONS, THE JAPANESE HAVE BEEN TAUGHT TO BE WARLIKE TO SATISFY THE AMBITIONS OF THEIR MILITARY RULERS!

BANZAI! WE ARE THE SONS OF HEAVEN! **KILL! KILL!**

AND TWENTY YEARS AGO, MUSSOLINI USED THE SAME "MASTER RACE" TACTICS TO SEIZE CONTROL OF ITALY AND MAKE ITALIANS WAR-MINDED.

ITALIANS, DO NOT FORGET THAT YOU ARE CHILDREN OF DESTINY! YOU ARE THE DESCENDANTS OF THE VALIANT ROMANS!

THEN, TEN YEARS AGO, HITLER ROSE TO POWER IN GERMANY, REVIVING THE WARLIKE AMBITIONS HELD IN THE GERMAN RULING CASTE FOR MANY GENERATIONS.

OUR NATION MUST BE A NATION OF WARRIORS! IF WE ARE TO CONQUER THE WORLD, WE WILL HAVE TO TEACH OUR YOUTH THAT THEY ARE UNBEATABLE!

REMEMBER, THROUGHOUT HISTORY WE GERMANS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN VICTORIOUS IN WAR! THERE IS NO PLACE FOR WEAKLINGS AMONG US! WE ARE THE MASTER RACE! HEIL HITLER!

BECAUSE GERMAN YOUTHS WERE TAUGHT ONLY WHAT HITLER WANTED THEM TO BELIEVE, THEY BECAME WARLIKE, FOR THEY KNEW NO OTHER WAY OF LIFE.

OUR PLANS ARE WORKING WELL! WE ARE RAISING A GENERATION OF BRUTAL KILLERS.

MEIN FUEHRER, WE HAVE OUR STORM TROOPERS AND OUR BRUTAL FIGHTERS, BUT WE MUST INSTILL IN THEM A FEELING OF MENTAL SUPERIORITY.
THAT IS EASY! WE WILL MAKE THEM FEEL STRONG BY MAKING OTHERS LOOK WEAK. THERE ARE JUST A FEW JEWS. WE WILL CALL THE JEWISH RACE INFERIOR!

WILL THE PUBLIC BE CONVINCED? THE JEWS ARE NOT A RACE—THEY ARE PEOPLE OF MANY RACES WHO FOLLOW THE SAME RELIGION.
THE PUBLIC WILL ACCEPT WHAT WE WANT THEM TO BELIEVE BECAUSE WE HAVE TAUGHT THEM TO DO SO!
JEWS ARE NOT A RACE. THEY HAVE A COMMON RELIGION BUT ARE OF MANY DIFFERENT STOCKS. THERE ARE JEWS IN VIRTUALLY EVERY COUNTRY.

HITLER CALLED HIS NAZI FOLLOWERS "PURE ARYANS," AND ENCOURAGED THEIR FEELING OF SUPERIORITY BY STRESSING THEIR "DISTINCTIVE DIFFERENCES" FROM OTHER PEOPLE.
AN ARYAN IS SLENDER!
...AND TALL!
...AND BLONDE!

BUT—THE "PURE ARYAN" NAZIS WHO CONQUERED FRANCE ACTUALLY CONQUERED PEOPLE CLOSELY AKIN IN RACE TO THEMSELVES.
SYSTEMATIC PROPAGANDA ENABLED HITLER AND THE MILITARY LEADERS OF JAPAN TO MAKE THEIR PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT THEY WERE "MASTER RACES." BUT THIS SIMPLY IS NOT SO!

ALTHOUGH THEIR SKIN COLOR MAY BE VERY DIFFERENT, ALL MEN—OF EVERY COUNTRY—ARE REALLY "BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN." FOR ALL MEN ARE TRUE BLOOD RELATIONS.

YOU SEE, THERE ARE FOUR TYPES OF BLOOD—O, A, B, AND AB. THEY HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH RACE OR COLOR.

YOU MEAN, AN AMERICAN MAY NOT HAVE THE SAME TYPE OF BLOOD AS HIS PARENTS, YET MAY HAVE THE SAME TYPE AS AN AUSTRALIAN BUSHMAN?

THAT'S RIGHT. IT'S PRETTY MUCH THE SAME AS HAVING A PAIR OF SHOES THAT WON'T FIT YOUR BROTHER OR YOUR FATHER. BUT THAT SAME PAIR OF SHOES MIGHT FIT A HAWAIIAN BOY OR A NEGRO OR THE KID WHO LIVES NEXT DOOR.

OUR SOLDIERS' LIVES ARE BEING SAVED BY BLOOD PLASMA CONTRIBUTED BY AMERICANS WHOSE ANCESTORS CAME FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD. EVEN THE BLOOD TYPES DO NOT MATTER BECAUSE SCIENTISTS REMOVE THE RED AND WHITE CELLS FROM THE BLOOD, AND THE REMAINING PLASMA CAN SAVE THE LIFE OF ANY HUMAN BEING.

WE HAVE BEEN MAKING RAPID PROGRESS IN ELIMINATING OLD SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT "SUPERIOR RACE" AMONG OUR CITIZENS, EVER SINCE ABRAHAM LINCOLN ISSUED THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION THAT ENDED SLAVERY IN AMERICA FOREVER.

OUR NATION IS DEDICATED TO THE PROPOSITION THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL.

TODAY, ON FOREIGN BATTLE-FIELDS, ALLIED SOLDIERS OF MANY UNITED NATIONS ARE FIGHTING TO-GETHER TO EXPLODE THE MYTH OF THE NAZI AND JAP "SUPER-RACES." THEY STRUGGLE TO GAIN ULTIMATE VICTORY—NOT IN THE NAME OF ONE RACE OR ANOTHER, BUT IN THE NAME OF THE UNIVERSAL HUMAN RACE

THERE ARE NO MASTER RACES...NOR ANY INFERIOR ONES!

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DEPARTMENT OF RESEARCH AND EDUCATION

718 JACKSON PL., N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

To All Members and Friends

With cutbacks already a stark reality in thousands of American homes, mass unemployment must be avoided. To do this, Americans must stick together more closely than ever. We must not fear our neighbors. We must understand that all groups depend upon each other.

In a world torn with political, economic and physical strife, it would seem that superficial differences would have no place. It would seem that great conflicts over who should rule and how, who should eat and how much, who should kill and be killed, would eliminate petty prejudice, and that men would stand together on the basis of their ideas, their ideals and their goal of survival. It would certainly seem that the color of man's thinking would outweigh the color of his skin, and that the forces of reason and reaction would each line up on issues which fundamentally engage the spirit of man, rather than on those concerning the shape of his nose or the texture of his hair.

The CIO has lined up on basic issues calling for the cooperation of all who strive for a better life for the common man of the world. It does not care to what race these men belong any more than it cares how much money they have in the bank. It subscribes to the outlook of science in describing physical differences which in no way affect the mind and heart of the individual.

We therefore commend this leaflet to all people of good will who find themselves confronted, in their daily living, with the morass of ignorance, and superstition, and misunderstanding of racial factors, which are being deliberately used by the enemies of democracy to confuse Americans and others, in the selfish interests of privileged groups.

Fraternally yours,

James B. Carey

Secretary-Treasurer, CIO
and
Chairman, National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination

Willard S. Townsend, Secretary
George L-P Weaver, Director
George W. Crockett, Jr.
James J. Leary
Morris Muster
Harry Read
M. Hedley Stone
Boyd L. Wilson

[PRINTED IN U.S.A.]

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SERIAL		DEFERRED	
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WESTERN UNION

1207

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

$ S F

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TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

January 22, 1946

To Mr. Joseph Rauh

Care of or Apt. No. Room 718, Evans Building

Street and No. 14th and New York Avenue

Place Washington, D. C.

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

Relief situation becoming acute with UAW families in Atlanta. Families now cashing last war bonds. Influenza general and some pneumonia. Applications to relief committee of strikers for coal, medicine, food, rent increasing. Little funds in treasury of union. Ten families in desperate situation. I visited family yesterday to find baby with pneumonia, father and mother ill, no fuel. Strikers refused unemployment compensation, including six hundred GIs employed just before strike. Alabama granted unemployment compensation to the one GI from Alabama employed here. Some of the GIs worked only one hour. All GIs joined strikers refusing to be scabs or party to breaking

(continued)

Sender's name and address
(For reference only)

Sender's telephone number

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WESTERN UNION

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

19

To

Care of or Apt. No.

Street and No.

Place

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

unions. Leadership of strikers splendid, but unable to get Atlanta papers to carry any stories or information to public.

COLLECT

Mrs. M.E. Tilly

Sender's name and address
(For reference only)

Ga. 2951

Sender's telephone number

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WESTERN UNION

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DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
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Ship Radiogram

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LONG WUU37 115/114 4 EXTRA= ID WASHINGTON DC JAN 16 1150A

MRS N E TILLY=

=1013 HIGHLAND VIEW NORTHEAST=

WILL YOU PLEASE WIRE COLLECT TO JOSEPH RAUH, VICE CHAIRMAN WASHINGTON COMMITEE TO AID FAMILIES OF GM STRIKERS UP TO 500 WORD SUMMARY OF RELIEF NEEDS AMONG FAMILITIESOF GM STRIKERS IN ATLANTA, INCLUDING ANY AVAILABLE FACTS ON NUMBER APPLYING FOR RELEIF, RECEIVING IT AND DENIED RELIEF, WITH HUMAN INTEREST SAMPLES OF NEED OF RENT, FOOD, CLOTHING ETC. MIGHT INCLUDE FACTS ON NUMBER IFROM D FROM UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION FOR REFUSAL TO ACCEPT SUB- STANDARD WAGES AND JOBS. COMMITTEE NEEDS SUCH FACTS

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
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Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

2

IN SOLICITING FUNDS HERE. UAW OFFICE THERE WILL COOPERATE IN ASSEMBLING NEEDED FACTS I AM SURE. SEND WIRE TO ROOM 718 EVANS BLDG. 14TH AND NEW YORK AVE WASHINGTON DC

=PAUL SIFTON.

Mr. H. C. Wright
Rec
Local 34

Pls acknowledge -

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

600 g. d. – all refused unemployment Conf except one – also some worked only a few hours.

10 families – illness

Total receipt –

2 rec.

Increase in giving.

The CIO Invades Dixie

By MILTON MacKAYE

A fascinating behind-the-scenes report on how America's most aggressive and up-to-date union general staff is waging a campaign which may alter the industrial complexion of the South.

THERE is a legend that a decade or so ago an earnest labor leader from the North made an impassioned address near Atlanta before a large group of home-grown trade-unionists. He had his crowd with him. When he castigated the bosses for their unprincipled greed, there were cheers. When he spit on his hands and attacked the politicians, there were roars that shook the hall. When he denounced regional low wages, the crowd rose en masse and gave the rebel yell. Certain now of his audience, and a little drunk with his own rhetoric, the Northern speaker searched for and found one last climactic cliché.

"Fear not for the future!" he shouted. "We shall march through the serried ranks of Georgia industry as Sherman marched to the sea!"

A moment of shocked and incredulous silence followed this remarkable statement. The legend persists that in this moment of silence—definitely the calm that precedes the storm—a friend stunned the speaker with a monkey wrench and was able, without violence, to smuggle him from the auditorium.

At the present moment the Congress of Industrial Organizations—CIO—is in the middle of a well-planned high-pressure drive to unionize the South. Among the more lighthearted labor strategists, who have adopted a piece of military jargon, this drive is known as Operation Dixie. The objectives have already been announced: 1,000,000 new members for CIO unions and a fair-to-medium conquest of public opinion in a section of the country which has been traditionally antiunion.

There is nothing impulsive about this campaign either in concept or planning. It was not thought up overnight. The boss men of CIO have had it in mind for a long time; they have studied their war maps and they have considered seriously the errors of the past. With the campaign in full swing, there are at least 350 paid organizers wandering through the palmettos of South Carolina, the flatlands of Georgia and Alabama and the backwoods everywhere. They will not fall into the error of the hapless leader of the Sherman simile, for the simple and logical reason that they are born-and-bred Southerners, and have always considered "Sherman" a cuss word. This is not accident, nor is it accident that 95 per cent of them are war veterans. A CIO executive I spoke to was very realistic on the point.

"When trouble comes, and it will come," he said, "management will probably charge that the unions are trying to destroy the country. It seems to us that it will be pretty hard to convince people that men who risked their lives to save the country now want to destroy it."

The CIO, by contributions of its unions, has already banked more than $1,000,000 to finance the drive. Van A. Bittner, the director of the campaign, says that $1,000,000 more will be available if it is needed. And so, by the simple process of adding up the chips already on the table, it becomes plainly evident that there is no bluff about the present enterprise, and that the CIO means business.

The Southern congressmen knew it all along. A veteran Washington correspondent, musing a few weeks ago at the bar of the National Press Club, remarked that the average congressman has a nervous system which makes radar seem old-fashioned. "He gets the echoes," said the correspondent, "before the sound is made." This may be the explanation of the otherwise surprising coalition of Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans which has

Million-dollar war chest works in behalf of pickets like this one; textile mills are first goal.

hamstrung the Truman legislative program. It is no secret that the Southern wing of the Democratic Party has been traditionally conservative in domestic matters, but, because it is conscious of the need for Northern votes to achieve national victory, it has been willing to acquiesce in any or all measures which were intended to reform the North. It was when the reformers got around to reforming the South that the old Roosevelt acquiescents began to develop saddle sores.

The Truman Administration has produced a peculiar bitterness. The conservatives had to accept Roosevelt because of his strength and his ability to corral votes. But Truman was another matter. Both he and Robert Hannegan, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, became suspect when they continued to espouse Roosevelt domestic policies which had been held in abeyance during the war period, and to give their tacit blessing to the activities of such prolabor groups as the CIO's Political Action Committee.

It is common knowledge that many Southern senators and representatives are able, year after year, to retain tight hold of personal political machines in their areas because of voting restrictions which keep a lot of the folks at home on Election Day. In the 1944 presidential election only 30 per cent of the potential voters of thirteen Southern states went to the polls as compared to 76 per cent of the potential voters of the rest of the country. Understandably, these legislators are sworn enemies of PAC, which carries a grudge against the poll tax and has as one of its objectives the enfranchisement of all adult citizens.

But it would be an error and an oversimplification to assume that the CIO has entered the present organizational drive waving the banners of political reform. "Our aim, and our primary aim," Van Bittner told me, "is union organization. Once the working people of the South are unionized, it will be up to them to determine what political sides they want to take." Bittner believes in doing one thing at a time. There is a well-authenticated story about a Southern labor leader who was drafted by Bittner as a regional director for the drive. The Southerner asked whether he would be able to continue his activities with the Political Action Committee, of which Bittner is one of the directors.

"I don't want you even to mention PAC," Bittner replied, "for at least eleven months."

Labor organizations, like political parties, have in them many shades of political opinion and a good many internal bitternesses. There are the practical men, and then there are the theorists who want a freshly laundered world next Monday morning. By appointing Bittner director of the Southern drive, Philip Murray, the head of the CIO, committed himself to the practical group. Men like Bittner believe in the economic approach rather than the approach of idealism. They believe that the question, "You want your pay raised, don't you?" is a more effective gambit than a long talk about human equality and human rights.

Bittner is an old-time labor leader who learned his trade under John L. Lewis in the era when there were not two labor movements but only one. In appearance he resembles nothing so much as a friendly small-time grocer who also serves as superintendent of the local Sunday school. He is short, plump, gray, calm and soft-spoken. This deceptive placidity hides a courage and stubbornness which, during the rough, ancient days, made him one of the toughest organizers for the United Mine Workers at a time when Pennsylvania and West Virginia were industrial battlefields.

Bittner worked with John L. Lewis for a good many years. He knows the South and the problems of the South, because he spent a lot of time in organizing mine workers there. Later he was sent South to organize steel in the Birmingham area. Twenty-odd years of this brier-bush activity have made Bittner reasonably conversant with what goes and what does not go in the South. When he makes policy, he isn't guessing.

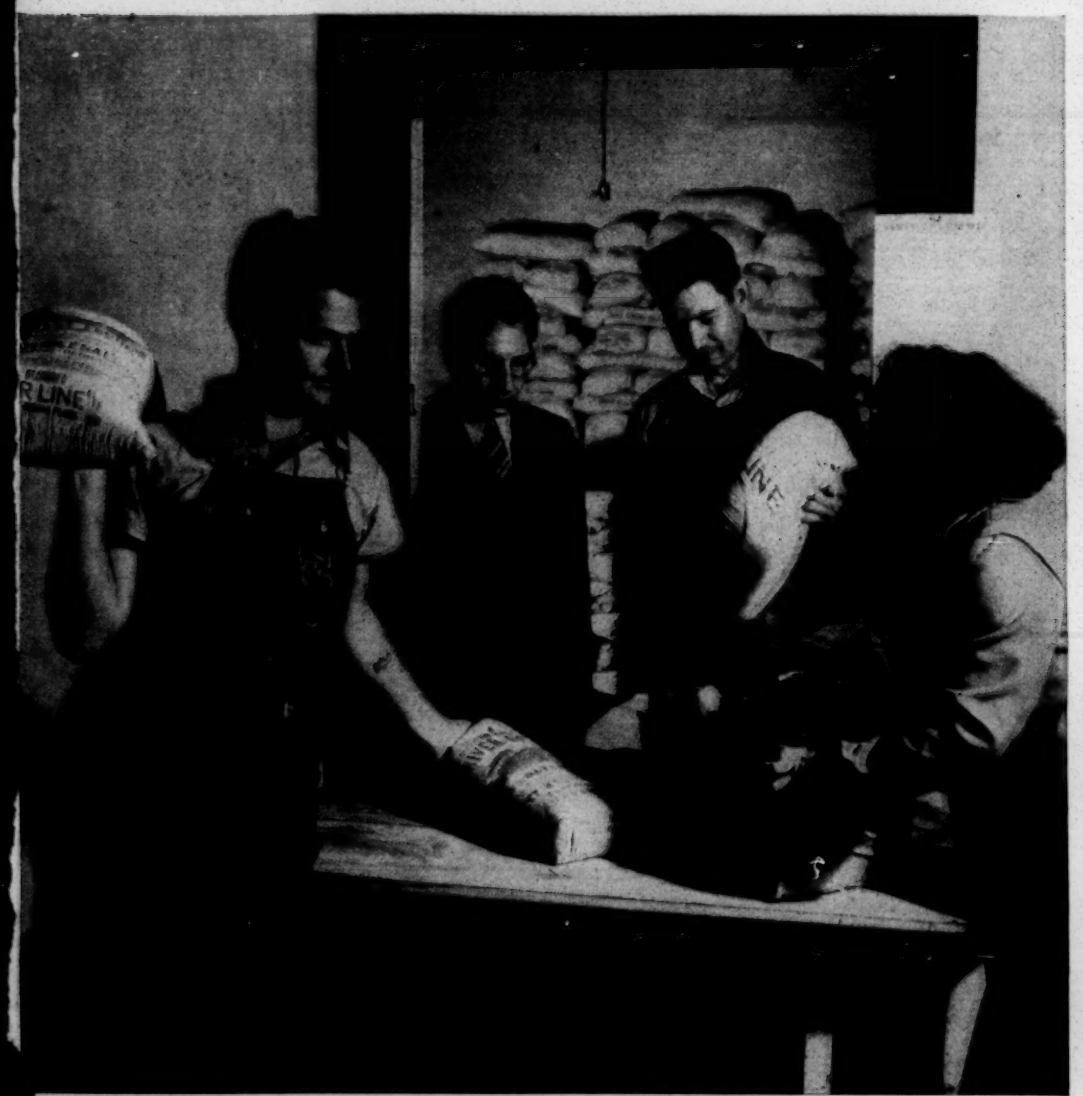
His policy thus far has created no great happiness among the leftists in the CIO. One of his first official moves was to disavow a New York movement calling itself Help Organize the South. The chairman of this group is Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Negro congressman and editor of the New York Negro paper the People's Voice. "Your so-called organization," Bittner wrote the sponsors, "has no connection with the CIO. We do not need any money. We will tolerate no interference from organizations outside the CIO." And in a press conference in Washington he was a little more brutal. "No crowd, whether Communists, Socialists or anybody else," he said, "is going to mix up in this organizing drive."

Quite aside from Bittner's personal distaste for Communists, which is real enough, there are strategic reasons for his disavowal of outside aid. Such individuals as Congressman Rankin and Senators Bilbo and Eastland have already denounced the CIO drive as a "Communist plot," and union leaders anticipate that some sections of management will make capital of the leftism which does exert power in certain *(Continued on Page 94)*

PHOTOGRAPHY BY BILL SHROUT

Shrewdly, CIO picks for organizers not Yankees but native Southerners, mostly war vets like Truman Henderson, left, shown with textile workers.

Flanked by husky assistant, campaign director Van A. Bittner, an old and tried hand at organizing, walks along Atlanta's Peachtree Street.



Quartermaster department. During strike in Griffin, Georgia, striker and wife are issued basic rations. There is plenty more where these came from.

Benign Miss Lucy Randolph Mason, of high Virginia lineage, does publicity. Her auditor is Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution.

Learning is easy. now!

DO you know that any boy or girl who can learn to typewrite, or to drive a car, *can also learn to play the piano?* Thanks to the modern method of teaching, it's practically that easy! You learn to play, by *playing*—and have *real fun* as each day brings its progress!

Ask your Story & Clark dealer for the names of your local, *modern* teachers. Ask him also to tell you how inexpensively you may soon have a gorgeous new Story & Clark piano—the most beautiful instrument in America—the piano that better dealers say is "the finest *value* in the world". See him *today*. The time of your *life* awaits you!

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Now, a mouth wash that protects breath and health, and at the same time is a joy to use! You'll like the *exhilaration* it gives—the feel of new oral cleanliness. And you'll like its economy, too—every cent goes from 2 to 4 times as far as with ordinary mouth washes. You use ¼ Lanteen Mouth Wash with ¾ water. Get 25c, 49c or 89c size at your drug store today.

See your dentist regularly.

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Pleasant and Refreshing
LANTEEN MEDICAL LABORATORIES, INC., CHICAGO 10

Soothe Pain of Sunburn This Quick Way

Remember sunburn is a real burn and should be treated at once. For quick relief apply OIL-O-SOL. It soothes, cools and comforts. Used by thousands. This effective inhibitory antiseptic is also valuable in treating mosquito, chigger—other non-venomous insect bites and minor injuries—cuts, scratches. Quickly helps relieve pain, combats infection. Only 50c at druggist's. Must satisfy you or money back. Get **Mosso's OIL-O-SOL** today.

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Dancing, walking, working, playing ... there's no better way to fresh, sweet underarm daintiness than NEVER-TEL.
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THE CIO INVADES DIXIE

(Continued from Page 12)

sections of the CIO. Communists are unpopular in the South, and Bittner and his associates want none of them.

Moreover, the feuds within the house of labor are of no particular aid to the current cause. The American Federation of Labor has announced its own membership campaign, and William Green, the president, has not too subtly suggested that the choice in unions lies between Communism and Americanism. All is not peace within the CIO itself. Despite Bittner's disavowal of their support, leftists both inside and outside the organization are hanging onto his coattails and seeking to identify themselves with the mass movement. Communists and fellow travelers are determined folk.

Bittner's policy against outside aid goes a good deal deeper than the announced quarantine on Communists. The South has never looked kindly on imported ideas of any character and it has always had a distinct aversion to anything that even smelled like dictation from the North. The late Mayor Bill Thompson made political capital out of resisting the presumed efforts of King George to invade Chicago; there is many a successful politician in Dixie who has made a happy and prosperous career out of resisting publicly the efforts of New York City to invade the South.

Bittner and his associates are hewing singly to the job of building unions, and they have no desire at the moment to undertake a crusading job on race relations. That, they think, is somebody else's wrestling match. Their stated position in regard to the Negro is that they believe in economic equality—that is, equal pay for equal jobs. The CIO charters no so-called Jim Crow unions, but this is hardly a new departure; many of the old AFL unions in the South had mixed memberships.

The careful attitude the organizers have taken in public speeches and printed material is not that national CIO has crossed Mason and Dixon's line in a punitive expedition but that the national headquarters is lending its assistance and support to the efforts of Southerners to organize the South. Leaders like Miss Lucy Randolph Mason and Noel Beddow are real assets in a campaign of this kind. White-haired Miss Mason, a cultured and charming woman who is usually referred to in labor circles as "The Little Lady," does public-relations work for the CIO; any Southern editor, however hard-boiled, will think twice before he ejects from his office a representative, as Miss Mason is, of not one but two of the first families of Virginia.

Noel Beddow is an interesting figure. He is a member of a distinguished Alabama clan; one brother is a well-known lawyer and another brother is an eminent surgeon. While earning money to attend college, Beddow joined the Pressmen's Union. Later, however, he was graduated from Washington University in St. Louis as a chemical engineer, and for twenty years was an executive in the steel industry. He invented many manufacturing processes and achieved in his plants a reputation for maintaining good labor relations. When the depression came along, he was a steel superintendent in Birmingham. His employees voluntarily took wage cuts so that the furnaces could be kept burning. Then a New York concern bought out the plant and ordered him to make what he considered further unnecessary wage reductions. He refused, and resigned.

Beddow had taken a degree in law as well as in chemical engineering. Now he set himself up in Birmingham as an attorney, and later was appointed an examiner for NRA. Beddow, the trained management man, became acutely disgusted at the low wages which were paid in many Southern mills during the depression years; and when NRA was declared unconstitutional, his conscience propelled him across the tracks. To the consternation of some of his friends, he became an organizer for the CIO. He has stuck at the job ever since. During a period at Gadsden when there was gunfire in the streets, Beddow stalked icily into the office of a local official.

"There is a well-authenticated story," he said, "that one of my assistants is to be ambushed and killed. There is a report that I'm to be killed. I'm not worried about that second story. But your job is to maintain public safety. I want to tell you—and I mean it—that I hold you personally responsible. If a single one of my people is killed, I'm coming back to this office to kill you."

Violence tapered off in Gadsden. Today union labor is represented on the city council, and CIO strength was such not long ago that Congressman Joe Starnes saw himself retired from office. Starnes went out, got himself a war record and returned to politics, but the CIO beat him again in the primaries this year. Beddow has been called to Washington to be Philip Murray's consultant on the steel industry. Few know more about it.

What many people overlook in the present organizational drive is the fact that unionization has considerable strength in the South already. The AFL is strongly represented in the crafts and building trades. As a matter of fact, the ornamental-iron workers were organized in New Orleans as early as 1840 and many of the balconies which pleasantly overlook the French Quarter were built by union labor. There were union bricklayers in lovely Charleston before the AFL or even its predecessor, the Knights of Labor, was born. But the principal growth has taken place in the last decade—much of it during the war.

CIO unions now claim a Southern membership of 300,000, virtually all of it in the manufacturing industries. Steel is solidly organized—there are only about 10,000 workers in nonunion plants—and so are the automobile workers. There is substantial representation in rubber, textiles, clothing, chemicals, meat packing and the tobacco industry. Most of the shipyards were under contract during the war, but shipbuilding now, of course, is a dying enterprise. Such cities as Atlanta, Birmingham, New Orleans, Mobile, Dallas and Houston are considered reasonably "friendly," and there are 30,000 CIO members in Memphis where Mr. Crump once said the CIO would not be allowed to light.

It was not always thus. Early battles between industry and labor were fought with bitterness and violence, and fought for keeps. In many industrial towns it was not healthy for a labor leader to put in an appearance until after dark, and in some it still isn't. Organization was strictly cloak-and-dagger stuff. Thomas L. Stokes, the syndicated columnist—himself Georgia born and raised—recalls a long trip through the rain with an organizer ten years ago: the target was a union meeting at Clinton, Tennessee, just nineteen miles from Knoxville.

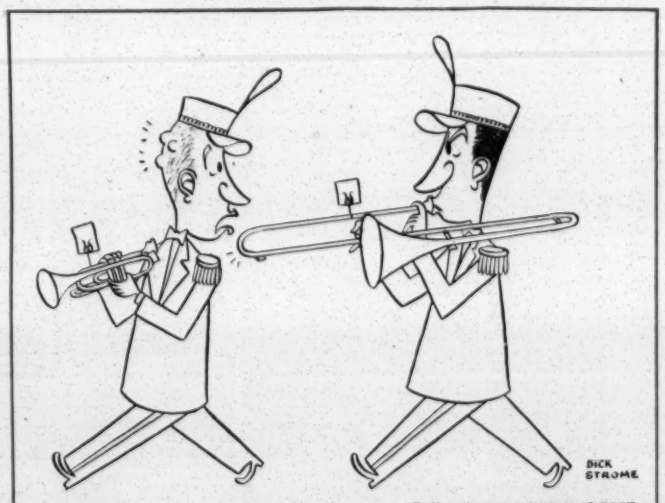
At Clinton they met blank looks when they asked the whereabouts of Volunteer Hall, where the meeting was to be held. Finally a young man looked them over carefully and said, "If you're going to the union meeting, you can follow my car." A mile out of town he turned off and led them along a slippery mud road through the woods; Volunteer Hall, it quickly developed, was a cockfighting club. The new union had been denied permission to use the school or the courthouse, but the cockfighting club, always illegitimate, had been more hospitable.

There in the cockpit, a minister of the gospel read the American Constitution to prove that they had a legal right to assemble, and quoted from the Bible and a bulletin of the Federal Council of Churches to prove that membership in a labor union was not a sin. The minister was the Rev. T. B. (Scotty) Cowan, a Presbyterian dominie who had driven from Chattanooga.

A large part of the South's industrial labor, in the past and even now, is made up of emigrants from unprofitable hill farms. In 1944, a rip-snorting, Government-financed boom year, the average income in the Southeastern states, which include all Southern states except Texas and Oklahoma, was $722. It was $1459 in the Far West, $1333 in the Middle East, $1192 in the Middle West and $867 in the Southwest. Without war industry in the South, there would have been a much greater disparity. Hundreds of war plants were erected there. Even Mississippi, once an almost completely rural area, is now highly industrialized.

The South has very painful memories of the depression years. Farm prices were poor and many towns dozing in the sun decided they must have industry if they were to survive. Chambers of commerce, town councils, civic organizations and governors vied with one another in attempting to lure Northern industry south. The standard argument, however rosily put, was: people here will work for less. And indeed they did. In Mississippi and Tennessee and Georgia, towns passed bond issues and built factories for Northern

(Continued on Page 97)



THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

"Look, how was I to know she was your girl!"

(Continued from Page 94)

carpetbaggers to occupy. Sometimes the factories were paid for by deducting 5 or 6 per cent weekly from the wages of the help. The towns often promised industry exemption from taxes for five or ten years and free electric power, and usually gave the factory the land site as well as the building, hoping to get rich on the pay roll.

Few towns did get rich, because the pay roll frequently was not big enough; wages of four, five and six dollars a week do not add up to municipal prosperity. Decent Southern industry was infuriated; many of the plant owners, particularly in textiles, had continued to pay NRA wages even after the collapse of NRA. Now they were faced with Captain Kidd competition, for the black flag rather than prosperity was what many of the wooed companies had brought south.

The CIO believes that not only workers but a good many people of divers occupations must be sold on the merits of the cause if the present organizational drive is to succeed. Their argument, which is being advanced in paid newspaper advertising, over the radio, before civic clubs and any groups willing to listen, is that if wartime prosperity is to be maintained in the South, it must be through a high-wage economy. Briefly, their argument is this: if the worker makes good money, benefits will accrue to the butcher, the baker, the candlestick maker, the milliner, the *corsetière* and the building fund of the church.

"No mere statistics or pious hopes will end low wages," reports the Economic Outlook, published monthly by CIO. "Southern workers must do the job themselves by joining powerful nation-wide unions which reject the idea that workers in one section of the country must be doomed to live on a lower wage level than their fellows elsewhere."

That is warm rhetoric, but CIO strategy is cold. It is an axiom of any campaign that it pays to have some early victories. The textile industry, 80 per cent of which is now in the South, is CIO's first objective. It is a prosperous industry which seems to be headed for several years more of prosperity. Have you tried to buy white shirts or ladies' stockings recently? In the Carolinas, the CIO already has many organized mills. The Textile Workers Union has 125,000 workers in the South; it estimates its possible membership there at 625,000.

Men who should know say that the Textile Workers Union is efficiently organized, and is run by some of the ablest men at work in union activities. Emil Rieve—pronounced Reevay—the president, is generally credited with being more familiar with the technical problems of the diverse industry than most men high in management. Polish-born—he still speaks with a slight accent—he brought most of his union out of the AFL into the CIO when the newer organization was created. George Baldanzi, who was born of Italian parents and spent his boyhood in the Pennsylvania coal mines, is vice-president of the Textile Workers and their representative on the CIO organization committee. He has now established headquarters in the South.

Rieve, like Walter Reuther of the Automobile Workers, James Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO, Sherman Dalrymple, of the Rubber Workers, and most of the leaders who are serving with Bittner in the Southern drive, is a bitter enemy of Communist influence in the labor movement. Written into the constitution of the Textile Workers Union is a provision that no member of the Communist Party or of Communist, Nazi or Fascist organizations can hold office in locals or subordinate organizations.

It is generally agreed that labor will get some early victories in textiles, for plants believed ready to drop off the bough have been strategically chosen for the concentration of effort.

Contrary to the opinion of the average outside observer, boom times rather than bad times furnish the better opportunity for organizing a factory. It is true that there are fewer inequities then, but it seems to be equally true that employers, with the public's impatient dollars in mind, are less likely to become stubborn about a matter of economic principle. This is particularly true now in the textile industry. The shortages in such articles as stockings and shirts and cotton dresses have already impelled many department-store chains to buy in their own mills in order to assure themselves of supplies. They want that market, and some of them won't permit a little item like a union contract to stand in the way. They'll sign.

No. 2 on the CIO agenda is the lumber industry. This includes woodworking, which has made much progress in recent years. The new uses of plywood have put many people to work and the manufacture of paper from slash pine is now important to the South. Lumber is largely unorganized, and it presents social problems. The textile industries are manned—and womaned—mostly by white skilled labor. Lumber has a heavy percentage of Negro labor. A quick look at traditional prejudice easily satisfies the neutral observer that lumber will be the tougher ear to shuck.

At the bottom of the lumber industry are the turpentine and seastores plantations and the sawmills. Often they are marginal operations, able to survive only by paying low wages. Some of these will be strategically by-passed, for there is no worse advertisement for a labor union than a strike which kills a town's one industry, and which, as the old axiom has it, changes low wages into no wages. One veteran Southern organizer shook his head dubiously about efforts to unionize small sawmills. "Sawmills are just as migrant as migrant labor," he said. "Every time you see three trees, there's a little ole mail-order sawmill there to cut 'em down."

Despite the fact that they no longer speak as they pass by, the CIO is in debt to John L. Lewis for the high-hat-and-tailcoat tactics which it is using in the present drive. It was surly John who ended the tradition of locating union headquarters in a shabby neighborhood, with dirty windows and a floor decorated with overworked spittoons. In the steel-organizing drive, Lewis obtained some of the most luxurious office space in Pittsburgh. He hired the best and highest-priced lawyers. His idea was to impress the community with the idea that the unions were as rich and respectable, and as solvent and powerful, as bankers and big business. He called it, without irony, "instilling confidence," and it was his theory that labor won more battles in rich raiment than when it was thin and ragged.

The drive in the South has exemplified other departures in method. There was stark, almost classic simplicity about union organizing in the old days. Often the decision was resolved purely on the issue of whether management or labor had the larger and more bloodthirsty goons. CIO, however, moved into Dixie with an entourage reminiscent of a visiting trade delegation. There were not only sturdy young men strong of wind, to tramp the factory towns, but there were economists, business analysts and technical experts.

The lawyers are home-grown, strictly top-shelf. Their function is to know all possible about the business of vastly variegated industries, their technical problems, their profits, their credit standings and, if possible, their bank balances. CIO expects to make mistakes, but it doesn't want to make too many mistakes, as this is not considered healthy practice.

Whether or not the CIO is successful, and however energetically it strives, the real villain or hero of the present situation—depending upon which side you espouse—is the National Labor Relations Act, usually known as the Wagner Act. Without it, most authorities agree, the present campaign would have been impossible of success. The Wagner Act forbids employers engaged in interstate commerce to interfere with workers joining a union of their choice and from discriminating against them, once they have joined. Management complains that the law is, in many respects, tyrannical and one-sided—that for instance, a labor organizer may freely advocate unionism, but that if management attempts to present its case, its act is outlawed as coercion.

What are the chances of sweeping successes for the CIO in its highly publicized drive? It's hard to say. National economic conditions will have a lot to do with the outcome; the CIO is betting its blue chips that the era of free spending and consumer demand will continue for a considerable period. An early postwar relapse might mean defeat. Aiding labor is the fact that the South has already been cracked, and that many men and women returning from war industry to prewar jobs are convinced of the value of union backing in industrial disputes. Other partisans may be war veterans, glad to be home, but impatient of the old tempo and anxious to wake up the South by whatever means at hand.

The problems of organization will be really tough in the nonunion plants which are equitably and fairly run, and there are a good many of them

(Continued on Page 99)

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I, TOO

By Elma Dean

Out of the long blue flight
  Into the south,
I have fallen, twisting, to earth,
  Blood taste in my mouth.

Caught by a small furred foot,
  I have gnawed my own bone.
Or thirsted to death where a
    stream
  Sang over a stone.

I have died on a grassy hill
  Swiftly at dawn,
With never a parting nudge
  For my doe and her fawn.

I have been each limp thing
  Borne to man's lair—
The broken dove and the buck
  And the crumpled hare.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

(Continued from Page 97)

these days. Many of the unorganized mills have met the sixty-five-cent hourly minimum which the Textile Workers Union was able to obtain in some of its recent contracts. An example of the type of mills where inroads may be difficult is the Comer chain in Alabama. McDonald Comer, former president of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers, paid NRA wages or better throughout the dark days. His company has unemployment insurance, pays the sixty-five-cent minimum and has had a profit-sharing plan in operation for a number of years. This provides that out of earnings stockholders first get 5 per cent on invested capital and thereafter earnings are divided half for the company and half for the employees. Since 1941, $2,000,000 have been paid to employees. These represented, in three recent monthly periods, wage increases of 8, 14 and 19 per cent.

Comer has gone on record as supporting pending Federal legislation which would provide a national-minimum-wage rate of sixty-five cents, with provision for raising it later to seventy-five cents. As a representative of management on War Labor Board panels, he stood steadfastly against maintenance-of-membership contracts between unions and industry.

"I think that any program that seeks to benefit any great group of people like the textile workers of the South," he said on a recent occasion, "should not come with a program of 'my way only.' I think that as long as we are human, there should be at least two ways. There should certainly be a way for a man to work without being a member of a dues-paying union. And I think that, as the two ways go along side by side, natural competition will tend to develop the best in both ways and will lead us on to still better ways."

It is from a political and historical aspect that the present struggle takes on added significance. There is a considerable group in the South which has long been weary of the tight dominance of ancient political machines. Some of these people, neither prounion nor antiunion, are making common cause with the storm which has come out of the North. They seek, by allying themselves with its strength, to bring about the changes they believe necessary for the political health of their section.

Perhaps the changes are inevitable. Such Southern editors as Harry M. Ayers, of Anniston, Alabama, Jennings Perry, of Nashville, Virginius Dabney, of Richmond, Mark Ethridge, of Louisville, and many others, have thundered for years in their columns that voting restrictions intended to keep Negroes from the polls were effectively disenfranchising large blocs of white people as well. The two-year-old decision of the Supreme Court that Negroes were entitled to vote in hitherto white Democratic primaries in Texas has had its effect. Negroes are voting in primaries now in a number of areas.

If large advances are made in unionization, the effect on the South, it is generally agreed, will be profound. For while the CIO professes that the present drive is purely "economic," it is committed publicly to a policy of political activity. It likes to defeat its enemies and support its friends.

Operation Dixie will not play a particularly important part in this year's congressional elections. It is worth noting, however, that two Texas congressmen faced with CIO opposition decided not to stand for re-election; and that the CIO beat Congressman Pat Cannon, of Florida, in the primaries. The Alabama primaries were about a standoff. While the CIO did eliminate former Congressman Starnes, its blessings didn't prevent Congressman Luther Patrick from losing to a newcomer named Laurie C. Battle, who is a war veteran. CIO-endorsed James E. Folsom won the gubernatorial nomination, but Folsom made a point of saying that he had not sought the endorsement, and it is doubtful that the gratuitous CIO label influenced the result one way or the other.

The year 1948 may be a fateful one for the Democratic Party and the South. If the CIO achieves substantial progress, it may be able, in alliance with insurgent and on-the-make political groups, to unseat enough of the old-line members of the House of Representatives to change the whole character of the Southern delegation. This is not quite so formidable an assignment as it would first appear. Several times this year, as Harry Truman could testify, the swing of twenty-five votes in the House of Representatives would have meant victory instead of defeat for Administration measures.

A poll of objective Southern newspapermen indicates that it is not at all impossible that a labor-insurgent coalition, concentrating its strength in carefully chosen areas, could turn the trick two years from now. THE END

PHONE 3-3697

UNITED TOBACCO WORKERS LOCAL 22

AFFILIATED WITH FOOD, TOBACCO, AGRICULTURAL AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA

247 1-2 NORTH MAIN STREET CIO WINSTON-SALEM 3, N. C.

RECEIVED SEP 19 1946 Southern Regional Council

September 12, 1946.

Dear Friend,

Because of your interest in Civil Rights we are sending you a report of the police attack on the Piedmont picket lines in the Piedmont Leaf Tobacco and the Winston Leaf Tobacco strike here. This strike has been in progress since July 22nd.

The workers in these plants have an average yearly wage of $800 which means $15 weekly wage average. They are asking, among other things, for a 65¢ minimum wage and elimination of the 14 week exemption period. The companies flatly refused to meet the needs of their workers and offered them a 2¢ and 5¢ wage increase. The union has proposed that the strike issues be arbitrated but the companies again flatly refused.

These workers, many of whom are the sole support of their families, are determined to win better wages and conditions for themselves and other leaf workers. The strikes involve all Negro leaf tobacco workers - the lowest paid in the nation. The defeat of this strike would be a body blow to the successful campaign now sweeping the leaf tobacco belt to bring organization to 30,000 of these workers.

It is important that these workers not be starved or intimidated into going back to work but that the strike issues be settled on a fair and just basis.

We appreciate your interest and all the support you can give.

Sincerely,

Clark Sheppard,
Robert Black,
Vice-chairmen, Local 22.

REPORT ON CASE OF POLICE ATTACK
AND FRAME-UP OF WINSTON-SALEM TOBACCO STRIKERS

United Tobacco Workers, Local #22, CIO, is issuing the following report of facts in this case because we believe the facts will show that the fundamental liberties of all unions and their members are involved and that a dangerous precedent may be set by the Police of Winston-Salem. We also know that once the Police attack the liberties of unions the destruction of liberty for all people follows unless it is checked.

On September 3rd in the City Court of Winston-Salem, Judge Leroy Sams sentenced Margaret DeGraffenried to 90 days on the County Farm; Betty Keel Williams to 30 days suspended sentence for two years; Cal Jones to 8 months on the County Road and Philip Koritz, Director of Local #22 to 6 months on the County Road on charges of resisting arrest.

These arrests were the result of a planned and unprovoked Police attack on the picket line of the striking workers of the Piedmont Leaf Tobacco Company on August 23rd.

The 1,500 workers of Piedmont and Winston Leaf Companies have been on strike since the last week in July. The workers are solidly 100% behind the strike for a 65¢ minimum wage, overtime after forty hours and a Union shop. Up until the August 23rd attack by the Police, not one act of violence had occurred and the workers had allowed maintenance work to continue in the plants, letting company trucks used for this purpose to cross the picket lines.

Before the August 23rd attack the Police had on several occasions attempted to provoke trouble. On August 20th at Winston Leaf the police broke the picket line for a truck load of pipe and threatened to crack heads despite the fact that another unpicketed entrance had been left open for just such use. On August 21st the Police broke the picket line at Piedmont for a full truck load of lumber which unloaded three pieces of lumber and then drove out again. This was deliberate provocation. After seeing that the Police were trying to turn a peaceful strike into a riot, Union representatives held a conference with Police Captain Barlow in charge of Police on the strike. An agreement was reached that the Police would not interfere unless someone insisted on crossing the picket line after the pickets had talked to the person, in which case they would ask the picket captains to move the line.

However, the Police provocation continued and on the morning of August 23rd, Koritz called Governor Cherry and requested that he use his influence to prevent the Winston-Salem Police from creating a tense situation.

On Friday evening, August 23rd, around 4:00 P.M., seven carlods of Police, newspapermen and photographers appeared on the scene in front of the Piedmont tobacco plant. Before this there had never been more than four Police on duty there. Nothing had occurred on the picket line to indicate violence. Later the police said

they had been called by the Company. Sometime after the police appeared, a bulldozer drove up in front of one of the gates. The pickets talked to the driver. The driver agreed to leave. At this point the Police moved in on the pickets, led by Police Chief Gold. This was the first time Gold had ever been on the picket line. The pickets were pushed and roughed up. Betty Keel Williams was pushed so hard that $2.00 in change dropped out of her pocket. She stooped over to pick up her money and was arrested. Margaret DeGraffenried was grabbed and thrown into a Police car and slapped, bruised and cut by the police to such an extent that she had to report to the hospital the next day. After the Police attack, Koritz was called out of a Union meeting to the picket line. He arrived in time to see three Police holding Cal Jones on the ground by twisting his arm. Jones was an onlooker and an R. J. Reynolds worker. He was told to move back by the Police and when he could not because of the crowd, he was arrested. When Koritz saw what was happening to Jones, he protested the action of the Police and asked them to "give the man a break"? One officer said "this is none of your damned business" and raised his club. Koritz grabbed the club to keep either himself or Jones from being hit. Both men were then arrested.

Those arrested were jailed for several hours with no charges placed against them and denied the right to bond or counsel. They were finally released that night after Koritz had told Governor Cherry in a phone conversation that he knew that if they were released, the crowd which had gathered at the picket line would disperse and go home. Koritz upon his release made a talk to the workers in the street which was a main factor in preserving peace in the community that night.

The subsequent court trial and severe sentences against these people who had committed no crime was "Boss" justice in a community dominated by the Reynolds Tobacco Company.

Local #22 calls upon all who believe in democracy and the constitutional liberties of labor and the people to

1. Wire resolutions and individual protests to Winston-Salem Police Chief Gold against the action of the Police. Send copies to Governor Cherry of North Carolina, Mayor Lentz of Winston-Salem and to Local 22.

2. We need contributions for the Defense and Relief of striking leaf house tobacco workers.

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Issued by: United Tobacco Workers, Local #22, FTA-CIO, 247½ N. Main Street,
Winston-Salem, N. C.

CIO ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
Public Relations Department
79½ Poplar St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga.
May 27, 1947

RECEIVED
MAY 28 1947
Southern Regional Council

For Immediate Release

NEW ORLEANS, La., May ---Mothers' Day was much more than that to the mothers of Marrero, La., according to Louisiana CIO Director Fred Pieper.

On that day, May 11, an emergency hospital for the Louisiana "West Bank" towns of Marrero, Gretna, Harvey, Algiers and Westwego was dedicated.

The hospital for this area, where there had been no hospital before, was the direct result of efforts by the CIO there, Director Pieper said. "This was just another example of CIO's 'Operation Dixie' that was outside of organizing and an asset to the community," he declared.

"While the CIO has been busily engaged in organizing the unorganized workers in the South, the already functioning CIO unions have not been sitting back resting on their laurels.

"A good example is Local 179, United Chemical Workers, the union at the huge Celotex plant in Marrero, La.,"Pieper said. "Marrero is located on the west bank of the Mississippi across from New Orleans.

"Marrero, like other west bank communities - Gretna, Harvey, Algiers and Westwego - had no hospital. The only way to reach New Orleans' hospitals is by ferry--a delay that has proved fatal in many emergency cases. So, Local 179 decided to do something about it. With Lloyd Gomez, a member of the local serving as general chairman of a committee, they set out to enlist the aid of civic clubs, merchants associations, schools and public officials in a campaign to raise funds for a real emergency unit.

"The one they wanted would cost between eight and 10 thousand dollars. It would contain an iron lung, oxygen tanks, fire fighting equipment, generators for operating a series of flood lights, fire hose and water pumps, acetylene torch and two-way radio, all on a 2½ ton truck.

"The drive was a success. The formal dedication of the unit was held May 11 (Mothers' Day) in an impressive ceremony at Marrero High School stadium, with the mayors of the several communities and all of the political leaders participating.

MORE

"Another instance of real public service is the action of Local 5, Southern Fur Trappers in St. Mary's parish. For years it has been the custom for the children of fur trappers to accompany their parents to the trapping grounds during the season - November to February - with the result that they lost several months of school. This had been deplored, but until the trappers organized into a union, nothing was done about it.

"One of the first things the new local did was to petition the State Board of Education for a summer school. The union was joined by the Morgan City Rotary Club. With the strength of 450 members of Local 5 behind the petition, the school fathers granted the request and the children of the trappers now have a two-month summer school for their exclusive use.

"The story is the same all over, wherever there is a CIO union the community finds a force for good ready to back any project that will benefit the population as a whole.

"The more than 40,000 members of CIO in Louisiana have been negotiating better contracts, and thereby helping to raise the standard of living, and putting their collective shoulders to the wheel on community and civic projects - all in an effort to make this a better place in which to live."

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For Immediate Release

ATLANTA, Ga., May ---The CIO Organizing Committee has won more National Labor Relations Board elections in Texas than in any other state, Director Van A. Bittner of the Committee reported today.

"We have won NLRB recognition for 65 new local unions in Texas since our Southern membership campaign started last summer," Bittner said.

"We have set up more new locals for the International Woodworkers of America than for any other union--a total of 75."

Bittner reported election victories were divided among the states as follows:

Texas	65	Mississippi	35
North Carolina	57	Virginia	32
Tennessee	53	Louisiana	28
Alabama	44	South Carolina	21
Arkansas	36	Florida	15

MORE

Georgia.....36 TOTAL 422

Election victories for the various CIO unions include:

International Woodworkers of America.....75

Food, Tobacco and Allied Workers.....63

United Steelworkers of America.....40

Textile Workers Union of America.....35

United Automobile Workers.....21

United Furniture Workers.....21

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.....20

Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Employes.....17

Amalgamated Clothing Workers.....16

Oil Workers International Union.....15

Packinghouse Workers.....13

Stone & Allied Products Workers.....13

United Paper Workers.....11

United Chemical Workers..... 8

Transport Workers..... 8

United Rubber Workers..... 5

Brewery Workers..... 5

A number of other CIO unions won from one to five elections each.

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For Immediate Release

BILOXI, Miss., May ---Leaders of the CIO Organizing Committee decided at a meeting here the past weekend to make a drive for the establishment of more volunteer organizing committees throughout the South.

Van A. Bittner, Committee director, reported approximately 1,000 volunteers are now working in close co-operation with the Committee's field staff.

"We would like to have a volunteer organizing committee in every local CIO union in the South that is in a town where we are going to conduct a membership drive," Bittner said.

The volunteers, members of established CIO unions, are expected to spend about 10 hours a month working with the Committee's organizers.

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SUMMARY OF CASE FOR WAGE INCREASES FOR ATLANTA

SCHOOL CUSTODIAL EMPLOYEES, presented by

Local 736

United Public Workers of America

C.I.O.

75 Ivy St. N. E., Atlanta

June 10, 1947

Who are the school custodial employees?

The employees represented by Local 736 on a majority basis are a group of about 250 workers, half of whom are maids, and the other half custodians, maintenance men, and the like.

This group of 250 people are important to the city and the people of Atlanta. They have custody, care, and every-day responsibility for $13,000,000 worth of school property. This trust involves not only this great public investment, but even more important, the safety, cleanly building conditions, and convenience of 60,000 children and 1,500 teachers.

The record shows that this group of school custodial employees have discharged their trust and performed their tasks well and faithfully. At this time, during the crucial period of reconditioning all the schools for the next school year, and especially of reconverting to the new community school program, the school custodial employees are being heavily relied upon to carry out tasks indispensable to the school system and the public.

Such a group deserves from the public, and the public's agent in this case, the Board of Education, fair and just treatment, adequate living wages, and a sincere consideration for their welfare as employees. Such an approach to the problems of the employees will benefit the school system and the public fully as much as it will benefit the employees --in better health and morale of the employees, a greater sense of stake in the job, and the resulting heightened work performance.

The present condition of the school custodial employees.

Briefly summarized, the present critical economic plight of the school custodial employees, is as follows:

School maids receive $40 to $60 a month, working a 5 1/2 day week. This contrasts with $76 a month, the legal minimum wage under Federal law for any private industry in or affecting interstate commerce. It contrasts with $75 to %82 a month paid to maids (or women building cleaners) in other City departments of Atlanta; and with $74 a month average for women building cleaners in private office buildings in Atlanta.(U.S.Bur.Labor Statistics)

Negro elementary school custodians receive $106 to $135 a month. This contrasts with $132 to $135 received by White elementary school custodians; with a $134 entrance rate for the least skilled common labor hired by City departments in Atlanta; with a $156 average for common foundry labor in the Southeast.

White elementary school custodians receive $132 to $165 a month. This contrasts with $145 to $178 for semi-skilled workers of Atlanta City departments; with $164 to $196 for meter readers of the City of Atlanta; with the $169 entrance rate for truck drivers of the City government; and with $176 government estimate of minimum health and decency family budget, adjusted for cost of living increases.

Negro High School custodians receive $113 to $140 a month. This contrasts with $140 to $183 for White High School custodians, and with other comparisons mentioned above.

White High School custodians receive $140 to 183 a month. This contrasts with $184 to $196 for Atlanta City sewer flushers; with $186 to $206 for pumping plant stokermen of the Atlanta city government; with $212 to $238 for Atlanta City auto mechanics; and with $251 for various journeyman building trades workers in the City's employ. Finally it contrasts with the $320 median pay of such custodians in 84 cities over 100,000 surveyed by the National Education Association.

Long pages could be written on the significance of these comparisons. Suffice it so say in this summary, that the school maids (or building cleaners) deserve as good wages as other City departments pay, as private industry pays, as the minimum required by law of private industry. Negro elementary and High School custodians should be paid the same as white, on the principle embodied in the Board's own minutes, of equal pay for equal work, without discrimination on account of race, creed, or color. Elementary school custodials should be paid at least the amount necessary for family health and decency. High school custodians, with the great responsibilities they carry, and with the long experience required for appointment to High Schools, certainly deserve the journeyman rates for skilled labor, for the are skilled in the work of operating and safeguarding buildings worth hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Some examples of the serious hardships created by the present pay rates of school custodial employees may assist the Board in arriving at a just and reasonable conclusion. The great majority of all school custodial employees are supporting families or dependents. Many of these workers have never been able to buy fresh milk for their children. The vast majority of all the school custodial employees have to work up to 40 hours a week on outside jobs in order to live. Entirely aside from the unfairness of this condition, it is detrimental to the school system, for it necessarily impairs the efficiency of the employees on their main job in the schools.

Most of the school custodial employees were unable to buy War Bonds, although they wanted to; and likewise, most are unable to save. Many of the maids are forced by the circumstance of their low pay, to resort to loan companies for cash to eat on, thus further depleting their meager resources.

Any person with a family who is willing to give a little serious consideration to the actual human meaning of the wages paid to school custodial employees, will realize the hardship and distress involved.

What we are asking.

Our requests are moderate. They are not inflated for "bargaining" purposes. They represent a bed-rock minimum of need. They are:

$ 20. a month increase for all school custodial employees.

$1 an hour for overtime for men.

75 cents an hour for overtime for the maids.

The reasonableness of these requests.

The comparisons above in themselves demonstrate that we are not asking for anything out of line. On the contrary, we are

merely asking that school custodial employees be brought into line with other groups of city workers and comparable workers in private industry in Atlanta and this area.

The increase requested amounts to about 10 cents an hours. This is not an extreme request. Many groups have recently received larger increases:

Textile workers	10 cents
Steel workers	12.5 cents
Carpenters	15 cents
Ga. Power Co.	12.7 cents
And many other groups.	

The cost of living has increased 60% since December 1940; and these employees have received 32.5% in increases.

Food has risen over 100% in Atlanta; and in low-income families, food is the greatest element of the budget.

The ability of the Board to grant the requests.

The requested increases would cost less that $60,000 per year to grant.

This is not a sum beyond the power of the Board to appropriate for this justifiable purpose.

The surplus of receipts by the Board in 1946 over operating expenses was over $700,000, which was carried over into this year's operating fund. Estimates by City authorities anticipate even greater tax recepts this year, which means that the Board will be having greater operating revenues than last year. There can be no question that the Board can well afford to make the adjustments requested.

High paid officials should not get all the increases.

In recent months very substantial salary increases have been granted to various City officials. Among these are:

City Council Members	$100 to $150 per month
City Recorders	$5000 to $6000 per year
Chief of Construction	$6000 to $7000 per year
Deputy Recorder	$300 to $350 per month
Building Inspector	$4500 to $5000 per year
Mayor	$10,000 to $12,750 per year
Personnel Director	$4500 to $6000 per year
Board of Education	$50 to $100 per month.
And others...	

We do not question the justice of these increases, least of all the 100% increase received by the Board of Education, all of whom are men of affairs with independent sources of income, and for whom service on the Board is primarily a public service, although at the same time a source of extra income.

Our only point is: what is good for these officials, and fair for them, is only fair and just for low-paid employees of the city. The justification of the increases granted to the officials have even greater weight in the case of lower-paid employees.

Conclusion.

The Union, Local 736 of the United Public Workers of America, C.I.O. presents these requests with the earnest hope that the Board of Education will see their merit and reasonableness. Our Union is fully conscious, as we feel it our duty to be, of the public interest. We are convinced that the granting of our requests will advance the public interest, and improve the school system.

SUMMARY OF FACTS

Item No.	$ per month	Meaning of figure
** 1	40 - 60	Wages of Atlanta School maids (women building cleaners), full time, 5 1/2 day week.
2	60 - 160	Range of wages for women building cleaners in public agencies surveyed by Mr. Carl Sutherland, Sept. 1946.
3	74	Average wages of women building cleaners, private office buildings, Atlanta, Jan. 1947, per U.S.Bur.Labor Statistics.
4	75 - 82	Range of wages of women building cleaners, City of Atlanta buildings, other than the School Department.
5.	76	Minimum wage required by Federal law for private industries in or affecting interstate commerce (hourly minimum converted to monthly figure for 5 1/2 day week)
6	76	Average wages of women building cleaners in private office buildings, Charlotte, N.C., per B.L.S., Jan. 1947.
7	80 - 83	General average for domestic servants, Atlanta, plus meals and carfare.
8	80 - 130	Range of wages for women building cleaners in private industries surveyed by Mr. Carl Sutherland, Sept. 1946.
9	82	Average wages of women building cleaners in private office buildings, Chattanooga, per B. L. S., Jan. 1947.
10	83	Same, Birmingham and Richmond
11	85	Same, Knoxville
** 12	106 - 135	Range of wages of Negro Elementary School custodians, Atlanta.
** 13	132 - 165	Range of wages of White Elementary School custodians, Atlanta.
14	134	Entrance rate for unskilled laborers, City of Atlanta.
** 15	140 - 183	Range of wages for White High School Custodians, Atlanta
	(113 - 140)	Negro High School custodians, Atlanta
16	145	Entrance rate, Guard, City of Atlanta.
17	145 - 165	Laborer, City of Atlanta
18	145 - 178	Semi-skilled worker, City of Atlanta
19	156	Common foundry labor, Southeast, B.L.S.
20	158 - 183	Sewage Plant Operator I, City of Atlanta (Equivalent to Custodian I, Elementary)
21	164 - 183	Pumping plant stokerman, City of Atlanta
22	164 - 196	Meter reader, City of Atlanta

SUMMARY

Item	$ per month	Meaning of figure
23	165	Building laborers; private industry, Atlanta, May 1947
24	170	Truck driver, entrance rate, City of Atlanta.
25	172 - 203	Equipment Operator II, City of Atlanta.
26	176	Minimum health and decency budget, B.L.S. 1943, adjusted for cost-of-living changes to March 1947.
27	184 - 196	Sewer Flusher, City of Atlanta
28	186 - 206	Pumping Plant Stokerman II City of Atlanta
29	190 - 240	Sewage Plant Operator II City of Atlanta
30	212 - 238	Auto Mechanic II City of Atlanta
31	251	Plasterer, brick mason, plumber, City of Atlanta
32	320	Median salary for equivalent of Custodian II, 1946-47, in 84 cities over 100,000 surveyed by National Education Association

Important

CIO ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
Public Relations Department
79½ Poplar St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga.
June 12, 1947

For Release to Newspapers and Radio Stations

Sunday Morning, June 15. Please Observe Release Date

ATLANTA, Ga., June 15---CIO membership in the South has increased approximately 70 per cent during the past year, Director Van A. Bittner of the CIO Organizing Committee announced today.

"The Congress of Industrial Organizations had approximately 400,000 members in the Southern states when the CIO launched its Southern membership campaign last summer," Bittner said. "Now the CIO has about 680,000 members in the South.

"We have made splendid progress, especially when you consider the opposition we have met and the large amount of time required to recruit and train our organizing staff.

"We feel that our gains in the future will be greater than those in the past, because we now have a smoothly functioning field staff and more than 1,000 volunteer organizers. We also have well-established CIO unions in regions in which the CIO was virtually unknown before our arrival. An example of the latter can be found at Laurel, Miss., where there were no CIO members a year ago and where nearly 6,000 are now working under CIO contracts."

Bittner, reporting on the CIO Organizing Committee's first year of operation, said that "a large amount of time during the last half of 1946 was required to establish and equip offices throughout the South and to make first-rate organizers out of men and women who had been working in plants and mills until hired by the Committee."

Bittner said that National Labor Relations Board elections "can be used to measure only a part of our success in the South."

"The CIO has won about 500 NLRB elections in the South during the past year," he said. "Most of these, naturally, resulted from campaigns conducted by the Committee. Some resulted from drives that started before the Committee was organized. Some were won with assistance from the Committee and some by the various international unions without Committee aid.

"The CIO has signed up a majority of the employes of about 275 Southern plants at which elections have not yet been held. Most of these groups have functioning local unions although they have not yet received official NLRB recognition.

MORE

"We have healthy pluralities in about 150 additional plants, and membership in perhaps 100 others at which organization work was started recently.

"And we have been accorded bargaining rights in a dozen or more plants without going through the formality of NLRB elections."

Bittner said the organizing drive has had "a very healthful effect" on the old CIO unions of the South.

"Our gain in membership in new local unions has been accompanied by good gains in the old locals," he said. "This has resulted from the enthusiasm engendered by our campaign and from work done by the volunteer organizing committees that we helped establish.

"It is impossible to accurately measure the economic benefits gained by Southern workers as a direct result of our drive--but they are large. Contracts negotiated by our new unions brought higher pay and improved working conditions to thousands. Unorganized workers gained much, too, because many employers attempted to discourage membership in the CIO by granting their workers wage raises equal to those won by our unions through negotiation."

Bittner charged that a large portion of the textile industry "has engaged in wholesale violation of the Wagner Act." He said some textile manufacturers have even gone so far as to blacklist employes fired illegally for union activity.

"Many textile mill owners and operators have preached hate and played on race and religious prejudice in an effort to keep their employes out of the CIO," he said. "A large number of them have engaged in the worst type of intimidation and coercion--in direct violation of Federal law.

"It is interesting to note, in contrast, that employers in other industries have in slowly increasing numbers granted union recognition without the necessity of NLRB elections or have agreed to elections without delay and without hearings before the NLRB. This means an increasing number of employers are living by the spirit as well as by the letter of the Federal law which guarantees workers the right to form unions without undue interference from employers."

Bittner said 19 CIO organizers and local union leaders have been physically assaulted during the campaign, that two were shot at and their car set afire, and that dynamite was set off at two meeting places in an effort to keep workers from organizing. MORE

"There have been numerous cases in which the civil rights of our representatives and local leaders have been violated--and several towns enacted unconstitutional city ordinances in an effort to impede our work.

"Our attorney, Jerome Cooper, has won acquittal for every CIO representative arrested on charges of violating these city ordinances, usually by getting the prosecutor or presiding judge to declare the ordinances unconstitutional. (The ordinances provided large license fees for labor organizers and prohibited distribution of leaflets.)

"Miss Lucy Mason, CIO public relations representative, has been able to get most of the 'civil rights situations' straightened out quickly--usually by calling on local law enforcement officers and insisting that they protect the rights every citizen is guaranteed by the Federal Government."

Bittner said he thought CIO progress in the South was "remarkable" in view of the actions of Congress and state legislatures.

"The sponsors of anti-labor legislation apparently thought they would keep us so busy fighting to maintain what we already had that we would have no time for organizational work," he said. "This merely caused us to step up our membership campaign."

Bittner said largest CIO membership gains during the past year were in North Carolina, Texas and Tennessee and that "surprisingly good progress" had been in such states as Arkansas and Mississippi, "which many persons regarded as offering only poor organizational possibilities."

He said greatest progress--in membership and number of new unions established--was among wood workers, agricultural processing workers, textile workers, steel workers and packinghouse workers.

---------30-------

Atlanta School Custodial Employees
Local 736
United Public Workers of America
C.I.O.
75 Ivy Street N.E.
Atlanta

RECEIVED
JUN 13 1947
Southern Regional Council

June 12, 1947

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Sourthern Regional Council

Members of the Southern Regional Council

Dear Fellow Citizens:

We are writing you as a civic minded, public spirited citizen, interested in the progress of our City and particularly the school system of Atlanta. We represent the organized school custodial employees, the overwhelming majority of the entire school custodial staff --about 125 maids or building cleaners, and about 125 custodians, maintenance men, and the like.

For many months we have been seeking to obtain, from the School Administration and the Board of Education, a consideration of the very serious need of school custodial employees. The present wages paid will show how real this problem is.

Full time maids (or building cleaners) receive from $40 to $60 a month. The school authorities state that the average is $53 per month. This is not a living wage. Maids or building cleaners in other City departments get from $75 to $83 a month. In private office buildings in Atlanta, they get an average of $74 a month. The legal minimum wage under Federal law for private industry is $76 a month.

Elementary School custodians receive $106 to $135 a month for Negro custodians, and $132 to $165 for White custodians. Actually the pay tends to be at or near the bottom of these ranges for most of the men. But the least skilled common laborers hired by the City start at $134, with no responsibility similar to being entrusted with the care of a public building. Semi-skilled City workers get $145 to $178; meter readers get $164 to $196; truck drivers start at $169.

High School custodians get $113 to $140 a month for Negro custodians, and $140 to $183 a month for White custodians. Having care and custody of a high school building worth hundreds of thousands of dollars is certainly a skilled and responsible position. Other skilled labor on the City's pay rolls get $251 a month and up. The median pay for such custodians in 84 cities over ~~xxx~~ 100,000 population is $320 a month.

What is the Union asking?

$20 a month increase for all school custodial employees. This amounts to 10 cents per hour. It is well known and undenied that the Board of Education is financially well able to grant this.

We are also asking for equal pay for equal work among all custodians, without regard to color. And for overtime rates of $1 an hour for men, and 75 cents an hour for maids.

We feel that these requests are modest and reasonable.

We ask that you support our requests, by writing to the Board of Education, Mr. E. S. Cook, Chairman, urging them to pay living wages, in line with those paid to other City employees and to workers in private industry. If you do so, we would appreciate your sending us a copy of your letter.

Yours for good government and an improved public service,

Sincerely yours, Wm W. Stafford
William W. Stafford, Field Rep.

file: CIO

STATE DIRECTORS OF THE
CIO ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Cas g June 7, 1948

ALABAMA	Mr. Carey E. Haigler, Director 209 Ramsay-McCormack Building Birmingham 8, Alabama
ARKANSAS	Mr. Lee F. Tucker, Director 119-20 Glover Building Little Rock, Arkansas
FLORIDA	Mr. Charles L. Cowl, Director De Sota Hotel Tampa, Florida
GEORGIA	Mr. Chas. H.Gillman, Director 75 Ivy Street, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia
LOUISIANA	Mr. Fred C. Pieper, Director 544 Camp Street New Orleans 12, Louisiana
MISSISSIPPI	Mr. Robert W. Starnes 105½ West Capitol Street Jackson, Mississippi
NORTH CAROLINA	Mr. William Smith, Director 506½ East Fourth Street Charlotte, North Carolina
SOUTH CAROLINA	Mr. Franz E. Daniel, Director 191½ East Main Street Spartanburg, South Carolina
TENNESSEE	Mr. Paul R. Christopher, Director 216 Flatiron Building Knoxville 17, Tennessee
TEXAS	Mr. Robert Oliver, Director 1718 South Ervay Street Dallas 1, Texas
VIRGINIA	Mr. Ernest B. Pugh, Director 410 Law Building Richmond 19, Virginia

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Kentucky	Wm B Taylor 478 Starks Bldg, Louisville 2
Oklahoma	Joe Bernoncourt 813 Colcord Bldg Okla City 2

6 - CIO - Miscellaneous

RECEIVED
JUN 17 1949
Southern Regional Council

16 June 1949

MEMO: TO INTERIM COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Mr. Aubrey Williams
Mr. C. W. Danenburg
Mr. George Mitchell

FROM: MYLES HORTON

After informing you in my last memo that a full program of resident sessions had been scheduled, I received a letter from George Guernsey requesting that we hold a session for the National CIO even though we would have an over-crowded program.

I agreed to see what could be done about working the National CIO Term in later in the Fall, which was agreeable to George Guernsey.

Another possibility suggested by him was that the CIO Term be combined with the Rubber Workers Term which is from August 21 to September 3. He was to contact the Rubber Worker's officials and let me know.

Sincerely,

Myles

Myles Horton
Director

MH:bc

uopwa
m-a-1

CIO

April 13, 1951

Mr. E. Paul Harding
CIO Organizing Committee
Room 5, 121 East Third Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Paul:

The parallel with the Agricultural Extension Service would properly be a Labor Education Service. The county agent is not supposed to do the farmer's farming for him, but to know a lot about scientific farming and to be available at all times to pass on to operating farmers the latest and best scientific information.

Similarly, a widespread Labor Education Service would not interfere with the processes of collective bargaining or with union organization, but would offer to union officials and union members technical instruction in methods of bargaining, trade union history, labor economics, and similar subjects.

I believe there has been a bill in the last two or three Congresses to set up such a Labor Education Service.

The parallel between what an organization of farmers can do and what an organization of industrial workers can do is not as close as it might seem. The farmer has no one to bargain with except the purchaser of his crops, and so far as I know, the standard farm organizations have never used themselves directly to put that bargaining on an organized basis. Rather, the farm organizations have pushed to the fore cooperative organizations of farmers, which cooperatives have here and there tried to bargain with intermediate consumers as to prices that would be paid for the crops. A standard illustration would be the various tobacco growers' cooperatives of the 1920's, all of which were in the end expensive failures. I suppose the most successful producers' cooperative among farmers has been that operated by the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, which over much of the Midwest sells collectively the wheat individually raised by its

members. Most so-called farmers' cooperatives are really purchasing cooperatives which lay in feed, seed, fertilizer, and farm supplies at wholesale prices and get them out to farmers with the addition of dividends. And some of those which have a big reputation are not true cooperatives, but merely disguised outlets for fertilizer plants. All of which is to say that the bargaining machinery of the farmers is the cooperative and that the direct economic benefits of farm organization are generally sought through the cooperative device.

The real benefit of farm organization has been political. This has been so powerful a device that the farmer has been able by means of it to require the Federal government to operate for the farmers, at government expense, various systems of controlled marketing. For the whole AAA and its successor, the PMA, are in reality federally paid crop control and marketing engines operated in the interest of the farmer and, in the last analysis, steered by the ruling farm organizations.

It is perfectly true that it was the farm organizations -- and principally the Farm Bureau -- which proliferated the machinery of the county agricultural agents. The whole business began about 1911 or 1912 when private foundation money paid for the first two or three county agents. Then here and there as World War I came along, local bodies of farmers began to raise money to pay part of the salaries of county agents, the rest to be paid by the county, state, and Federal governments. In several states, as you probably know, the State Farm Bureau continues to pay a large part of the cost of the county agricultural agent. And of course everywhere the Farm Bureau calls the tune. Still, I think the only proper service that labor could get from the Federal government on this model is a Labor Education Service. I guess the right thing to say is that the farmers have found they could only protect their interest by banding together and exerting their strength, economic and political, to improve their standard of life. Long since, Lord knows, the manufacturers did that. If industry is working as an organized body, and the farmers are doing the same, surely it is labor's business to organize to protect and promote the interests of labor people.

The weakness in the analogy is that in many states, and in practically all Southern states, the farmers who have made the farm organizations are the big fellows. Often a good scattering of individual family farmers, or indeed of tenants or even sharecroppers, are picked or pressured into the farm organization membership, but there is proof in abundance that it is still the big farmers who work the organizations. Thus, the nearer analogy is to a manufacturers' association. And the big farm organizations leave out in the cold unprotected the interests of hired hands and tenants and croppers working on places owned by the bigger farmers. There is where H. L. Mitchell's National Farm Labor Union comes in.

This doesn't sound very helpful, but I will be glad to try again at some more promising point if you will steer me.

Very nice to talk with you. Come to see us next time you are in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

FRANZ E. DANIEL
STATE DIRECTOR, N. C.

PHONE 6-3601

Organizing Committee

NATIONAL OFFICE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

JOHN V. RIFFE
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

ORAL L. GARRISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER

ROOM 5
121 E. THIRD ST.
CHARLOTTE, N. C.

RECEIVED
APR 3 1951
Southern Regional Council

April 2, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Church Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

This is just a reminder of the matter we discussed on the telephone yesterday. It was the idea of Director Daniel and myself that perhaps there is a parallel between what organization has meant for farmers and what it can mean for factory workers in the South generally.

We had in mind particularly that it might someday be possible to duplicate the farmers' county agent plan with a similar "agent" plan for factory workers. It seems to us that there might be [redacted] similar lines and no doubt you can think of many of them. If it's possible we hope to perfect a printed appeal of some sort that would be effective with the Southern industrial worker who has such a distinct farm background.

We will certainly appreciate any help you may be able to give us.

I am sorry I could not accept your invitation to dinner yesterday, but it was just impossible. Please lets get together at least for a meal next time I get to Atlanta or you get to Charlotte.

Dorothy sends you her best regards and, of course, I do for you and your family.

Sincerely,

Paul

E. Paul Harding
Publicity Director

EPH;fg

C 10 - Misc

July 31, 1951

Mr. Ben Segal
C. I. O.
718 Jackson Pl., N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Ben:

Kack and I have pondered about your letter of July 20. Alabama is barren ground for such things.

Talladega College would probably be available, though, of course, in October and November they are stuffed with students and short on housing space. The president is Mr. A. D. Beittel. He is chairman of the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council.

You might get one of your Mobile people to explore the possibility of Spring Hill College. That is a Jesuit institution five or six miles out from Mobile. Spacious grounds and good facilities in every way.

Time was that Fair Hope, Alabama, was a Single-Tax colony. There may be germs of kindness still lurking there.

A knowledgeable guy to consult would be Nat Welch, who is advertising manager for the Southern Farmer at Montgomery.

Highlander Folk School is quite within reach of the northern half of Alabama.

I don't know of anything in the Florence, Sheffield, Tuscumbia area, but if you have somebody there who could do some exploring, the man to begin exploring with is Rabbi Mantinband.

Strangely enough, that huge hotel at Biloxi has had a few upper-crust interracial educational conferences.

Little help, but this is all we know.

I came through Washington some weeks ago and tried to track you down without success.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

ans 7/25/51 KS

Congress of Industrial Organizations

718 Jackson Place, N. W. • Washington 6, D. C.

Office of
STANLEY H. RUTTENBERG, *Director*
Department of Education and Research

EXECUTIVE 5581

July 20, 1951

Kack Stoney or/and George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Kack and George:

I hope all is well with you two and the Council. I'm leaving for an Institute in Missouri but I did want to get this note off to you. We want to have an educational institute and wondered if you folks knew of a place in Alabama where we could hold such an institute. Of course the problem as far as finding a place is that we want to house and feed and inter-racial group. We'd like to hold it in the fall--October or November.

I'd appreciate any leads that you would have in your office.

Thanks much for your help. Best wishes and regards.

Sincerely,

Ben Segal

P.S. Greetings Kack! Hope you like the work.

C10

August 21, 1951

Mr George T. Guernsey
Associate Director of Education
C. I. O.
718 Jackson Pl., N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear George:

We sent the letter on to Rabbi Mantinband today.

I am dry on places. One of the things the South most needs is a really nice interracial resort hotel.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
S igned in Dr. Mitchell's absence.

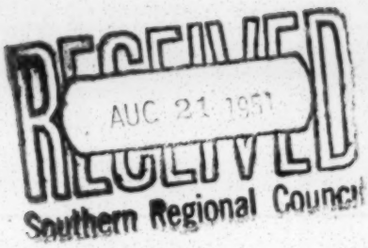
Congress of Industrial Organizations

718 Jackson Place, N. W. • Washington 6, D. C.

Office of
STANLEY H. RUTTENBERG, *Director*
Department of Education and Research

EXECUTIVE 5581

August 20, 1951



Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks for your letter of July 31 to Ben Segal, about possible places for our Alabama-Georgia-Florida CIO School. We've all been completely involved in the preparation and running of several other Regional Schools, but are now tracking down the several leads you gave us.

It occurs to me that there might be a resort in the area which finishes its season in October or November, and which might be induced to rent its facilities to us for the week following its closing. If you should know of any such places, I'd much appreciate hearing about them.

Finally, a last favor. Enclosed you will find a letter to the Rabbi Mantinband whom you suggested in your letter to Ben. We are unable to ferret out his exact address, and so have enclosed the letter in the hope that you will have it. Both the stamped envelope and the letter inside it need to have the address typed in; I'll be very grateful if someone in your office can take care of this for us.

Thanks again for all your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

George T. Guernsey (JG)

George T. Guernsey
Associate Director of Education

GTG:jg

CIO

August 28, 1951

Mr. W. H. Crawford
District Director
United Steel Workers of America
CIO
Cor. Merritts Ave. & Courtland St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Bill:

I do thank you deeply.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

CIO

May 15, 1951

Mr. Paul Christopher
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Paul:

I had a grand time at Highlander and am most grateful to you and the CIO for letting me come up.

I figure mileage at 178 miles each way; total of 356 miles at six cents a mile, or $21.36.

I liked the way you were beginning the CIO staff school. If you ever get ambitious for another kind of job, you would make a good college president.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

8-30-51

Dear George:

Maybe this letter was meant for me, tho addressed to someone else.

I have been on leave from Farmers Union since January attending to personal business.

The only Farmers Union folks down your way are Myles Horton, Tom Ludwig, Aubrey Williams. Albert W. Hopkins, Arkansas FU president, at Little Rock, is a mighty good man if you could get him.

Kind regards,

J. LEWIS HENDERSON
5435 W. 26th. Ave.
Denver 14, Colorado

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. NORMA HUFF,
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING,
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY,
IN CHARGE WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 24, 1951

RECEIVED
SEP 4 1951

Mr. Carson Pritchard
Carroll County Community Council
Carrollton, Ga.

Dear Carson:

My friends in the CIO are preparing for the mid-September State CIO convention in Macon.

They want a speaker who will talk to them about agricultural matters in Georgia and will lead their minds in the direction of closer understanding between farmers and industrial workers in the State. What they ought to have, of course, is a bang-up, rousing Farmers Union guy. I don't know where such a man is in Georgia and I guess you don't either.

But what's your closest suggestion?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

CIO
~~UAW~~

August 5, 1952

Mr. Harry E. Ross
Fair Practices & Anti-Discrimination Dept.
UAW-CIO
8000 E. Jefferson Ave.
Detroit 14, Mich.

Dear Mr. Ross:

Many thanks for the several copies of the excellent pamphlet THE INDIAN WHO NEVER GOT HOME.

I sent some on to some of my Indian friends near Pembroke, North Carolina, and to the Chief of the Catawbas at Rock Hill, South Carolina.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

UAW·CIO

WALTER P. REUTHER.....PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY.....SECRETARY-TREASURER
RICHARD GOSSER.....VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN W. LIVINGSTON..VICE-PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA

Solidarity House
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN
PHONE LORAIN 8-4000

RECEIVED
JUL 18 1952
Southern Regional Council

July 16, 1952

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Gentlemen:

I am mailing to you, under separate cover, six copies of our latest pamphlet, THE INDIAN WHO NEVER GOT HOME.

I am sure the information contained therein is not only of great interest, but that it is beneficial in apprising the many people in the United States of the tremendous problem our organizations are endeavoring to resolve.

Sincerely yours,

Harry E. Ross

Harry E. Ross, Intl. Representative
FAIR PRACTICES AND ANTI-DISCRIMINATION
DEPARTMENT, UAW-CIO.

HER/rd
cio72liu

C.I.O

75 Ivy Street, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia

Statement released to the press by Charles H. Gillman, Regional Director of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, March 29, 1945.

C. H. Gillman, regional director of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, stated today he is glad that Governor Arnall is going to take action to improve the situation at the Milledgeville State Hospital, and that a scientific survey of the institution will be made as soon as possible.

"Of course, we are delighted that the governor intends to launch a state-wide program of improvement of all of Georgia's welfare institutions," Mr. Gillman said. "This plan is in line with the governor's usual forward looking policies and we hope it will result in great good for the state's welfare program and the people it serves.

"While we are much interested in the governor's statement to Senator William Freeman that Georgia is spending $282.15 per capita a year on patients in the state hospital, as compared with $260.66 per capita in other Southern states, we would be interested in a breakdown of these figures. Do they include charges on the Federal loan for hospital buildings? What amount per capita is being spent directly on the care of patients?

"We recognized from the outset that under war-time conditions the hospital situation could not be entirely relieved at this time. We believe, however, that a number of improvements in cleanliness, clothing and food can be made immediately, and we hope that the governor will press for these reforms now. We are not in a position to express an opinion on the governor's proposed immediate and long-term programs because he has not discussed them with us.

"We are deeply concerned over the situation of the five hospital employes who were discharged after testifying before the legislative committee. The governor has not discussed with us the dismissal of these people who had been assured by the investigating committee that they would not lose their jobs because of their testimony."

Mr. Gillman concluded his statement by saying, "If the investigation at Milledgeville and the widespread interest of the Georgia press and various organizations results in improving the care of the patients even one day sooner, the Congress of Industrial Organizations is glad to have had a part in it."

Now It's

FRAME-UP

IN WINSTON-SALEM

- Appeals to race prejudice —
- Company Union syrup —
- Efforts to organize the public against CIO —
- Court injunctions —

THEY ALL FAILED:

"Camel" workers organized!

- They proved this giant open shop of the South *could* be organized.
- They voted CIO by 6,000 to 3,000 at the biggest cigarette factory in the world.
- They negotiated a contract with R. J. Reynolds.

NOW COMPANY UNION LEADERS FRAME A CIO ORGANIZER!

THIS LATEST EFFORT TO STOP CIO WILL ALSO FAIL—*YOU* CAN HELP SPIKE THIS MANEUVER!

THE STORY OF THE FRAME-UP

William DeBerry—UCAPAWA-CIO Organizer in Winston-Salem, N. C.

It's June 20, 1944, noontime.

At the Federal Court room in Winston-Salem, N. C., the morning session of the hearing before the War Labor Board panel is just completed. The dispute case is between the R. J. Reynolds workers, organized in the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, CIO, and the R. J. Reynolds Company, giant Southern cigarette firm, makers of Camel cigarettes and Prince Albert smoking tobacco. The Union is asking wage increases, union security, improved vacations, top seniority for stewards—the unsettled points in the newly signed contract.

Union people gather in groups, speaking happily of their developing case in this public hearing. War Labor Board officials and panel members chat together. A group of "company union" workers is present, and company officials. There is no sign of commotion. CIO people are discussing a point in the hearing with Bill DeBerry, ace UCAPAWA organizer, one of the staunchest leaders in the drive to organize Reynolds since 1942.

The scene shifts.

The police appear at DeBerry's home that evening to serve him with a warrant for arrest. The charge? Having "assaulted" a white woman, Louise Johnson, notorious company union "stooge," at the hearing during the noon recess that day!

Police Court, July 6.

These questions were not—and could not—be answered by DeBerry's accusers:

How could he assault a person who was standing several yards away, behind a rail, with someone standing between them, to boot?

Why was there not even a flicker of disturbance at the time of this alleged assault?

How could such an incident go unnoticed in a well-filled Court room?

DeBerry was sentenced to 30 days.

State Superior Court, July 13 and 14.

The testimony of the accusers changes. This time they openly peddle incitement to race prejudice. The Solicitor, Earl McMichael, speaks with horror of the union custom of addressing members as "brothers" and "sisters," becomes hysterically lyrical about all that has been "done for the n . . . ." in Winston-Salem—hospitals, parks, etc.

The Superior Court returned a verdict of guilty and the judge, J. H. Clement, gave a sentence of 60 days on the road.

The Present.

The Union is organizing DeBerry's defense, will carry it to the highest court in the land if necessary, and to the American people.

This frame-up must be whipped:

- CIO must not be pilloried after the long, successful fight to organize the notorious Reynolds open shop.
- Provocations against the people of America must stop. They are intolerable in war-time, and disturbing to our hope of postwar progress.
- Un-American, bigotted, anti-CIO groups must be defeated at every turn.
- DeBerry must be cleared of this framed up charge.

YOU CAN HELP! How? See back page.

ACTIONS

To spike this frame-up!

1. Send a letter or resolution to George W. Coan, Jr., Mayor of Winston-Salem, City Hall, Winston-Salem, N. C., urging that he use his influence immediately to put an end to this shocking frameup and see that proper steps are taken to insure justice in the courts.

2. Send the same kind of letter or resolution to Governor Joseph M. Broughton, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Tell both the Mayor and the Governor that this frame-up should not be allowed to blacken the reputation of the city and the state.

3. Make a contribution to help defray the expense of our campaign and of our appeals which we intend to carry to the Supreme Court, if necessary. Make checks payable to "DeBerry Defense Fund," and send them to UCAPAWA-CIO, 1505 Race Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, CIO

1505 Race St., Philadelphia 2, Pa. Rittenhouse 6757

CIO -

See also: Pritchard, Carson &
Henderson, Lewis correspondence
re Georgia mid-Sept. convention

Write Today!

A news report that fills in the facts you want . . . and gives you a background for ACTION.

NO. 1 NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE AUGUST 9, 1944

It's the few million "undecided" and apathetic votes that will swing the coming election.

The "undecided" voters can be influenced, the apathetic voters can and must be brought to the polls.

YOU can influence them——and, in so doing, help win the election for Franklin D. Roosevelt and a Progressive, liberal Congress.

YOU probably want to do something definite—but you don't know what to do —maybe you feel you haven't enough FACTS to act.

This weekly report provides the FACTS. It suggests telling ways to use these FACTS.

Each week *Write Today!* will give you background on one vital election issue. The FACTS, culled by experienced research workers, come to your hands after they've been checked and double checked.

YOU can use them to lead public opinion!

How? Use these FACTS when you meet people socially or in business....Use them when you make your next speech, when your club meets, when you're talking across the back fence. Best of all, use them to *Write Today!* to one or more of your local papers.

Make your letters short. Stick to the FACTS. Forget the fireworks. FACTS can keep Franklin D. Roosevelt in the White House and insure his presence during the Peace Negotiations. FACTS can help elect a strong, liberal, world-conscious Congress! FACTS can assure full employment, full production, and peace time security for all our people.

When you've written, please fill in the blank on page 3 and mail it to us at 205 E. 42 Street, New York 17, N. Y. Will you send us a clipping whenever your letter appears, please?

WHEN WAR THREATENED how did Republicans and Democrats meet the threat? Look—before a nation can resist attack, it must be strong within. Its economy must be healthy, its people heartened and united. So any summary of the war record of either party must include a look at their policies BEFORE the war actually came.

What had these policies been and what did they do to us, the people? Let's see:

Write Today!

Here's the Republican Record under Harding, Coolidge and Hoover:

highest tariff in history; low taxes; minimum government spending; minimum control over business; isolation; exploitation of national resources by private interests.

Result: the nation's worst depression. Foreign trade collapsed; national defense grew weaker and weaker, as war menaces increased abroad; unemployment reached record high; agriculture was stricken; there was a record number of business failures; the labor movement was debilitated; housing was inadequate; factories were idle by the thousands; the national income was unequally distributed.

Here's What the Democrats Did Under Roosevelt's Leadership:

lowered tariffs; made reciprocal trade treaties; started public works to employ those not engaged in private industry; divided taxes more equitably; entered upon a program of conserving resources; established sound banking system to encourage business confidence; started the Good Neighbor Policy among the Americas; protected the rights of labor; encouraged agriculture substantially; introduced social security—old age pensions; improved housing, health program expansion—AND strengthened national defenses.

Result: foreign trade came to life; public works gave us airports, warships, improved communications, TVA and like hydro-electric plants, other fighting aids. A stronger labor movement and revived agriculture led to tremendous labor output and seven record crops in succession. Private industrial plants increased tremendously. EXAMPLE—increase in steel production from 45,583,421 tons in 1930 to 66,982,686 in 1940.

OUR NAVAL STRENGTH: under Republicans (Hoover) was down—in 1932—to 101 fighting ships totaling 728,050 tons. Total spent by the Republican Administration in 1932 for navel construction was $32,103,695. We were actually 163,770 tons short of treaty strength at the end of 1932.

under Democrats: President Roosevelt—in 1933—allocated $238,000,000 of Public Works Funds for construction of 32 warships. This was more money than had been spent for naval construction since the last Democratic Administration built $366,215,760 worth of warships in 1919.

Today we have a navy second to none in all the world!

AS THEY VOTE, SO MUST THEY BE JUDGED!
Here's how Republicans and Democrats VOTED on major war issues up to the moment we were attacked at Pearl Harbor:

LEND-LEASE VOTE		
HOUSE REPUBLICANS	24	135
HOUSE DEMOCRATS	236	25
SENATE REPUBLICANS	10	17
SENATE DEMOCRATS	49	13

For lifting the Arms Embargo to permit selling arms to the Allies

HOUSE REPUBLICANS	20	140
HOUSE DEMOCRATS	222	29

for Democracy ☆ Freedom ☆ Security for Reaction—Obstruction—Isolation

On Arming Merchant Ships

HOUSE REPUBLICANS	22	137
HOUSE DEMOCRATS	189	53
SENATE REPUBLICANS	6	21
SENATE DEMOCRATS	43	15

For SELECTIVE SERVICE BILL

SENATE REPUBLICANS	7	10
SENATE DEMOCRATS	40	15
HOUSE REPUBLICANS	52	112
HOUSE DEMOCRATS	211	33

On keeping Selectees (not disbanding the army)

SENATE REPUBLICANS	7	13
SENATE DEMOCRATS	38	16
HOUSE REPUBLICANS	21	133
HOUSE DEMOCRATS	182	65

To maintain army air force appropriation

HOUSE REPUBLICANS	5	122
HOUSE DEMOCRATS	212	28

(If you can't get the record vote of your Congressmen on these issues, write to *Write Today!* — we'll get them to you by return mail!)

As They Spoke—telling and typical statements of leading Republicans and Democrats, during the crucial pre-war years.

Rep. Hamilton Fish (R.NY) said: "We cannot join with the League of Nations. We should stop sending notes every time Japan takes a little Manchurian city."

Hull, urging repeal of arms embargo: "The repeal of our arms embargo might cause Hitler to change his mind."

Borah: "We aren't going to have a war. Germany isn't ready for it."

President Roosevelt, Sept. 21, 1939: "These perilous days demand cooperation between us without trace of partisanship."

John D. M. Hamilton, Sept. 28, 1939: "Nothing could be more disastrous to this nation than an adjournment of politics."

When President Roosevelt asked that industry be geared to produce 50,000 planes a year, Thomas Dewey, then District Attorney of New York, said: "Our productive industrial plant has slowed down, deteriorated." ... "What is the good of talking about 50,000 planes? ... experts estimate it will take at least four years to accomplish this."

Today airplane production in the United States is in excess of 90,000 planes annually.

Write Today!

National Citizens Political Action Committee
205 East 42 Street, New York 17, N. Y.

I WROTE TODAY to (name of papers)_____in (cities)_____
I'll send you a clipping when the letter appears.

Name_____ Address_____

City_____ State_____

This is your fight!

This is crisis time, Americans! You can't shrug off this November's elections and say "What's the difference?" This is 1944. The chips are down. Your job, your future, your very freedom—the kind of world your kids will grow up in—will be decided less than four months from now by—YOU!

The Old Guard has patched together the Republican platform—the same old privileges for the few, and no hope for the rest of us. The Old Guard has picked its candidates—the same old stooges for Hooverism and the Old Deal!

Are you going to sit by and watch all your hard-won gains of the past twelve years vanish on Election Day? Do you want another sabotaged peace—another and more devastating war?

There's a tough campaign ahead. Our opponents are more determined than ever. They're raising huge campaign funds—millions on millions—to elect their candidates.

It's going to take working, fighting, organizing. But we can do it, if *you'll* help. The successes of the CIO Political Action Committee have demonstrated that the job *can* be done if our side is organized. But under Federal law some election campaign activities must be financed by contributions from individuals and not from union funds. CIO members are making *their* contributions. The National Citizens Political Action Committee has been organized to give *you* an opportunity to get into this fight. We invite all like-minded Americans—farmers, workers, business and professional men and women—to join with us to do the job that can and must be done.

This new Committee needs funds—funds to register and get out the vote on Election Day. Funds to present the cause of progress, and jobs for all, to the people. Funds to help candidates, irrespective of party, who stand for total victory, a just and durable peace, and full employment.

This is *your* fight, Americans! We can't win it without you. Send a check or money order *today*...

YOU'VE GOT TO FIGHT FOR:

Total **VICTORY!**

Lasting **PEACE!**

Full **PRODUCTION!**

Full **EMPLOYMENT!**

The National Citizens Political Action Committee—a non-partisan committee—knows this can be achieved only by the election of

ROOSEVELT

and a progressive Congress!

The National Citizens POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

205 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

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Write Today!

A weekly report that helps fill in the facts you want and gives you a background for ACTION!

NO. 2 NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE AUGUST 16, 1944

Here are the FACTS on the foreign policy of Dewey and Roosevelt. Use them when you meet people socially or in business. Use them when your club meets, when you make your next speech. And **Write Today!** to one or more of your local papers, using these FACTS as the basis for a short, to-the-point letter. FACTS mould opinion. These FACTS can help put Franklin D. Roosevelt and a progressive Congress in office to win the war and administer a just and lasting peace!

WORLD POLICY: The People vs. Isolationism

The question of what our foreign policy is going to be is no longer an academic one. As American and British armies crash towards Paris and Russian armies roll on towards Berlin the question of foreign policy is immediate and far reaching. It is an objective inseparably connected with the military objectives of our armies. We must not wake up twenty years from now and realize that once again we did too little, too late. We must not place our foreign policy in the hands of those who have "no opinion." Or those, who in endeavoring to satisfy all segments of public opinion, isolationist as well as internationalist, take one step back for every step forward.

ROOSEVELT'S FOREIGN POLICY is familiar to all Americans who read the newspapers or listen to the radio. Under his guidance the ground work has been laid for a just and enduring peace:

The Good Neighbor Policy among the Americas, implemented by reciprocal trade agreements; lower tariffs; recognition of our ally, Soviet Russia; repeal of the Arms Embargo; Lend-Lease; the Atlantic Charter; the Declaration of the 26 United Nations; the Four Freedoms Statement; the Washington, Ottowa, Casablanca, Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran Conferences; — all are the working products of the point of view of the chief executive of the U.S.A.

SINCE DEWEY HAS HAD NO EXPERIENCE in foreign affairs, what he would have done and what he may be expected to do, if elected, have to be figured out entirely from his public utterances. But . . .

1. Dewey has frequently sought refuge in complete silence.

2. Dewey has tried to be all things to all men. He has tried to win and hold support of both Isolationists and Internationalists. His speeches contain points to appeal to both.

3. There have been radical shifts in Dewey's opinions, following closely the changes in public sentiment as reflected in Gallup polls or trends within the Republican party itself.

Write Today!

ON LEND-LEASE

I said No!

"THE PRESIDENT'S SO-CALLED DEFENSE BILL (LEND-LEASE) WOULD BRING AN END TO FREE GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AND WOULD ABOLISH THE CONGRESS FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES."
(Dewey, January 10, 1941)

I said Yes!

"With some reservations of power to the people through the Congress I am satisfied that the House bill (this was the same Lend-Lease Bill, with minor alterations) will be adopted. Speaking for myself alone, I hope it will be ..."
(Dewey, February 12, 1941)

ON INTERNATIONALISM

I said No!

"LET US JOIN IN PRAYING TONIGHT THAT MEN SHALL NOT BE SENT TO KILL IN THE FRUITLESS STRUGGLE FOR POWER! THAT NATIONS SHALL NOT BE PLUNGED INTO THE DESPAIR OF A STRUGGLE IN WHICH NO ONE CAN WIN!" (Dewey August 24, 1939)

I said Yes!

"We cannot be disinterested in the fate of the world. Nor do I believe that the United States can so isolate itself that it will not be seriously affected for better or for worse by what happens in other nations."
(Dewey, April 29, 1940)

DEWEY SUPPORTS ISOLATIONISTS

— On Oct. 28, 1940, Dewey spoke at Peoria, Ill., in behalf of C. Wayland Brooks, the isolationist candidate of the Chicago Tribune:

> "In public life the only way we have to judge men is by what they have done and what we know they will do. By that standard I know you will place in the State House in Springfield, and in the United States Senate, my good friends, Dwight Green and Wayland Brooks."

— On April 21, 1940, Dewey spoke in behalf of Hiram Johnson, famous World War I isolationist, in Hollywood:

> "I am confident that the people of your great state will this year insist again that Hiram Johnson continue in that service in the United States Senate."

DEWEY ON RUSSIA

—Jan. 20, 1940: speech before Women's Nat'l. Republican Club

"A CONSPICUOUS AND MOST UNFORTUNATE DEPARTURE (OF THE ADMINISTRATION) WAS THE RECOGNITION BY THE NEW DEAL OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

No, again!

"IN THAT COUNTRY, A GODLESS GOVERNMENT HAD RAISED TO A STATE CREED THE STERILE DOCTRINE OF ATHEISM. IT ACHIEVED POWER BY THE ANNUAL MURDER OF LARGE NUMBERS OF ITS OWN PEOPLE. IT IS A PERVERSION OF GOVERNMENT ABHORRENT TO THE CONSCIENCE OF MANKIND.

"WE NEED NO SUCH PARTNERSHIP."

Write Today!

— May 26, 1944, quoted in Washington Star:-
"Do you think," Dewey was asked, "it would be possible to broaden the base of such an alliance (he had been talking of an alliance with Britain, as outlined at the Mackinac meeting) to include any other of the United Nations?"

But . . .
Yes, again!

"It would be hoped," Dewey answered, "that in working out the structure of the peace we would have Russia and China in it at the beginning. We would hope that before the war comes to an end, we would be able to reach a closer understanding with our Russian Allies."

Once again on an issue vital to any lasting peace Mr. Dewey could not make up his mind. Dewey, the record shows, was against any trade or cooperation with the Soviet Union until he was forced, by the sheer pressure of public opinion, to go along with the desires of the vast majority of the American people. Once again, instead of leading, he followed.

DEWEY AND THE POLLS

On September 5, 1943, Winston Churchill was in Washington.

On September 8, 1943, a Gallup Poll was released showing that 61% of the American people would favor a postwar military alliance with Britain.

In September 1943, at the Mackinac G.O.P. meeting, Dewey was asked:
"Do you advocate or recognize the possibility or probability of a military alliance between the United States and Great Britain, to continue on a formal basis?" The presidential nominee replied:

"I should think that would be in our interest."

Can this timing be considered coincidence? Or had the presidential nominee shifted his convictions to meet the shift in public opinion? Was Dewey following, or perhaps being led?

SUMMING UP

Write Today!

THE CHICAGO SUN — on Dewey's record of foreign policy:

"Not only before the war, but since Pearl Harbor as well, he has been a man trying to avoid participation in the greatest intellectual and moral struggle of our times, the struggle against fascism. Others might be stirred deeply by Europe in flames. He stood serenely aside. Others might perceive fascism's threat to civilization and combat it; he maintained impassive partiality. While Mr. Willkie was circling the globe and bringing the message of a new world to his countrymen, Governor Dewey was mending his political fences and keeping out of trouble."

National Citizens Political Action Committee
205 East 42 Street, New York 17, N. Y.

I WROTE TODAY to (name of papers)_____in (cities)_____
I'll send you a clipping when the letter appears.

Name_____ Address_____

City_____ State_____

The nation's leading liberal figures have joined the NCPAC in the fight to elect the Roosevelt-Truman ticket and a progressive Congress. Shown here are CIO President Philip Murray, ex-Governor Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania, NCPAC chairman Sidney Hillman and ex-Governor Elmer Benson of Minnesota.

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A weekly report that helps fill in the FACTS you want . . . and gives you a background for ACTION!

NO. 3 NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE AUGUST 23, 1944

DON'T FORGET TO REGISTER! IF YOU DON'T REGISTER, YOU CAN'T VOTE!

TOO MUCH can't be written, too much can't be said about the importance of registration. Everytime you write to your local papers or talk in public or discuss the election with your friends or associates REMIND PEOPLE TO REGISTER!

THE BALLOT is a power in your hands. Use it — and you help to secure good government. Fail to use it — and you score for the other side. Your vote is the key to your freedom. To use it you must REGISTER. Do it and remind others to do it.

WHICH HAS DONE MORE FOR BUSINESS—REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION?

The myth of Republican service to business as a whole — to the little fellows in the corner store — has been widely accepted. This issue of *Write Today!* will give you the FACTS with which to destroy the myth of "who did what for business."

Myth No new businesses start under Democratic administration . . .

Fact Business was much more optimistic in 1939 — after 7 years of Democratic administration — than in 1929. And for a very good reason: there were 3,179,000 businesses in 1939 as against 2,922,000 businesses in 1929.

Myth The Democratic administration has undermined the confidence of business with high taxes and government interferences . . .

Fact A man had a better chance to stay in business in 1939 than in 1929. There were 22,909 business failures in 1929. In 1939 (far from the best record of the Democratic years) there were only 11,408.

Myth The Democrats have stifled initiative. . .

Fact In 1939, a businessman had a far bigger market — 62.5 billion dollars for consumer goods and services, compared with 56.2 billion in 1929. (These figures are all in terms of 1939 dollar value to equalize the calculation.)

Myth The Democratic administration has robbed business of the power to expand. . .

Fact The average annual income, of all U. S. businesses from 1929 through 1933, was $6,657,000,000.

Average annual income, 1934 through 1939, was $9,702,000,000.

Write Today!

WHO KILLED INITIATIVE? WHERE IS IT BURIED?

Does bank failure kill initiative? RATHER! Flatter than a pancake!

Let's look at the list of bank failures for the six years BEFORE the bank holiday called by President Roosevelt in 1933, and for six years after that date.

BANK FAILURES

BEFORE			AFTER		
Year	Number	Deposits	Year	Number	Deposits
1928	499	$ 142,580,000	1934	57	$36,937,000
1929	695	230,643,000	1935	34	10,015,000
1930	1,352	853,363,000	1936	44	11,306,000
1931	2,294	1,690,669,000	1937	59	19,723,000
1932	1,456	715,626,000	1938	55	13,012,000
*1933	4,004	3,598,975,000	1939	42	34,998,000

More simply: The total bank failures in the six years after the bank holiday were only 291 against 499 failures in our most prosperous pre-depression year of 1928. The total losses in the six years after the holiday were only $125,981,000, millions less than in the single year 1928.

Despite 9,106 bank failures in the Hoover administration, between January 1, 1930 and March 4, 1933, the 1932 Republican platform opposed Federal guarantee of bank deposits!

It was a Democratic administration that established the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation's insurance of deposits to the extent of $5,000 for each depositor.

UNDER A REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION WE WERE PROMISED THESE . . .

...LOWER TAXES.....HIGHER TARIFFS.....
...LESS GOVERNMENT CONTROL.....LOWER GOVERNMENT EXPENSE.....

It's the old Republican formula to restore business confidence . . . the magic key with which to unlock the door to universal prosperity.

But what door did that key unlock in the past? That formula in the twenties sent capital values in the United States tobogganing to a spectacular crash!

"It is estimated that in three weeks after the stock market crash of October, 1929, capital values in the U.S. decreased by 30 billions, and went on down from there for two and a half years more." (S. Ratner, American Taxation, p. 437.)

A loss almost as great as THE TOTAL COST OF WORLD WAR I was borne, largely by American business, in those three weeks alone.

LOWER TAXES? . . . the question of taxes has been one of the strongest selling points of the Republican party. Here too they have tried to be all things to all men.

The Republicans promise business they will lower taxes — and then tell the people that they will keep social security . . . They are going to lower taxes and still provide old age pensions . . . They are going to spend and they are going to save . . . They are going to take in less money and raise more money . . . HOW?

*Comprises banks suspended before banking holiday, licensed banks suspended or placed on restricted basis following banking holiday, unlicensed banks placed in liquidation or receivership, and unlicensed banks granted licenses after June 30, 1933.

Write Today!

TODAY, UNDER A DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION, WE HAVE THESE . . .

. . . INCREASED MARKETS . . . READJUSTED TAXES . . . INVESTORS PROTECTED BY REGULATION . . . BUSINESS PROVIDED EASIER CREDIT . . .

INCREASED MARKETS

Unless there is a market there can be no business. The American market was more than 11% higher in 1939 than it had been in 1929 . . . There were more billions of dollars worth of goods and services sold to consumers in 1939 — 11% more. American business was better off than ever before in its history.

PROTECTED INVESTORS

Here are a few of the many measures introduced by Democrats to protect investors:

The Securities and Exchange Commission; Abolition of utility holding companies; Railroad reorganization; Prohibition of price discrimination; Legalization of resale price maintenance contracts; Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation's insurance of deposits up to $5,000.

EASY CREDIT FOR BUSINESS

EASY CREDIT is essential if business is to expand! During the twelve years of Republican administration, the discount rate of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York only once was as low as the highest rate under the succeeding Democratic administration. The average rate during the Democratic administration was less than 1.5% — during the Republican administration it was over 3.5%.

SUMMING UP

LIABILITIES: The Republicans promise to achieve a sound economy, lower taxes, lower expenses, without interference with business. These are the same promises given to us by the Harding, Coolidge and Hoover administrations - promises that culminated in the debacle of 1929. And today the Republicans intend to use exactly the same methods that plunged the country into its worst depression in history. The FACTS show that the Republican formula will once again throw the nation into an orgy of red ink calculating.

ASSETS: The Democratic administration has demonstrated that a sound and profitable business economy can be established under Democratic leadership. An economy that can at the same time ensure profits for business and protection for the people — the small business man, the worker who deposits his savings.

The FACTS show that business gained more under Roosevelt's leadership than under any Republican president or administration.

Write Today!

National Citizens Political Action Committee
205 East 42 Street, New York 17, N. Y.

I WROTE TODAY to (name of papers)_____(in cities)_____
I'll send you a clipping when the letter appears.

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City_____ State_____

AUG 7 1944

UNITED STATES ARMY

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ANN ARBOR, MICH.
8-4-44

The Nat'l Citizens P.A.C.
205 E 42nd St.
New York City

Dear Sirs:

When I read your advertisement in the recent issue of The New Republic there was no choice but to contribute the little that I can toward your fight.

But I shouldn't say "your" fight. Never doubt for a moment that many of us in service would be standing beside you if we could. When they talk about the bitterness of service men toward labor and when they predict that returning soldiers will be looking only to the past, it may comfort you to know that among those in service who are informed and are thinking there is and always has been a great preponderance of support for the progressive cause.

Use this money, if you will, to tell the people at home what the men in service would like to tell them. We don't want promises or bribes or fancy advertisements showing new gadgets. The fellows want assurance of jobs at fair pay, with a chance for a career. They want a peace without compromise with fascism and based on sound planning for lasting security from war.

You speak for many men that have been misled, that don't know you are fighting for them. It's hardest of all to take criticism from such men. Let me speak for them too, and tell you that some day the fortunate ones among them will recognize those at home that stood beside the man at the front and remembered their trust.

Remember us when the slugging gets rough!

Best of luck,

NATIONAL CITIZENS
POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
205 EAST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK
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Write Today!

A weekly report that helps fill in the facts you want and gives you a background for ACTION!

NO. 5 NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE SEPTEMBER 6, 1944

An Important Issue . . .

You may wonder why the question of foreign policy is given so much space. You may question PAC's emphasis on Lend Lease and Isolationism when there are so many equally important campaign issues to be faced. Lend Lease today, you may say, is an academic question. It is true that the Republicans, including Mr. Dewey, were against aid to our allies, but they may have changed their minds. And if they have progressed with the times why re-hash old issues?

Two Questions . . .

1. But have the Republicans and Old Guard Democrats changed? Or are they paying lip service to the clearly demonstrated desire of the majority of the American people to disavow isolationism now and for all time and work closely together with our allies towards genuine peace between nations?

Is Mr. Dewey really for international cooperation? Or is he temporarily, and expediently, acquiescing to the manifest will of the American people?

2. Whom do we want in our government? Do we want men with foresight, men responsive to the best interests of the people? Or do we want followers — men led by Gallup polls — men who act after the time for decision has passed?

Your Responsibility . . .

These are the two important questions facing the American people as they go to the polls in November. On that day they will decide not the future of the next four years or even the future of America alone, but the future of the world.

There are FACTS that will help the American people make that decision — we are presenting some of them to you today. It is your responsibility as an American citizen to see that these facts reach as many people as possible. It is your responsibility to use these facts when you speak to friends or business associates, when you address the next meeting of your club. It is your responsibility to Write Today! to your local newspaper and acquaint people with the FACTS. Yours is the responsibility — with you rests the result!

Write Today!

Franklin D. Roosevelt Called for Lend Lease . . .

"Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. . . . I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun. I also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations. . . . When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. They did not wait for Norway or Belgium or the Netherlands to commit an act of war. . . ."

(Address to Congress, January 6, 1941)

Thomas E. Dewey Attacked Lend Lease . . .

"The President's so-called defense bill (Lend Lease) would bring an end to free government in the United States and would abolish the Congress for all practical purposes. . . . This bill is an attempt to abolish free government in the United States. . . . In short, this bill empowers the President to commit acts of war without the approval of Congress in any conflict — present or future — anywhere in the world. . . ."

(excepts from World-Telegram, January 11, 1941)

This is the same bill that the New York Times called "the great affirmative act by which the resources of this nation, still technically at peace, were put at the disposal of those countries which were fighting for their freedom — and our own."

Here Is the Vote . . .

Lend Lease was the foundation of a foreign policy which has brought us continually closer to Victory — "a great affirmative act" — But who affirmed the act -- Republicans or Democrats, or both? Here is the vote:

	For	Against
House Republicans	24	135
House Democrats	236	25
*Total (Feb. 6, 1941)	260	165
Senate Republicans	10	17
Senate Democrats	49	13
Total (March 8, 1941)	59	30

*Minorities parties included

Hindsight . . .

When the vote on the extension of Lend Lease came up in April of 1944 many of the Republicans that had been vociferous in their attacks upon the President's program jumped on the bandwagon. By their vote in favor of extension, they justified President Roosevelt's foresight.

This vote on extension of Lend Lease in the House was 334 in favor of the measure and 21 against. In the Senate, the vote was 63 for Lend Lease continuance and only 1 against. The sole dissenting vote was cast by Senator William Langer, Republican, of North Dakota.

Write Today!

After three years, in which the events abroad and the feelings of the people at home, had clearly indicated the importance of Lend Lease, not merely to our Allies, but to ourselves, the Republicans decided to support the measure. Better late than never still holds. Only remember that if it had not been for President Roosevelt and a majority of Democrats it might very well have been Never.

The Herald Tribune, traditionally Republican newspaper, wrote the following editorial on the Lend Lease extension debate in the Senate:

"To this newspaper it seems that the only rational light in which Lend Lease can be viewed is as a subsidy voted to sustain the others in a battle which was directly and immediately to our own interest, that the only real repayment possible lies in the others using to good purpose the weapons supplied."

What Do You Think?

Do you think that we can trust the fate of our country, and all countries, to men who could not or would not realize the danger facing this nation -- who, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, persisted in obstinate isolationism?

Can we trust our lives and our children's lives to Representative Hamilton Fish who said . . .

"It is a pipe dream to talk about Hitler and Mussolini projecting an expedition against the United States. We have much more to fear from the war makers from within than from our enemies from without."

(Congressional Record)

Or to Senator Robert A. Taft . . .

"The Republican Party is firmly opposed to involving this Nation in foreign war. We deplore explosive utterances by the President, directed at other governments (Germany and Japan) which serve to imperil our peace. . . ."

(Congressional Record)

Or to Governor Thomas E. Dewey . . .

"This bill (Lend Lease) is an attempt to abolish free government in the United States."

(World-Telegram, January 11, 1941)

What do you think? . . .

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National Citizens Political Action Committee
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Write Today!

A weekly report that helps fill in the facts you want and gives you a background for ACTION!

NO. 6 NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE SEPTEMBER 13, 1944

From time to time our American democracy embodies itself in a personality whose character, whose philosophy and whose deeds become the standard for a whole generation. George W. Norris was such a man. For 40 years he served the people of Nebraska and of all our nation in Congress. He helped us through the wilderness of reaction. And never did he falter in his defense of human rights through progressive political action.

He fought the good fight and was fighting it until the last. He accepted the honorary chairmanship of the National Citizens Political Action Committee a few short weeks ago, and we of the Committee are proud that he was with us in our work at the end. The life and works of George W. Norris will always be an inspiration to American progressives in the fight for human rights.

A Republican Congress . . . What Will It Mean?

In many ways, Congress is even more important to the running of our country than the Chief Executive. Certainly, without the help of Congress, the ablest president is hamstrung and hopelessly handicapped. Remember what happened to Wilson?

Many people regard the coming November election as merely a presidential contest. They are letting their personal preference for Dewey or Roosevelt determine their vote. But in November we must also cast a vote for Representatives and for Senators. And the Congress we elect can either support or negate the will of the people as expressed through their choice of Chief Executive. Victory for Dewey means a Republican Congress. A Republican Congress, the Facts show, will result in defeat for the expressed will of the American people. Let's look at the Facts!

OF ALL THE REPUBLICANS IN CONGRESS—of all the men to whom Dewey would look for support, if he should be elected—ONLY THREE were members of the liberal bloc. Only three, along with ONE HUNDRED TWENTY DEMOCRATS, three Progressives, and one member of the American Labor Party! All the rest—in varying degree—have been obstructionists . . . some on purpose, some unintentionally. But all were equally guilty!

Write Today!

Ranking Republicans

Because our Congress operates on a committee system, most legislation, as you know, is pretty well set in committee before it reaches the floor of the Senate or House. And committee heads are chosen on a seniority basis. The longer a man has been in Congress, the greater his chances of heading a committee. The election of Dewey would mean Republican control of major House and Senate committees.

Here are the Republicans whose rank gives them seniority on Senate Committees: Austin, Capper, Davis, Johnson, Nye, Taft, Tobey, White and Vandenburg.

In the House of Representatives, these Republicans have seniority: Andrews, Dondero, Eaton, Fish, Hancock, Hope, Maas, Taber, Treadway, Welch, Wolcott and Wolverton.

We have underlined the names of those men whose records have been particularly bad. To these, must be added the name of Joseph Martin, minority leader of the house. Under a Dewey administration, and with a Republican Congress, Martin—one of the chief obstructionists—would become Speaker of the House!

Under the Leadership of These Men . . .

The Republican minority has: OPPOSED the fortification of Guam; OPPOSED the conscription act; OPPOSED Lend-Lease; OPPOSED the arming of merchant ships; OPPOSED revision of the neutrality law; OPPOSED funds for military planes; OPPOSED the draft extension; OPPOSED the SOLDIER VOTE!

These are only a handful of the more important war measures against which these men have campaigned vigorously, and often with bitterness and partisanship at a time when unity was needed as never before in our history!

By Their Vote Shall Ye Know Them . . .

Senator Robert Taft, of Ohio, is the ranking Republican on the Education and Labor Committee. He also happens to be one of Thomas E. Dewey's chief policy makers. HOW WOULD YOU LIKE TO HAVE THIS MAN WRITE YOUR EDUCATION AND LABOR LEGISLATION????

TAFT voted NO on compulsory military training; NO on Lend-Lease; NO on arming merchant vessels; NO on freezing prices and wages at highest 1942 levels; NO on funds for national defense; NO to $50 a month soldier pay; NO to extend reciprocal trade agreements; NO to provide added funds for the National Resources Planning Board; NO on the Soldier Vote Bill. BUT . . . YES to strike out the sliding scale limit on war profits; YES to end federal subsidies after June 30th; YES to the Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Bill!

That's the record of Robert Taft—the man of vision and good will—the man who argued against selective service, saying . . .

. . . "we should not exaggerate the emergency . . . "

Write Today!

Are These the Men You Want???

Senator Nye, ranking Republican on the all-important Appropriations Committee, believes that . . .

> "The German people must be given the right to go back to Fascism after the war if they want it . . . "
>
> (Chicago Daily News, November 17, 1943)

Representatives Hope, Wolcott, and Dondero had the distinction of voting NAY to a solid list of administration bills—EVERY single bill for defense which was presented to Congress during two years!

Much has been said about HAMILTON FISH! Too much CANNOT be said to prevent his re-election! It was Fish, you'll recall, who—returning from a talk with Von Ribbentrop—announced that the German claims were "just." Fish has spoken at meetings of Bundists. He has contributed articles to a Nazi propaganda publication, "Today's Challenge." He is convicted of intimate acquaintance with George Sylvester Viereck, in whose interest he permitted mail to go out under his congressional frank. Fish, also, has voted NO on every measure that would aid in the defense of our country. He voted NO to the SOLDIER VOTE BILL.

> "As ranking minority member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Fish directed the two-and-a-half year fight in the House against the government's foreign policy. Fish made the opening speeches in which the line that the opposition was to take was laid down. Fish controlled the opposition speeches and led the caucuses in the House lobbies. FIFTY TO SEVENTY REPUBLICANS CONSISTENTLY FOLLOWED HIS LEADERSHIP, praising his attitude and defending him against attack."
>
> (New Republic, May 18, 1942)

Hamilton Fish is now the ranking Republican on the Rules Committee!

What You Must Do . . .

Yes, to be sure, there ARE obstructionists, too, among the Democrats. But there are 120 Democrats with liberal records, and only three Republicans. Many of these Democratic obstructionists have already gone down to defeat . . . and others are on the way to oblivion.

THE PUBLIC HAS AWAKENED this year in one state after the other! To help wake up your local public, you must **Write Today!** to your local papers, recommending your Congressman, if his record merits re-election—EXPOSING him if he has blocked progress at home or abroad! If you can't get your Congressman's voting record, write to us and we will supply it. We'll give you the FACTS—you must use them. . . . . .

Write Today!

National Citizens Political Action Committee
205 East 42 Street, New York 17, N. Y.

I WROTE TODAY to (names of papers)_____(in cities)_____
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Name_____ Address_____

City_____ State_____

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EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HENRY A. WALLACE
At National Citizens Political Action Committee Luncheon

New York Sept. 22, 1944

It seems to me that all of us have a very great lesson to learn from Helen Keller - all of us who really believe in the things of the spirit, and the importance of the spirit in enabling us to get things done in a concrete practical way right here on earth. Incredible to see how the spirit and the will so deeply encased in such an inaccessible way in flesh strove through this to make contact with fellow human beings. Jo Davidson had given me some letters from Helen Keller written by her on her own typewriter, without typographical mistakes of any kind, but much more wonderful even, expressed in the most striking kind of English. To be able to learn the full meaning of words, to be able to picture colors never seen! In Helen Keller, we have a very, very deep lesson in what we are trying to do and if I may be allowed to make a differentiation which may be misunderstood, a distinction between what we are trying to do and what Russia is trying to do.

As you know, I recently had the great pleasure of visiting the Soviet Union. I visited 15 factories and fully that many Experiment Stations. I talked with the scientists at these different stations and at their universities. I came to have the very deepest respect for the way in which these scientists were doing their work and for the way the Russian women were carrying on, doing 70% of the farm work. I have a profound respect for many aspects of the Soviet system and the way in which the problem of the different races is being handled - the way in which Mongols are made to feel that "Now we have an opportunity to express ourselves and go forward and have a rich life, and have more of the good things of life without losing our ancient culture" - and Kazakhs sitting beside the Yakuts at the dinner table. 80% could read and write and many felt as if they had control of their own land. There were many things that give me very great hope as I saw the skill with which the agriculture and the factories of Russia were being managed. It seemed to me as though the Russian Administrator was using extraordinary skill in making the people feel that they were a part of what was going on. They were proud of their hero. It seems to me in what those people are trying to do and what we are trying to do, there is an extraordinary difference. It may not be as fundamental as I think. I think it may be merely terminology, but some of us value terminology. Their thinking was developed under materialistic dialectics but they have diffused that thinking with great enthusiasm and it is working. Most of us prefer to go the other way around and put the spirit first. Sometimes I think we are almost as deeply encased in the flesh as the spirit of Helen Keller was when she first set out to establish contact with the outside world. The extraordinary striving and the extraordinary effort that Helen Keller made must be emulated by us.

I asked Helen Keller to write me a letter on what she thought of the post-war situation. Her main passion is for the poor people of the world. We put too much emphasis on the dollar rather than on the man, she thinks. If liberalism goes under in the United States, in Washington, I don't know how long it would go under but if it should stay under for any great length of time, as was the case in 1921 as a result of the elections in 1920, then indeed the situation in the world as a whole would be so dark there would be the gravest danger of the necessity of more bloodshed.

I am not interested in the success of any party, as a party. It is only where a party stands for something. The Democratic Party if it wins this election must truly become a liberal party or it will be in grave danger of being discarded for all time. I have no faint hope that the Republican party will be a liberal party. I have seen enough of the Republican Party to think I know whereof I speak. There is no danger of <u>its</u> becoming a liberal party.

I believed steadily that a liberal party to be effective nationally in the United States must represent not merely labor. Labor is not enough. It must represent labor, but in addition to labor it must represent the forward looking folks among the farmers. There must be not merely factory workers represented, but very definitely the white collar workers as well - more effectively than they are at the present time. The small business men undoubtedly. There must be represented the liberal groups. The South must be represented. We cannot give up hope of the South. I feel the South, potentially, is one of the most liberal parts of the nation. The liberal part of the South has not had opportunity. But there is a Claude Pepper of Florida, a Governor Arnall of Georgia. We must have the South if we are going to have a liberal party in national power.

New York occupies a unique position, relative to the liberal movement. Here you have the greatest body of intelligentsia- you might call them white-collar workers - who are truly liberal. Here you have the greatest number of wealthy people who are liberal. They are one of the great sources of hope for the future of this country and for the future of the world.

I have been accused of being a mystic and of being unpractical. I don't know that anyone who has looked at me believes it. Of course, I think that the most practical thing in the world is having an idea and then putting it in practical effect. And the most impractical thing in the world is to make money without having any ideas. It is fun to have an idea and figure out what you are going to do about it every day and gradually see it take form. The place I have had the most fun, is in working with the breeding of plants. Call it mysticism if you will. When I became the Secretary of Agriculture and was able to get the cooperation of Congress and stored up a supply of several million bushels of grain it had good practical results in feeding Russians and Chinese when the war came.

Well, here are a bunch of liberals. Folks who have been willing to pay something for their liberalism. That is really the test, but the biggest test of all is not paying money for your liberalism. For many, the biggest test is being willing to think and then do something about the thinking. So I am plead- for your practicality. How can this country establish that relationship with other nations that will make us sure of our peace? How can you establish that relationship which will best keep our people employed? I am one of those who believes in incentive taxation. Not because I am soft-hearted towards the businessmen, but because I think you get the most people employed that way.

I think the Democratic Party stands for liberal production. Definite liberality of production to have full employment - the employment, a year after the war is over, of 58,000,000 people. That is our objective. I think that is a liberal program, one to shoot for. It can be attained, but it means more planning than we used to have. Liberals hate to plan, they hate to cooperate for planning. They are poor planners when they pull together, except when they are scared, which happens every four years.

I hope of course that we can have the unity among the varied groups of our people to overcome the post war problems, but there are those who are more interested in power and in dollars than they are in human beings and in ideas. There always have been such people. These people have such a simple objective that they can organize much more readily than those interested in men and ideas. It has always been that way.

So we have to strive under the utmost difficulty to release the spirit. What made me so happy after the Chicago convention - and folks thought I was cuckoo after I said I was happy about it all, but I really was, because it seemed to me as though the drama of that convention did help just a little bit toward making it possible for the liberals of this country sooner or later to express themselves more effectively. Due to the accident of circumstances, I felt that I was able to purchase for the liberal cause with three or four days of my time in July more than I could have hoped to accomplish through several years of the most strenuous speaking and writing, and believe me, I am very, very happy about that phase of the matter. I am going to do everything I can of course to bring about the triumph of the Democratic party in this

election and I feel it is a very important thing to do. I trust that after the victory, which I hope for, we will then proceed wholeheartedly to make the Democratic Party a more fighting party, to make possible the release of the liberal spirit.

CIOPAC

Write Today!

A weekly report that helps fill in the facts you want and gives you a background for ACTION!

NO. 13 NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE NOVEMBER 1, 1944

What Is the Score?

In previous numbers *Write Today!* has given you the FACTS you needed to make up your mind . . . and to help others make up their minds . . . on the REAL ISSUES in this election. *Write Today!* has spread out the record of President Roosevelt and his opponent, of the two parties in Congress, for you to compare their past performances with their present promises. When you receive this, November 7th — the day of decision — will be close at hand. For the last time, *Write Today!* sums up the score . . . the basic FACTS on which the decision must be made if the people are to decide rightly . . .

There are only two issues in this election. Dewey and the Republicans have desperately attempted to cover them up, to create false issues, to confuse and divide the voters, to appeal to racial and religious prejudice, to play upon the emotions of the people by dishonestly promising to bring the soldiers home sooner, to woo nationality-blocs by distorting the facts about the administration's foreign policy. They have said one thing to one group and the opposite to another. Dewey has talked out of one side of his mouth in the East and out of the other side in the West.

Every cheap device known to the unscrupulous demogogue has been employed by the Republican candidate and his backers. Their main weapon — borrowed from Hitler — has been the monstrous lie dinned day after day into the ears of the people by the campaign orators and the anti-Roosevelt press. But the storm of confusion they have artificially stirred up cannot obscure . . .

The Two Real Issues . . .

These are . . .

1. Which candidate can best fight the war through to total victory, and establish in cooperation with our Allies the solid basis for a lasting peace?

2. Which candidate is best equipped to administer our post-war economy so as to achieve a level of production assuring full employment?

Write Today!

Victory and Lasting Peace . . .

Today our fighting men are back in the Philippines. They are smashing the Siegfried Line. They have broken into the Po Valley of North Italy. Under President Roosevelt's leadership as Commander-in-Chief, we have trained and equipped the most effective Army in history, as a long chain of brilliant victories attests. We have also built and manned the greatest Navy in history, with an equally brilliant record of victory over the enemy by sea. Our air forces are supreme all over the world. By land, sea and air we are sweeping toward certain and complete victory.

What have Dewey and his party done in the past which would indicate that they could speed up the march to victory?

> Before Pearl Harbor, Dewey opposed Lend-Lease, saying the measure to bolster the fight against Hitler was "an attempt to abolish free government in the United States." His party voted heavily against the bill — 135 to 24 in the House and 17 to 10 in the Senate.

Dewey opposed the destroyer-for-bases trade, which kept Britain fighting and helped us get ready for the Battle of the Atlantic. He ridiculed President Roosevelt's goal of 100,000 planes a year, a goal which has now been surpassed. On most of the crucial preparedness measures before the nation was attacked, Dewey was silent and didn't give himself away, though his party in Congress did its best to sabotage them, voting overwhelmingly against lifting the Arms Embargo to permit aid to the nations fighting Hitler, against arming our merchant ships so they could defend themselves from U-boats, against Selective Service to build an army, against keeping that army in service after we had it, against maintaining the army air force appropriation.

Can Men with This Record Be Trusted to Fight the War Through to Total Victory??

Can we trust them to make a peace that will stay put after victory is won? Under a Dewey administration, isolationist Hiram Johnson of California would be Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee! Johnson was one of the "small group of willful men" who broke Wilson's heart and wrecked the League of Nations after World War I. Next in senority on that all-important Committee would be isolationist Senator Capper! Chairman of the Appropriations Committee controlling the financing of our peace commitments would be isolationist Senator Gerald P. Nye, bitter foe of our major Allies and spokesman for our native fascists! Isolationists Vandenberg and Taft would be all-powerful in the Senate! Obstructionist Joe Martin would be Speaker of the House — a man who consistently opposed all essential measures of American preparedness and aid to our Allies. Ham Fish would be chairman of the Rules Committee, which determines what bills reach the floor of the House.

> Not only would this combination in Congress make any effective international cooperation impossible — assuming Dewey seriously intends to cooperate — but the forces outside of Congress who are backing Dewey and paying his way with cash and propaganda would have a big hand in determining his policies — Col. McCormick of the Chicago Tribune, who was Gerald L. K. Smith's choice for President; isolationist GOP Vice Chairman Schroeder; isolationist GOP Finance Director Kemper; Joe Patterson and William Randolph Hearst. Imagine Dewey at some future Casablanca, Cairo, Teheran or Quebec, not merely hampered by his own inexperience and lack of world understanding but tied hand and foot by his commitments to the rabid isolationists in his party!

Full Production and Employment . . .

Dewey has rung the changes on the "New Deal depression" but he has not given us a blueprint of how he would create full production and employment after the war. He has said enough though to indicate that his idea is to "let business alone" and the jobs will materialize of themselves. This was the Hoover formula! And, remember, the peak of the Hoover "prosperity" in 1929 was 20% below 1939 in what Dewey calls the Roosevelt "depression."

Economists agree that our post-war production must reach 170 billions (twice the Hoover peak!) if the downward spiral of another depression is to be avoided. This production, according to the Federal Reserve Board, will mean full employment — 58,000,000 jobs. To go back to the level of any pre-war year — even that of 1941 — will result in mass unemployment exceeding the worst of the Hoover depression in 1932 and 1933.

While the Republicans have no plan for avoiding such a catastrophe, the Roosevelt administration submitted in the report of the National Resources Planning Board and in the Murray-Kilgore bill, an orderly plan for full production and expanded social security for the whole population.

> For charting the way to full production and employment, the National Resources Planning Board was killed by Dewey's party in Congress, aided and abetted by anti-Roosevelt Democrats! The same unholy alliance gutted the Murray-Kilgore bill!

It is clear that full production and jobs for all can only be achieved under President Roosevelt and a progressive Congress which will follow his lead in adopting concrete legislation to maintain a high level of national production supported by social security for all. No matter how great our military victory abroad we can be defeated at home by another depression. However firmly we attempt to lay the foundations for peace, they can be uprooted by the mass misery and discontent which are the consequences of dire unemployment.

Vote for Victory . . . Peace . . . Jobs . . .

These are the two great issues — victory and peace — production and jobs —

Write Today! has brought you the **FACTS** which show that the people must choose Roosevelt and a progressive Congress to assure total victory, lasting peace, full production and jobs for all. There is very little time left. You must **Write Today!** You must Vote and urge everybody you can reach to VOTE ON NOVEMBER 7 — FOR ROOSEVELT . . . FOR A PROGRESSIVE CONGRESS . . . FOR VICTORY . . . FOR PEACE . . . FOR JOBS . . .

Write Today!

National Citizens Political Action Committee
Shelton Hotel, New York 17, N. Y.

I WROTE TODAY to (names of papers)_____ (in cities) _____
I'll send you a clipping when the letter appears.

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____

Reprint from

LETTERS TO THE TIMES

"I join the National Citizens Political Action Committee because I think the time has again come for men and women to stand by democracy. I think the time has come again to give the heave and the push that will make those words equality and freedom start men's hearts beating fast and keep them beating. There are hard days ahead of us. This time we cannot sit and wait for somebody to do something. We cannot wait for President Roosevelt to do it. He is ready, but this time it's a bigger job and a different job and it will take more help. It will take all the help we can give it.

I join the National Citizens PAC because in it are the people who remember. In it are the men and women who know how to work and who are willing to work, not only for themselves but for all of us, and who are not ashamed to say words like equality and freedom and world cooperation, and who mean them. They are the people who will stand by and I want to stand by with them."

LILLIAN SMITH
New York, October 24, 1944
(Excerpt from N. Y. TIMES, October 27, 1944)

NATIONAL CITIZENS
POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
SHELTON HOTEL
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK
65

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COMM OF INTERRACIAL
COOPERATION - INC
710 STANDARD BLDG
ATLANTA GA OR

November 30, 1945

Mr. C. B. Baldwin
National Citizens Political
Action Committee
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

Thank you for your memorandum of November 10 concerning the United States Employment Service. You will be interested to know that at the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta on November 14 a resolution was adopted to the effect that "It is the sense of this body that the United States Employment Service should remain under the control of the Federal Government."

This statement was given to the press and it has been communicated to President Truman, Senator Barkley, and others.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

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Sidney Hillman

Chairman Executive Council
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Vice-Chairmen
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General Counsel
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James H. McGill

Secretary
Clark Foreman

RECEIVED
NOV 13 1945
Southern Regional Council

November 10, 1945

TO: Organizations and individuals active in the race relations field:

The National Citizens Political Action Committee has already gone on record in favor of passage of FEPC legislation, and in that connection has communicated with leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties.

The National Citizens PAC believes that the retention of the United States Employment Service under federal control during the reconversion period is of the utmost importance in eliminating discrimination in postwar planning as well as in facilitating any program of full employment.

We therefore urge you who are directly concerned with race relations problems to read the enclosed analysis of the United States Employment Service situation and, both individually and for your organization, to take immediate action.

Very truly yours,

C B Baldwin

C. B. Baldwin

Enclosure

205 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ★ TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 3-5580

10

RETENTION OF EMPLOYMENT SERVICE AS NATIONAL AGENCY
ESSENTIAL TO FAIR EMPLOYMENT IN RECONVERSION PERIOD

Persons thoroughly familiar with the operations of the United States Employment Service and with the implications of these operations to fair employment practices believe that retention of the Employment Service as a federal agency until the reconversion period is over is of the utmost importance. President Truman's speech on Tuesday evening further underlined the need for federal operation.

Since there is an immediate threat to return the Employment Service to the jurisdiction of the various states, and since this action will greatly endanger the possibility of referring minority group workers to jobs on a nondiscriminatory basis, we believe you will be interested in the following analysis of the situation.

I. PREWAR

Prior to Pearl Harbor, each state was responsible for the administration of its own Employment Service and was subject only to certain general standards established by the Social Security Board. These standards related primarily to the type of unemployment compensation law in the state, the businesslike administration of the agency, and to the basis for selecting and promoting personnel. (In this connection, it should be noted that several states who did not meet the standards prescribed by the Social Security Board with respect to selection of personnel nevertheless received matching grants from the federal government.)

As a result of this decentralization, each state adopted its own policies and practices on referrals of minority group workers and on accepting discriminatory orders from employers. Many states made no attempt to refer members of minority groups to certain types of jobs and, in many more, practiced open discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups in their selection of workers to fill orders.

The Social Security Board, although responsible for certifying grants to states, did not investigate the question of discriminatory referrals, nor did it make discrimination or the lack of it by state agencies a condition for certification.

II. WAR PERIOD

Immediately after Pearl Harbor, in response to a telegram from the President, all governors were asked to transfer state employment services to the federal government for the duration of the emergency. This request was made because manpower could be mobilized for the war effort only on a well-coordinated, closely knit national basis. Transfers of workers from one state to another were required to fill war manpower needs and national planning was essential to handle the manpower situation efficiently.

In connection with federalizing the Employment Service during the war, definite policies were adopted which eliminated discrimination in public employment offices. Local employment offices were instructed not to accept orders from employers which included discriminatory requirements, to refer workers to employers solely on the basis of ability, without respect to color, creed, or national origin. Although implementation of these policies varied enormously throughout the country, there can be no doubt but that the United States Employment Service almost everywhere operated on a less discriminatory basis than before the war. It is also true that deviation from the national policy of no discrimination could be handled more effectively under the federalized system since complaints could be brought to the national headquarters and disciplinary action taken when necessary.

In addition to the marked progress in lessening discriminatory practices, a large number of competent workers were attracted to the Employment Service, in many cases replacing political employees. These new employees are now operating on "war service appointments"* and, as a result, approximately 60 percent of the persons working in the local employment offices do not have civil service status in the various states.

III. POSTWAR

Aside from the effect on race relations of returning the Employment Service to the states, the enormous relocation and redirection of workers which must take place during the reconversion period in itself requires the maintenance of a federalized employment service. For the same reasons that it was necessary to establish a federal service to recruit manpower for war projects, it is likewise necessary to maintain a federal service to bring about intelligent reallocation of these workers to peacetime pursuits.

The following are the results which will accrue if the Employment Service is returned to the states prior to the end of the reconversion period:

A. Any possibility of a national, planned program of relocation of war workers will be automatically eliminated by cutting up the federal Employment Service into 48 parts, thus drastically interfering with the resumption of peacetime production and the rapidity with which war workers and the unemployed can resume their place in postwar industry.

B. The immediate replacement of approximately 60 percent of the persons now employed in local employment offices by untrained personnel, in many instances primarily political appointments, will drastically interfere with the type of service being rendered to returning veterans and to unemployed war workers, and will seriously endanger implementation of the G.I. Bill of Rights.

* Duration of war and 60 days thereafter

C. Abandonment of the national research, statistics, and planning which can be provided only through a federal service will seriously impair preparation of accurate national budgets on employment and unemployment which are essential to the operation of any full employment program.

D. Return of the Employment Service to the states will automatically remove any responsibility on the part of the federal government for a continuation of a policy of non-discrimination and will automatically make it possible for local employment services to revert to prewar practices of discrimination.

IV. STATUS OF LEGISLATION AFFECTING UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

A. The Murray Bill, Senate Bill 1510, calls for amendment of the Wagner-Peyser Act (the original act which established the public employment service) in such a manner that the United States Employment Service will be retained under the federal government until June 1947, at which time it will be returned to the states. This bill also specifies that when the Employment Service is returned to the various states, war service employees will be taken over by the states, and, finally, that qualifying examinations must be given by the states to employees within 12 months after the Employment Service is returned to them. In other words, this bill assures federal operation during the reconversion period and protects tenure of qualified and trained workers employed during the war years.

The Murray Bill is now under consideration by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, who should be informed immediately of your support of this bill. Members are:

James E. Murray - Montana
David I. Walsh - Massachusetts
Elbert D. Thomas - Utah
Claude Pepper - Florida
Allen J. Ellender - Louisiana
Lister Hill - Alabama
Dennis Chavez - New Mexico
James M. Tunnell - Delaware
Joseph F. Guffey - Pennsylvania
Olin D. Johnston - South Carolina
J. William Fulbright - Arkansas
Robert M. LaFollette, Jr. - Wisconsin
Robert A. Taft - Ohio
George D. Aiken - Vermont
Joseph H. Ball - Minnesota
H. Alexander Smith - New Jersey
Wayne Morse - Oregon
Forrest C. Donnell - Missouri

B. The Senate appropriation bill providing for return to the Treasury of unexpended funds appropriated for the war, known as the Rescission Bill, has been passed by the Senate along with a rider proposed by Congressman Dirksen. This rider calls for the return of the United States Employment Service to the states within 30 days after passage of the bill. This bill is now in the Senate Appropriations Committee.

Write or wire members of the Senate Appropriations Committee, calling for an amendment of the Dirksen rider to bring it in line with Murray Bill S. 1510. Members of the Senate Appropriations Committee are listed below:

Carter Glass - Virginia
Kenneth McKellar - Tennessee
Carl Hayden - Arizona
Elmer Thomas - Oklahoma
Millard E. Tydings - Maryland
Richard B. Russell - Georgia
Pat McCarran - Nevada
John H. Overton - Louisiana
John H. Bankhead, 2d - Alabama
Joseph C. O'Mahoney - Wyoming
Theodore Francis Green - Rhode Island
Dennis Chavez - New Mexico
James M. Mead - New York
Burnet R. Maybank - South Carolina
Abe Murdock - Utah
Styles Bridges - New Hampshire
Wallace H. White, Jr. - Maine
Chan Gurney - South Dakota
C. Wayland Brooks - Illinois
Clyde M. Reed - Kansas
Harold H. Burton - Ohio
Joseph H. Ball - Minnesota
Raymond E. Willis - Indiana
Homer Ferguson - Michigan
Kenneth S. Wherry - Nebraska

C. In his message on Tuesday night, October 30, President Truman again urged that the United States Employment Service be retained as a federal agency during the reconversion period. He should receive wires or letters applauding his stand and urging him to veto the Rescission Bill unless the Dirksen rider is brought into line with bill S. 1510.

- o -

11/10/45

Congress of Industrial Organizations

718 Jackson Place, N. W. • Washington 6, D. C.

EXECUTIVE 5581

January 31, 1946

RECEIVED
FEB 4 1946
Southern Regional Council

SECOND

NOTICE

Dear Friend:

According to our records, you received free of charge some time ago a quantity of the picture strip, "There Are No Master Races." Recently, we sent you a questionnaire to complete concerning this picture strip.

As we pointed out at the time, the strip was not prepared by the CIO but by another organization interested in underwriting the cost of additional CIO educational projects. Before undertaking such additional work, however, they are anxious to see the results of our distribution.

The enclosed quentionnaire is to be part of a distribution poll that we are conducting for them. Unless it is filled out and returned, we will not be able to report on the effectiveness of our distribution and may, as a result, lose the valuable cooperation of this organization.

We realize that this questionnaire may be coming at a time when you are very busy, but we hope that you can spare a few minutes to fill it out and return it to this office.

Sincerely yours,

George T. Guernsey

George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director of Education

P.S. We have on hand, incidentally, a number of reprints of the CIO News feature, "Together We Win." This is a one-page illustrated digest of the CIO anti-discrimination program, and it is available free in quantity lots.

THERE ARE NO MASTER RACES

1. How was "There Are No Master Races" distributed?

	No. of copies (approx.)
a. Received	100
b. Still undistributed	100
c. Mailed to members	
d. Distributed at local union meetings	
e. Distributed together with labor newspapers	
f. Handed out at plant gates	
g. Displayed on literature table in union halls	
h. Other methods	
i. Unaccounted for	

2. Have you received any request for "There Are No Master Races"? Yes__ No__
IF YES: By whom?_____ How many?_____

3. Have you heard or received comment on "There Are No Master Races"? Yes__ No X
IF YES: By whom?_____ What comment?_____

4. What did you personally think about the comic strip?
Good X Bad__ Indifferent__
What did you think was good or bad about it? an effective approach to young people who are interested in "Comics"

5. If you have distributed "There Are No Master Races", or if you plan to do so, is this to be part of a larger program to combat racial and religious intolerance? Yes X No__
IF YES: What sort of larger program is it (films, classes, special meetings, program materials, etc.)? As an occasional supplement to our other publications

6. What specific other kinds of material could you use to start or continue your program?_____

Do you have any other suggestions?_____

Name: Guy B. Johnson
Organization: Southern Regional Council
Address: Atlanta, Ga.

memo from PAC

Southern Regional Council

IMMEDIATE ACTION WILL PASS THE 65-75 CENT WAGE BILL

The United States Senate is ready to act on the 65-75-cent hourly minimum wage bill. Debate and the final vote are expected shortly—perhaps only a day or two after you read this bulletin. Action is necessary—at once.

The bill, as favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, contains the following provisions: The 65-cent hourly minimum would be established for two years, with rises to 70 and 75 cents after two and four years, respectively. Industry Committees can recommend rises above the 65-cent limit prior to the time when higher rates become effective.

A nation-wide survey reported that of the available job openings, about 32% paid only 40-60 cents an hour.

Workers covered include seamen, those in fish and other canneries, in retail and service industries doing business in excess of $500,000 or having more than four units, in processing of agricultural products (in the "area of production"), children employed by telegraph and telephone companies. These are all exempt under the present provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The statute of limitations under which a worker may seek wages due from employers who violate the law is set at two years.

Behind these facts lie many long and weary months of legislative work and political activity. Work carried on jointly by CIO unions, religious, farm, consumer, small businessmen, educational, fraternal and women's organizations in many parts of the country.

But those months are past. The question now is the present. Will these months of work be successful? Will the bill pass? Will the millions of American workers who cannot feed or clothe or house their families on $20 or $24—or less—a week be helped?

But not only the welfare of our workers is at stake. The national welfare, the welfare of every American, is concerned. The chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee stated in a recent letter to key PAC and non-labor leaders, urging passage of the bill:

> "The passage of the act will bring additional millions of dollars in purchasing power to families throughout the nation. The maintenance of national purchasing power is the basis of an economy of full employment. The passage of S1349 will benefit all groups in American Life."
>
> Sidney Hillman

We repeat our original question. Will the bill pass? It can and will—IF—our legislative efforts are not relaxed. IF we muster all of our forces for action on the floor debate.

IF we bury our Congressmen under with letters, letters and more letters, with stacks of telegrams, with resolutions and other evidences of organized support. IF we mobilize community opinion and action behind this issue.

Certain special steps should be taken. Besides concentrating your mail barrage on the Senate, let your local newspaper editors know what the thinking of you, your family and your friends is on this important bill.

And when these letters appear in the press, send a copy to your Senator. Newspapers mean contact with people and people mean votes. That's the way your Senator will reason.

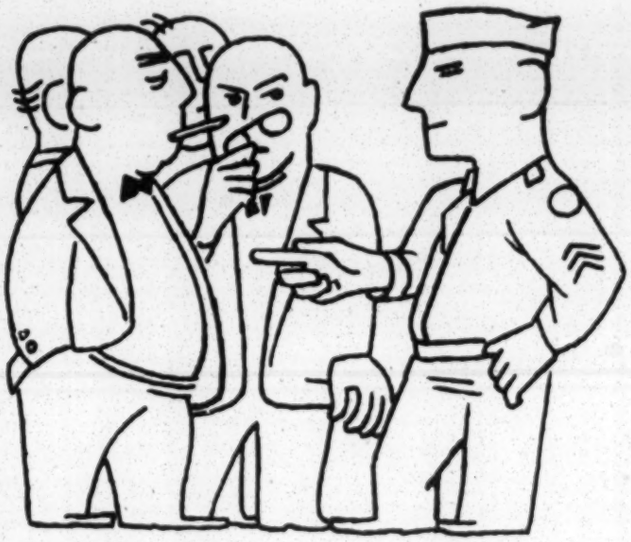
Don't work alone. Wherever possible join with other labor, farm, religious, business, women's and educational groups to rally as much influence behind the bill as possible.

Don't forget the veterans. They can spearhead the drive.

Veterans have been hoodwinked about easy, big-money jobs and are returning to meagre-paying positions—when they can find them. It is not uncommon for battle-scarred vets to re-enlist in order to support their wives and children. You can't care for a family on 40-cents-an-hour these days.

The veterans know this, and probably will be happy to aid in the fight. Contact veterans organizations. Have them contact the Senators.

When you approach local political officials in your city, county or state, make sure that your delegation has a good veterans representation.



But more can be done to arouse public support. Action steps should be incorporated into press releases. Where possible, newspaper ads should be run. Above all, utilize radio in every possible way. Radio has an audience of millions.

FILM STAR BACKS BILL

Screen Star

The National PAC office is now distributing a 15-minute dramatized transcription, produced in Hollywood, and starring film star Gregory Peck, and a top cast.

Mr. Peck dishes out plenty of good advice in his broadcast. He says: "The 65-cent-an-hour bill is coming up in the Senate most any day now. You'd imagine its passage is a sure thing—but—there are always lobby interests to battle such a bill—and Congressmen listen to them.

"Check your Senator. Is he in favor of the bill or not? All right! If we believe in democracy being a government by the people and for the people, then let's act accordingly.

"I am asking every one of you listening to me to get a blank sheet of paper or a post card and address it to your Senator, House Office Building, Washington, D. C., and say, 'Dear Congressman: I beg you, for the sake of my children and other people's children, for the sake of the men and women who fought the war that we might live free of want and fear—vote YES on the 65-cent-an-hour minimum wage bill.'

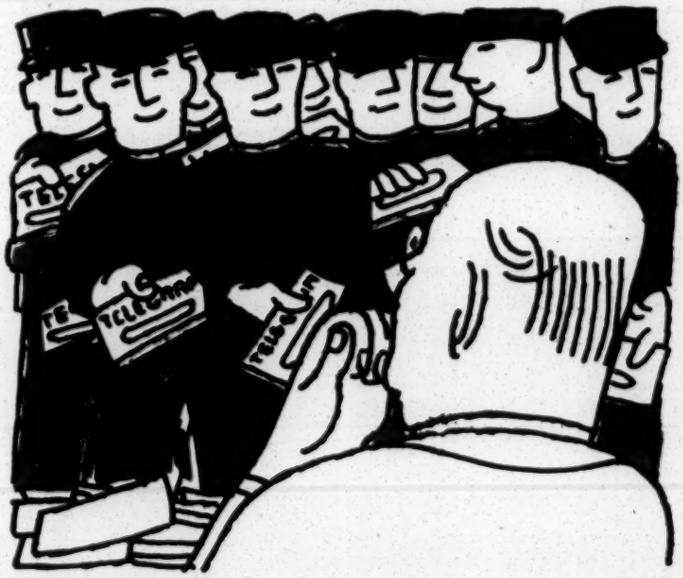
"I myself am going to do this right now. And I am going to sign my letter, Your Constitutent, Gregory Peck."

Copies of the Gregory Peck record may be ordered directly. The cost is $15 plus shipping costs.

Every effort should be made to get local radio stations to play this record without charge. Tell station managers that under FCC regulations public issues must be aired, and that stations are licensed to serve in the public interest.

If free time is not forthcoming, time should be purchased.

WHAT EVER YOU DO—DO IT TODAY.



DO IT TODAY: Action today will pass the 65-75 cent minimum wage bill. The two Senators from your state should be contacted at once. Send letters, telegrams, post cards. Get others to send them, too. Above all, make sure they are sent TODAY.

A LETTER WILL DO IT

1794 First Avenue
Jenkins, Oregon
February 27, 1946

Dear Senator,

Everyone knows I am supporting the 65-75 cent minimum wage bill. The school people, our veterans, the unions, women's groups even the businessmen.

I'm a worker in a full economy and after counting my take home pay, believe me, I need that minimum wage.

I'm not working for myself. I hope to make a good wage, I'm going to buy more things for my family.

This means more jobs for everyone and prosperity for all.

Therefore, won't you please vote yes on the 65-75 cent minimum wage bill.

Respectfully
James Fox

A POST CARD WILL DO IT TOO

Dear Senator:
I understand you are going to vote on the 65-cent Minimum Wage Bill. Won't you vote yes? It means a lot to me. More foods for my children, maybe a dress for my wife. I can't get along on what I make now. Please vote yes. I vote in the Fourth Congressional District.
Respectfully,
William Roberts
32 Vine Street
Smithtown, Arkansas

AND OF COURSE TELEGRAMS

Charge to the account of
CHECK IF REPLY DESIRED
TELEPHONE | CHARGE
DAY LETTER | NIGHT LETTER
CABLE | DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER | NIGHT LETTER

WESTERN UNION
A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

$
CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

HON. - - -
U. S. SENATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

UNITED SUPPORT FOR PASSAGE OF 65-75 CENT MINIMUM WAGE BILL IN THIS COMMUNITY. VETERANS ESPECIALLY VOCAL IN THEIR SUPPORT. URGE YOU VOTE YES ON BILL AND FIGHT FOR IT ON SENATE FLOOR.

ROBERT GIBBONS
43 WEGMAN ROAD
WHARTON, ILLINOIS

CONGRESSIONAL PORTRAIT

Sen. Pepper

If the 65-75 cent hourly minimum wage bill survives its Senate test, place Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida high on the list of those to be congratulated, for he is its author, sponsor and unyielding proponent.

South of the Mason-Dixon line Labor's staunchest congressional friend is this veteran New Dealer, feared by corporate interests, and bitterly fought when he successfully retained his seat in 1944 by the Republicans, an insurance lobby, and the Associated Industries of Florida, political action arm of the State Chamber of Commerce.

A giant of progressivism in a state which has outlawed the closed-shop, Sen. Pepper supported the CIO stand in the strike disputes, lambasting the U. S. Steel Corp. for attempting to "force this country back into the depression."

A forceful spokesman of things he believes in, he has vigorously fought for America's working millions throughout his ten years in the upper house, is chairman of a sub-committee on health and education and has originated numerous health bills. He defied southern political tradition when it came to anti-poll-tax legislation, becoming one of the few Southerners who went all-out for it, even sponsoring a bill of his own.

America profited by his farsighted understanding of international crises when he sponsored the War Mobilization Bill, initiated the idea of trading old American destroyers for British bases, and battled for Lend-Lease and the entire Roosevelt program—all two years before Pearl Harbor.

CIO-PAC rates Claude Pepper A-1.

PAC 'ROUND THE NATION

SOUTH CAROLINA: Initial meeting of CIO unions sets up State PAC with Walter Truman, Textile Workers Union director, as temporary chairman...April meeting will make structure permanent...

OKLAHOMA: Council boosts per capita tax for PAC work...Congressional district committees set up...Conference on congressional candidates held...

VIRGINIA: State council meeting approves PAC structure and program...Agrees concentration point in forthcoming campaign must be Sen. Byrd, other anti-democratic elements in state's congressional representation...Full-time PAC director will be named soon...

TEXAS: Voting potential heaviest in history with voters flocking to pay poll taxes...

ALABAMA: Record-breaking payment of poll taxes in Madison County credited to Textile Workers...Incomplete returns show at least 3,500 years of back taxes paid...

OHIO: State organization lines up for spring primaries at March 9-10 meeting...Endorsement of candidates gets top priority...

NEW MEXICO: Growing activity reported among Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers locals... Recent conference weighed means of stepping up pace in coming elections...Veterans eager to work on progressive issues...

ARKANSAS: Poll tax payment record hung up...19,067 more paid than in 1944...Evidence of increased PAC activity...

CALIFORNIA: Fund-raising drive stimulated by National Union of Marine, Cooks and Stewards, which checked in with $2,250, far exceeding quota...Announcement of Rep. Ellis Patterson's candidacy for U.S. Senator warmly received by labor groups...

LOUISIANA: First convention of State PAC set for March 10...Registration of CIO members, $1 voluntary contribution two top goals...

memo from PAC

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M'KELLAR REJECTS CIO-PAC OVERTURES

Declines Conference Proposal —Repudiates 'Communists'

Special to The Chattanooga Times.

KNOXVILLE, April 16—Sen. K. D. McKellar has rejected an invitation to a conference with the Memphis CIO-PAC, stating that he prefers defeat to "kneeling" to the CIO for support, according to a Washington dispatch to the Knoxville Journal signed by Journal City Editor Duke Merritt.

McKellar is a candidate for Democratic renomination in the party primary of next August. He is opposed by E. W. (Ned) Carmack of Murfreesboro, Tenn.

Rejection of the CIO invitation was embodied in a letter replying to R. H. Routon of Memphis, CIO-PAC chairman, who wrote the senior Tennessee senator that a subcommittee had "asked me (Routon) to extend to you an invitation to meet with them at your earliest convenience to discuss the issues involved in the senatorial campaign and your position on these issues."

Cites Chattanooga Convention

Referring to a recent state CIO-PAC convention held in Chattanooga, Sen. McKellar said: "In that convention I was roundly traduced and abused by leading members of your organization. Some of the statements were false, others were malicious and practically all of them misleading. Others indicated that your organization in Tennessee was going to tax your members $1 each or in all about $75,000, largely to be used in an effort to defeat me in the coming primary."

Continuing, Sen. McKellar wrote in part: "I also note that your organization favors the PAC, FEPC and other Communistic groups.

"I am not a Communist; I am not a Socialist; I am a Democrat with a record, so I am informed, of voting for more laws having for their purpose the betterment of labor than perhaps any other senator in the Senate.

"You state in your letter that you represent such a large group of people in Memphis and Shelby County that you want me to come to Memphis and confer with you over the issues. Your organization states that it has 75,000 voters in Tennessee. The inference of your representing such a large group of people apparently is a threat that you are so strong in Shelby County and in Tennessee that I had better come down and deal with you and other members of your organization when your organization is already actively working against me as shown by the Chattanooga meeting.

"I have never been nominated or elected by making deals with groups of voters and I desire to say that if that is necessary for me to be nominated at this time I would rather not be nominated.

No Need of Conference

"In writing you thus plainly, I can see no need of a conference between us. Your platform is already made and so is mine.

"I mean no disrespect to you personally. I am just talking perfectly plainly as I always do. I never have made a promise, nor have I ever before been asked to make a promise to any person or group in Tennessee, in order to be nominated or be elected and will not do so now. In thus turning down your request for a conference as to issues I do not mean to say that I do not want every laboring man's vote in my state. I have been their friend and I believe that the rank and file of your organization would vote for me if left alone, because they must know that I have uniformly been the real friend of labor, as my entire record will show, without making any promises to be.

"I propose to run as a candidate for all the people of Tennessee, just as I have always run before and I propose to continue to serve all the people of Tennessee.

"My opponent was finally selected by Silliman Evans' Nashville Tennessean after several had declined to make the race against me.

"The Chattanooga Times has been vicious against me for some time and so has the Memphis Press Scimitar.

"I could not bow to the dictates of these papers any more than I could bow to the dictates of the CIO."

NO HELP, THANK YOU

Some of the fervor of a typical crusade, we suspect, has been extracted from the widely advertised CIO campaign to unionize the South. And out with the fervor may go an apparent ideological tinge.

Oddly enough, the cooling-off process originates within the leadership of the CIO itself. Van Bittner, director of the Southern organizing campaign currently capitalized at $1 million, warns any prospective allies that "no crowd, whether Communist, Socialist, or anybody else is going to mix up in this organization drive. This drive is a CIO affair. We don't want people (in case nobody heard him the first time) to get us mixed up with all these other organizations."

Of course, this could be a smoke screen thrown up to disguise the riders on the band wagon rather than to drive them off. We wouldn't know. But what Mr. Bittner has in mind is a something called the "Help Organize the South" movement, headed by Represntative Powell of New York, which has planned a parade and rally in Harlem —cash donations gratefully accepted, of course.

It takes no prophet or a son thereof to predict that the CIO will not have easy sailing in the Southern states. However that may be, groups which like trouble for trouble's sake doubtless will attempt to attach themselves to the campaign. That

nearly always happens, and the attachment is a veritable kiss of death.

Somehow or other, the line of march to the South always forms up in New York City, where, at the drop of a hat, a committee can be formed or a $10-a-plate dinner can be organized to celebrate the fate or fortune of share croppers, poll taxers, indigent intellectuals and bare-footed illiterates. We are not prepared to pass any sort of judgment on Mr. Bittner's campaign but we concede that his public booting of the fellow travelers is a good thing. A little foot leather needs to be expended in this direction at regular intervals.

NEWS

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A Primer of FOREIGN POLICY

(USAAF photo from Acme)

"Perhaps two thirds of the people of the earth would be killed in a war fought with the atomic bomb," Dr. Albert Einstein has concluded.

Here, in one simple statement, is presented the great issue of all time: are we to have total peace or total war?

Due to the importance for all peoples, indeed for human life itself, of our resolution of this issue, POLITICAL GUIDE presents the chief misconceptions about atomic warfare, lists ten essentials for a foreign policy in this atomic age.

"The answer is simple—keep the secret of the atomic bomb, then no one will dare attack us."

This cliche is finally dying, but it must be killed outright. There is no "secret of the atomic bomb" that can be permanently kept. The Atomic Scientists of Chicago have declared unequivocally: "Those who advocate that the secret of the atomic bomb be kept mislead our own people rather than other countries. There are no longer any fundamental secrets about the atomic bomb." And they add: "Other nations may well have bombs in from two to five years."

"With our headstart and huge industrial resources we ought to have an advantage that would enable us to crush anyone who attacked us."

This is mere wishful thinking that does not check with the facts. First, compared with the cost of other weapons and their comparative effectiveness, the atomic bomb is the cheapest war weapon in the world. Second, once a nation builds an atomic bomb stock pile large enough to demolish the major cities of potential enemies, no more military advantages result from larger stock piles.

"During the war a defense was devised for every new offensive weapon. If our scientists were ingenious enough to develop the atomic bomb surely they will eventually work out an effective defense."

It's true that during the past war new defenses developed against new weapons were sometimes 90% effective. But atomic explosives demand not 90% but 100% effectiveness. And, as Professor Harold C. Urey, a leading atomic scientist, has expressed it, "A 100% effective defense has never been achieved against any weapon." Dr. Henry Smyth of Princeton has pointed out: "There is no scientific reason why atomic bombs cannot be shipped in trunks or boxes in peace time to key population centers and detonated at the moment desired."

"Even if another country should strike us first, with our high industrial potential we would be stronger."

To the contrary, because America is such an industrialized country, with such large populations concentrated in exposed cities, the effect of the atomic bomb will be to weaken America's military position. General H. H. Arnold has revealed that "a country's major cities might be destroyed overnight."

Obviously, then, we can not, we must not, dangle the atomic bomb over the rest of the world, like a sword of Damocles. It is a two-edged sword. We must bend all our efforts to assure international control of atomic bomb production so that **no** nation will be a threat to the rest of the world.

And the best assurance the United States can make to other nations that we aim to internationalize the bomb is for us to stop manufacturing it immediately. At this moment 65,000 people are working around the clock to make stock piles of atomic bombs.

But controlling atomic production is only a first step, a negative approach to a situation in which positive measures are vital. In a world in which another war means suicide, not only the weapons of war but warfare itself must be outlawed. We must root out the very causes of war.

1. We must wipe out the remnants of fascism, wherever they may be, for fascism is the enemy not only of democracy but of world peace. We must never again sit on the sidelines when fascism rears its head. We must encourage, rather than ignore, the democratic forces battling fascism in countries such as Spain and Argentina.

2. We must give whole-hearted support to the United Nations organization. Through its machinery the wartime Big Three unity—the unity that saved mankind in its greatest crisis—must be restored and extended; the voices of disunity must not be heeded. We must support, defend and expand the Charter of the the United Nations organization so that UN be used to study, understand and resolve international conflicts. However we must guard against use of the Security Council for mere diplomatic manoeuvering.

3. We must repudiate efforts such as Winston Churchill's to align us with one of our allies against another. We must recognize the valid interests of all nations, the essential equality of all peoples. We must remember that to a large extent, if Russia and America hold together, the world holds together; if they fall apart, the world falls.

4. We must pledge our resources to full support of the UNRRA to save the peoples who fought fascism. We must help them to rebuild their nations and restore their economies to normal functioning. But we must be vigilant against political use of UNRRA relief to bolster potential forces of reaction.

5. We must support loans to Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union so that our allies, who suffered economically and industrially far more than we did in the common cause, can be given a start on the road back to a productive economy. The more prosperous are our allies — our customers — the greater becomes our own integral prosperity.

6. We must strip Germany and Japan of the power ever to make war again. We must encourage the democratic forces in our defeated enemies and insist that not only the political and military remnants of fascism but the industrialists who fostered and backed the rise of fascism in those countries be eliminated. We must be alert against efforts to recreate those states as "buffers."

7. We must recognize the democratic aspirations of the peoples of the Far East. We must affirm that the problems of Indonesia and Indo-China, of Korea, India, and the Pacific Islands, are problems for the peoples of the world to settle through UN.

8. We must be above suspicion ourselves if we are to eradicate fear and suspicion— the two most disturbing elements—from the international scene. We cannot question security moves of other nations when we maintain Pacific bases that reach almost to the mainland of Asia. We must submit them to UN trusteeship. Then and only then can we demand acceptance of the principle of UN trusteeship in trouble-areas as Palestine.

9. We must end suicidal trade barriers between nations, curb international cartels, promote industrialization—without exploitation—in backward areas. An increased standard of living in any area of the world directly increases the prosperity of the rest of the world. Conversely, depression and economic unrest in one area lead to war.

10. An enlightened foreign policy in an atomic age is inseparable from a progressive domestic policy at home. It is not created in a vacuum, but stems from social and economic security within our own borders. Only when we have strengthened democratic processes at home so that **all** enjoy the benefits of modern science, can we be assured that our foreign policy derives from the people.

CIO - PAC

ISSUES *for* ACTION

PROBLEM	ISSUE	ACTION REQUIRED	INFORMATION
Anti-Labor Bills	Case bill which passed House without public hearings, rejected by Senate Education and Labor Committee. A sub-committee has drafted a revised bill. The Hobbs bill which outlaws picketing under guise of "anti-racketeering", was passed by the House and is now in same Senate Committee. Gwynne bill, now on House calendar would make it impossible for individual workers to make claims under wage-hour and 16 other protective laws after 1 year.	Wire Senators to reject Case bill, Hobbs bill, Gwynne bill, May-Arends bill and *all restrictive bills.* Tell Congressmen any anti-labor legislation *will hinder, not help* labor management situation.	National Lawyers Guild, 16 E. 41st St., NYC; CIO, 718 Jackson Pl. NW, Washington, D. C. "The Truth about Unions" by Leo Huberman, published by Pamphlet Press, NYC.
Argentina	Fascism flourishes in Argentina as pointed out by State Department and Spruille Braden, former U. S. Ambassador to Argentina and present Undersecretary of State.	Urge President Truman, Congress to demand severance of relations with Argentina, letters of encouragement to Braden for his progressive views.	Blue Book on Argentina, State Dept., Washington, D. C.; Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., N. Y. C.
Atomic Power	**Public opinion against military control of atomic energy caused original Vanderberg amendment to be withdrawn and military reduced to advisory capacity.**	**Atomic scientists favor the McMahon bill. Write Senators urging passage. Meanwhile House Military Affairs Committee has approved May-Johnson bill providing military control. Tell Congressmen to approve McMahon bill instead.**	**Committee for Atomic Information, 1621 K Street, Washington, D. C.**
British Loan	*Loan will bring increased world trade and prosperity.* Alternative is division of world into viciously competing economic blocs which would threaten international peace.	Approved in the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. Now being debated in the Senate. Support of bill, S.J. Res. 138 and H.J. Res. 311 should be stressed in messages to Congressmen.	"Questions and Answers on the Anglo-American Financial Agreement" U. S. Treasury Dept., Wash-407, 654 Madison Ave., N. Y. C.
Child Care	In 1940 over ½ of America's children lived in families with incomes of less than $20 a week. Most received inadequate health care. Results dramatized in rejection of 40% of men examined for military service; 33% of WAC applicants. *31,000 babies' lives would be saved every year,* if infant mortality rate for all states were brought to level of best state.	Bill (S. 1318) (H.R. 3922) now is in the Senate Education and Labor Committee. It would provide $100 million for pregnancy, infancy and child care, aid to crippled children, dental care, etc., through states. Get your Senators to press for immediate hearings. School lunch bill (H.R. 3370) passed the House and Senate in different forms. Now goes to conference. Support the Senate version.	Child Care Council, 1128 Lexington Ave., NYC, Children's Bureau, Dept. of Labor, Washington 25, D. C., Spokesmen for Children, Inc. Room 407, 654 Madison Ave., NYC, National Child Service Bureau, (School Lunch), Parents Magazine, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., NYC.
Civil Liberties	**House Committee on Un-American activities is conducting new witch hunt in the style of Martin Dies. Presently persecuting Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—cited executives for contempt.**	**Urge Congressmen not to uphold citation. Dissolution of committee—which menaces civil liberties—can be accomplished by getting 218 signatures on House resolution 376 which will permit consideration of Resolution 58 to abolish committee. Get your Congressmen to sign.**	**Citizens United to Abolish the Wood-Rankin Committee, Suite 170, Hotel Astor, N. Y.**
Conscription	Supporters of conscription fail to recognize the real implications of the atomic age. Military strength causes suspicion and fear between nations and invites an armaments race.	Bills in committee now fall into two main groups—those which would establish permanent peacetime military conscription; and those which call for efforts toward the international abolition of conscription: the Martin Resolution and the Tydings Resolution. Write Congressmen to support the latter two.	Chicago Committee to Oppose Peacetime Conscription, Room 635, 410 Michigan Ave., Chicago 5, Ill.; Peace Section, American Friends Service Committee, 20 S. 12th St., Phila., Pa.
FEPC	There is need for permanent federal agency to prevent discrimination in employment. Enemy ammunition did not differentiate between Catholic, Protestant and Jew, white and Negro, native and foreign-born. Neither should employers or unions. Bill, killed recently by filibuster of Southern Senators, could have been saved by cloture (two-thirds of Senate voting to limit debate).	H. R. 2232, previously reported favorably by House Labor Committee, is bottlenecked in House Rules Committee, which is dominated by Southern Democrats. Urge representatives to sign Discharge Petition 4 to get the bill on the House floor for debate.	Legislative office, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 935 G Pl., Washington, D. C.; National Council for Permanent FEPC, 930 F St NW, Washington, D. C.; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. 205 E. 42nd St., NYC.
Germany	Heavy industry in American zone of occupation is reported as *being sustained and rebuilt,* rather than removed to former Nazi-occupied countries. Potsdam Agreement needs support.	Urge Congress to demand that Administration carry out Potsdam Agreement, that German heavy industry be completely removed from German control. Demand strict allied control of education.	*"Germany Is Our Problem"* by Henry Morgenthau, Jr. former Sec. of Treasury.
Health	Modern Science makes it possible to prolong life, reduce misery and suffering. Principal problem remains the distribution of medical care, that scientific advances may be within the reach of all. *Wagner-Murray and Dingell bills assure adequate public health service to all parts of the nation.*	S. 1606 and H.R. 4730 need pressure from the people. Now in the Senate Education and Labor Committee and the House Interstate Commerce Committee, they remove $20 million limit on Federal grants to state for social services, provide for training personnel, allow Federal grants for medical service for those on relief, make grants for research, establish nation-wide health insurance system.	Committee for the Nation's Health, 1790 Broadway, N. Y. C. Physicians Forum, 510 Madison Ave., N. Y. C.
Housing	**Senate has restored two essential provisions knocked out of the Patman bill by the House: $600 million to subsidize low cost**	**Bill now goes to joint conference. Senate version is the better but original Patman bill is necessary. Strong public pressure**	**National Public Housing Conference, Washington, D. C.**

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Housing	**Senate has restored two essential provisions knocked out of the Patman bill by the House: $600 million to subsidize low cost housing, and authority for the housing expediter to investigate the building industry. Neither House or Senate version includes necessary price ceilings on existing housing.**	**Bill now goes to joint conference. Senate version is the better but original Patman bill is necessary. Strong public pressure can effect action. Write. Wire.**	**National Public Housing Conference, Washington, D. C. "There's No Place Like Home," CIO PAC, 205 East 42nd St., N. Y. C.**
Minimum Wage	**Veterans offered less than 65c an hour are reenlisting for better pay. Pepper-Hook bill puts floor of 65c an hour on wages. Essential for decent standard of living as $26 a week barely provides a substantial wage. Extra pay needed for food, clothing, and shelter cannot be inflationary.**	**Bill S. 1349 passed Senate but with nullifying inflationary farm-parity amendment attacked. President Truman has stated he will veto the bill in this form. Wire Congressmen to pass bill without parity rider.**	**National Committee for a Fair Minimum Wage, Bishop Bernard Sheil, Chairman, 130 Third Street, S.E., Washington, D. C.**
Palestine	Anglo-U. S. Inquiry Commission unanimously recommended that 100,000 Jews be admitted to Palestine.	House and Senate have passed resolutions calling for immigration into Palestine but strong Administration action is required.	American Zionist Emergency Council, 342 Madison Ave., N. Y. C.
Abolition of Poll Tax	Poll Tax disfranchises 10 million Southern citizens, *makes possible the election of men like Rankin, Cox by less than 10% of people of their districts.* H. R.7 passed the House and was reported favorably by the Senate Judiciary Committee along with the O'Mahoney-Hatch Constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax, which will take many years to ratify.	Wire Senator Barkley to bring up HR 7 for debate immediately, *before* the constitutional amendment. An attempt will be made to filibuster. Ask your Senators to commit themselves to the *democratic procedure of cloture* (limitation of debate). Also wire Senators Pepper (D., Fla.) and Ferguson (R., Mich.), co-chairmen of Senate Steering Committee for bill's passage.	The National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, 127 B St. SE, Washington, D. C.
Price Control	**Inflationary pressures are at an all-time high. Price and rent ceilings must be maintained until the supply of goods can meet the demand. OPA, essential to the fight against inflation, expires June 30th unless Congress approves extension.**	**Emasculated bill (H.R. 5270) passed by House with 10 crippling amendments. Protest to your Congressman. Tell Senators to fight for original bill which is facing strong opposition in Senate Banking Committee.**	**National Conference on Jobs Security, Rm. 401, 1018 Vermont Ave. N.W., Washington, D. C. OPA, Washington 25, D. C. Nat'l Citizens PAC.**
Radio Control	The people own the air waves. Unwarranted exploitation of publicly owned airwaves and abuse of listening public can be corrected *by public awareness of its rights.* Federal Communications Commission is now licensing new FM (Frequency Modulation) stations, renewing AM licenses. Public should have opportunity to be heard on applications and renewals.	Bill (H.R. 4314) introduced by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.) provides for adequate public notice before license renewals, would have FCC prescribe standards of public service broadcasting, would require more complete reports by broadcasters. Urge your Congressman to support the bill. FCC has arranged hearings on applications in many communities. Write FCC for information. Arrange to testify.	"Small Business Opportunities in FM Broadcasting", Special Committee to Study Problems of American Small Business, U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C.
St. Lawrence Seaway	For over 50 years powerful industrial interests have blocked this project which will provide cheap power and transportation, industrialization opportunities and increased trade. Interests which opposed the TVA are against this project—they have been proved wrong.	S. J. Res. 104 to ratify American-Canadian treaty of 1941 by which we agree to share the project's expenses and benefits, has been heard before Senate subcommittee. Write Senators and urge passage.	National St. Lawrence Association, 2200 Buhl Bldg., Detroit 26, Mich. St. Lawrence Seaway Survey, Dept. of Commerce, Washington, D. C.
Seamen's Bill of Rights	Merchant seamen provided heroic war service for nation. More than 6,000 were casualties of enemy action. They have been awarded nearly 400,000 war zone bars, 85,000 combat bars, 400 mariners medals (equivalent of Purple Heart) and 117 Distinguished Service medals.	Bill H.R. 2346 would give merchant seamen benefit similar to those granted soldiers, sailors, marines. Subcommittee of House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee has redrafted bill without recommending unemployment benefits. Urge full committee to include unemployment protection.	National Maritime Union, 346 W. 17th St., N. Y. C. 11.
Spain	**U. S. includes airplanes among its exports to Fascist government of Dictator Franco. Phoney wartime neutrality of his government cost United Nations' lives while his troops actively fought the Red Army. Our government has now asked the Spanish people to throw out Franco.**	**Demand of President Truman and Secretary of State Byrnes (1) the withdrawal of American recognition of Franco Spain (2) recognition of the Spanish Republic as the legitimate government, and (3) U. S. negotiations with the Spanish Republican Government-in-Exile and other democratic elements, with a view to recognizing a Provisional Republican Government. Urge U. S. to press for United Nations Action.**	**Nations Associates, 20 Vesey St., N. Y. C., Committee for Spanish Freedom, 55 W. 42nd St., N. Y. C.**
Unemployment Compensation	Mounting unemployment has not moved Congress to assist individuals over reconversion period although it has liberally financed corporations.	The Kilgore (S. 1274) and Forand (H. R. 3891) bills provided a maximum of $25 weekly unemployment compensation for 26 week maximum period. Passed by Senate without $25 guarantee. The House Ways and Means Committee refuses to consider companion bill. A petition, No. 11, to discharge the bill has been introduced; get your Representative signed.	Social Security Bulletin, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C.
United States Employment Service	A federal USES is vital in this reconversion period. The Murray bill (S. 1510) continues it until June, 1947, contains four other essential provisions: minimum standards for state operations; provision for the federal government to operate employment service in any state which fails to maintain minimum standards; safeguards for transfer of personnel; and retention of federal functions in Dept. of Labor.	Four bills now being heard in the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. Issue to reach Senate floor shortly. Write Senators to support essential provisions embodied in Murray bill.	United States Employment Service, Department of Labor, Washington 25, D. C.
Veterans	Minimum wages, price control, housing, FEPC, full employment, abolition of poll tax, etc. affect all or a substantial majority of veterans.	Arrange meetings with local veterans groups on veterans' problems. Press for Federal action on temporary housing and enlarged education facilities to relieve present crowded state of colleges.	American Veterans Committee, 554 Madison Ave., N. Y. C. National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires, 55 W. 42nd St., N. Y. C.

Pepper Assails Foreign Policy That Promotes "Siege of Fear"

To allay the "siege of fear" in which the world is gripped, Senator Claude Pepper on the Senate floor March 20th called for a restoration of the wartime unity of the Big Three and decried the international "tension comparable to the days before Munich." His incisive, comprehensive review of American foreign policy elicited a congratulatory telegram from Dr. Frank Kingdon, NCPAC Steering Committee Chairman. Dr. Kingdon's wire praised the Senator for his "magnificent contribution to public understanding of the dangerous course we are pursuing in international affairs."

As chief factors contributing to the tension, Sen. Pepper listed U. S. government requests for the largest Navy and air force in the world and for compulsory military training, our building up of huge stock piles of atom bombs, demands that we have bases girdling the world; and financially-pressed Britain's policies of keeping huge armies on the alert throughout the earth, "holding on to her corner of the atomic bomb like grim death."

Russian Fears

Russia, too, he pointed out, is beset with fears—and with reason. "Denied the bomb, denied warm water outlets, denied the common courtesy of economic negotiations with her greatest ally," the Soviet Union, devastated by war, with 7½ million dead, applies for a loan and it "disappears" for six months. And in view of past attempts to isolate Russia, he asked: "Is there any real wonder that Russia, knowing the horrors of war as we have never known them, as even the British have not known them, is determined that never again shall the cruel assault that she has experienced twice in one generation come to curse her?"

"Under the present circumstances the UNO is not the way out of this web of fear," he continued.

UNO Limited

"It was never expected, when it was created," he declared, "that the UNO had the power to act against one of the Big Three, for the veto was the inevitable incident of the principle that it was a compact among sovereign states. It is a delusion and a snare to regard the present UNO as the tribunal for the solution of the clashes and conflicts among the Big Three growing out of their fear for their own security. In fact, it was never expected that the UNO would function save upon the sturdy base of the unity of Great Britain, Russia and the United States."

Calls for Conference

To restore this unity, to dispel this fear, he called for a full-scale, all-inclusive conference of the Big Three. He warned, however, that such a conference could not succeed without a "new spirit" on the part of our Government—executive and legislative.

Unity Essential

Mr. Pepper concluded that unless the Big Three restore confidence and agree on fundamentals, there could be no hope for the Security Council of the UNO. "Lack of unity and divisive antagonism among the Big Three on the pivotal questions will thwart and stifle the Security Council. If the Council attempts a solution by treating the symptoms of the disagreements and ignoring the root causes, it will find itself upon the rocks."

No "Ganging Up"

On April 4 the Florida Senator returned to the subject when, in a stormy debate, he used the Iranian dispute as an illustration of the very "ganging up" against Russia that he had warned against on March 20. He pointed out that in the midst of the Iran crisis, Great Britain signed a mutual defense pact with Trans-Jordan in violation of its mandate and that in essence Britain was forcing her troops on Trans-Jordan. He contrasted the by-passing of this action and of British troop emplacements in Iraq with the excitement engendered by Russia's failure to remove her troops from Iran on schedule.

Other Danger Spots

"What has the American delegation [illegible] to get all foreign troops out of all foreign territories?" he asked. "What have they done in Indonesia? What have they done in regard to other parts of the world?

"All I am asking for is an American policy that will say to everyone, 'Get out of everybody else's country' . . . I want us to be pro-American. But I do not want us to give anyone the impression that if Russia is the culprit, then we rush to the side of law and order; but if anybody else is the culprit, we always find a way to let our footsteps tread gently upon the situation."

CLIFFORD WELCH, Executive Secretary of New York Citizens Political Action Committee, has recently been discharged from the Army. With a Field Artillery Battalion for two years, Mr. Welch saw action in North Africa, Italy, France, Germany and Austria.

PAY-OFF

Letters, wires, and phone calls supporting civilian control of atomic energy swamped Washington when military control threatened.

Ten to one, the Senate Committee had approved the Vandenberg amendment to the McMahon bill giving the military wide powers of veto and control. On one day 15,511 letters opposing the Vandenberg amendment were received by the Senate Special Committee on atomic energy. Thousands more were received by individual Congressmen.

After the avalanche of protests, the Committee and Senator Vandenberg substituted a compromise amendment, limiting the military committee's powers.

Moral: Your Congressman reads his mail. Keep writing him!

Films for Action

"Food—Secret of the Peace", approaches the subject of food from the point of view of its economic and political significance today. Brandon Films, 1600 Broadway, N. Y. C.

"Which Way This Time?" points out that serious inflation still threatens the economy of the U. S. A film on rent control outlining housing problems will be completed this month. Both films are available on a nominal fee or cost basis at the OPA's Regional Offices.

"The Pale Horseman," a public health film, shows the appalling conditions in the liberated countries of Europe and Asia. Brandon.

Songs for Action

"People's Songs", a recently formed organization, offers a large collection of folk songs, political songs and foreign songs which will be useful for meetings and parties. They offer to compose songs for organizations on request. Their monthly bulletin, available to members only, lists songs which are now available on sheet music. A partial listing:

Listen Mr. Bilbo.
DDT.
Rankin Tree.
Ballad for FDR.
May Day Song.
Homeless Blues (Housing).
A Dollar Ain't a Dollar Anymore (Inflation).

Write People's Songs, 130 West 42nd Street, New York City.

Watch the Bandwagon!

The sultry heat of Washington in late June and July always stimulates Congress to break the legislative dam and either kill or approve legislation that has accumulated on the dock. This year the gentlemen, and ladies, will be particularly anxious to adjourn quickly so that they can get home and start campaigning for the November elections. Under these circumstances it is possible that **some** of the progressive legislation that has been pending for a year may pass—**if enough pressure is put on your Congressman between now and July.**

Many eastern and midwestern Congressmen are planning weekend trips home between now and July to do some preliminary political fence-building. Independent action groups should take full advantage of these representatives' junkets to schedule a conference with them, review with them the progressive legislation that is still bottled up, impress upon them that any bandwagon tactics in July will be watched closely—and will be a major criterion for support or opposition in November.

National Citizens
POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
205 E. 42nd ST. • NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-5580

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James H. McGill

Secretary
Clark H. Foreman

August 26, 1946

RECEIVED
AUG 28 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Friend:

Here's one picture that's worth a thousand words.

LOOK THEM IN THE EYES is taken from a pamphlet of the same title, issued by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. We thought it so stirring an appeal to the heart, so strong a voice against discrimination, that we asked for permission to distribute it as a poster.

One community group in New York City, foreseeing the power of the poster, placed it in store windows, on bulletin boards, in busses and trolleys, wherever their neighbors might see it. A symbol of the inter-racial rally they were building, it became the most effective spur to action they used to make the rally a success.

Convinced that this experience can be repeated throughout the country, National Citizens PAC is offering LOOK THEM IN THE EYES to you at cost price - $1.00 per 100. We hope to hear from you that you will give it wide distribution.

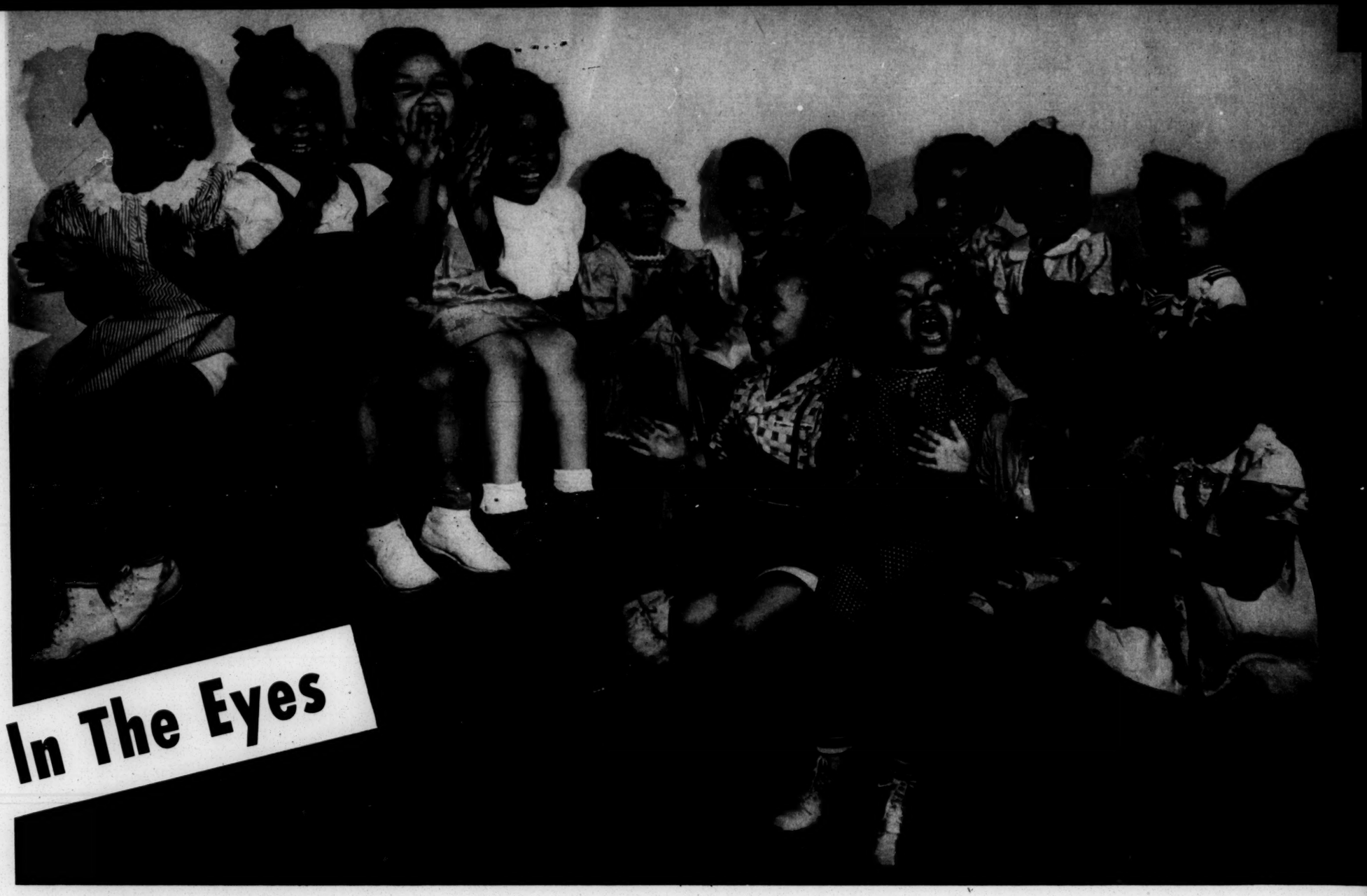
Sincerely yours,

C. B. Baldwin

C. B. Baldwin
Executive Vice Chairman

uopwa #16-33

P.S. They will be delivered to you unfolded and flat, ready for posting.



Look Them In The Eyes

Tell them they are "second rate" Americans
Tell them they aren't entitled to a real education
Tell them they can't have decent homes
***Go AHEAD, tell them, IF YOU CAN, but* DON'T LET AN AMERICAN HEAR YOU**

Based on "Look Them in the Eyes," a pamphlet of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare Religious Associates of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, 205 E. 42 St., New York 17, N. Y.

POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

I-50

February 5, 1947

Mr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Trigg:

We do not have available the material you request since we have just moved our headquarters from New York to Washington and are not yet settled and in full operation. If you will write us again in about three months we should be able to help you. In the meantime it is suggested that you write directly to the Secretaries of State of the Southern States for the information you desire.

Sincerely yours,

Palmer Weber
(C.B.)
Palmer Weber
Director of Research

SIDNEY HILLMAN, Chairman • R. J. THOMAS, Sec'y-Treas. • VAN A. BITTNER, Vice-Chairman • ALBERT J. FITZGERALD, DAVID J. McDONALD, L. S. BUCKMASTER, EMIL RIEVE, JOHN GREEN, JACK KROLL, THOMAS F. BURNS, Ass't Chairmen • JOHN J. ABT, LEE PRESSMAN, Counsel • GEORGE RETTINGER, Comptroller • TILFORD E. DUDLEY, Ass't to Chairman

January 23, 1947

CIO - PAC
Barthelomew Building
205 E. - 42nd Street
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Will you kindly furnish me with information concerning the votes cast for each candidate in state primary elections during the year 1946. I would like to have this information for candidates for the United States Senate, the United States House of Representative and for state governors.

If there is any charge for this information please inform me and it will be sent at once.

Yours very truly,

HLT:k

HAROLD L. TRIGG

IR

December 3, 1952

Mr. Jim Crown
Department of Government
New York University
New York 53, N. Y.

Dear Jim:

This woman wrote in with three pages of questions about the '44-'45 PAC business. Seems to me the easiest way to answer them is to send her your thesis, which, as you see, I have done. I will be responsible for getting it back to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Union PAC
1944

December 3, 1952

Miss Martha Saenger
222 E. Patterson Ave.
Columbus 2, Ohio

Dear Miss Saenger:

I have a guess that many of the answers to the questions in your letter of November 29 will be contained in Jim Crown's thesis.

Crown is now in the department of government at New York University.

I save you time by mailing to you (without first getting Crown's permission) a copy of his thesis which I still have, though I should long since have sent it back to him.

If you will infallibly mail it to me within a couple of weeks, I will do my long-delayed duty and send it back to Crown.

If, after you have read Crown's work, there are (as I am sure there will be) further questions, I will do my best to answer them in detail. But I suppose that a good many will find answers in what he has done.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Have this free from the University for the first time since I arrived, so here it is. Would be happy for any comments you have.

Looking it over after a yr., it seems there is some good stuff in it (because of the nature of the material I had access to) but that I did very little with it. Part my own fault, part a change in advisors during summer (the last one wanted no conclusions drawn etc.).

Finished a yr. of teaching (2 classes) here at NVU. Passed my

PhD comprehensive orals.

I will be in St. Pete. Fla most or all the summer, beginning this week. Read this leisurely - if you return it in summer send to me 4200 Central Ave. St. Pete., Fla. If in Fall Dept of Govt. N.Y.U.

If you have any time in N.Y., I would certainly like to see you.

Hope all goes well with you and family. If I get to Atlanta, will ring you up.

The city in small doses is enough for me. Glad to be on way home.

Haven't seen Brookes yet, but I intend to next fall.

Sincerely,
Jim Crowe

222 E. Patterson Ave.
Columbus 2, Ohio
November 29, 1952.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
906 Lullwater Rd., NE
Atlanta
Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

You may or may not recall that I wrote to you some years ago, in 1944, when you were a regional director for the CIO Political Action Committee. At that time I was in search of information for an M.A. thesis on the PAC. The thesis was finished in 1945 but my research has continued for doctoral dissertation purposes--with many interruptions--down to the present time, and it occurs to me that you might be willing to answer some further questions about PAC in Region Eight.

I am attempting an analysis of the forces behind PAC in the 1944 election campaign. Obviously I must first ascertain which unions (and in some cases which factions of unions) were significant leaders of or participants in the program. International union publications (of which I have examined many) afford a key to the formal relationship of the international union leadership to PAC but they do not clearly establish the extent to which official union political policy was implemented at the so-called grass roots level. Hence I must supplement information gleaned from the files of union journals and convention proceedings, where possible, with material from local sources, interviews and correspondence.

In view of the known variations in degree of enthusiasm for PAC not only among the "rank and file" but among local union leaders (also, apparently, among district representatives of the international organizations), and in view of the known factionalism within some of the international unions and CIO Councils, I am attempting something more than a study of PAC operations in a limited geographical area--which might well result in a distorted picture. The United States as a whole is the area for my dissertation and while a truly intensive study of the political activities of any given international union or CIOPAC organization in more than a few selected cities or states is out of the question I am loath to generalize too readily therefrom about the "forces behind PAC" elsewhere.

In your earlier letter to me, dated December 29, 1944, you listed the nine states in Region 8, indicating for each one the Senatorial, Congressional and gubernatorial (primary) contests in which PAC endorsements were made and in which there was PAC activity. I realize that eight years have elapsed since 1944 and that you probably do not now have ready access to written records (if there were any) on the participation records of the various CIO affiliates--and I should not dare to be so presumptuous as to ask someone else to

-more-

undertake what would in effect be a major research project on my behalf. However, I wonder if you would set forth again a list of the states which were under your jurisdiction and indicate the international unions whose leaders in those areas (international union representatives, local union officers, PAC chairmen, etc.) stand out in your mind as having been outstanding participants in the PAC campaign. Would you also name individuals (identified by international and/or local union affiliation and other relevant information) whom you recall as particularly energetic PAC personalities, and indicate the state(s), city or Congressional district in which they were active as well as the nature of their activity? Would you indicate also any union of significantly large membership within a state or city CIO Council jurisdiction whose leaders were largely indifferent to the PAC program?

I am particularly interested in the scope of participation of the local affiliates and leaders of the five largest CIO international unions--UAW, USA, UE, TWUA and ACWA--since they represented a majority of the CIO membership of 1944, since they included within their membership many of the same factional elements present in other, smaller CIO unions which were also actual or potential "forces" behind PAC, and, primarily, because the magnitude of my task is great enough with concentration only upon the Big Five. Naturally, I shall welcome comments as well on the PAC activities of other CIO unions which were of equal or perhaps greater significance in the southern states.

Do you recall the names of the persons who were assigned by the international unions to work exclusively on PAC during the campaign--under the general direction of your office, and the extent to which their appointments were in effect "paper appointments" or real working assignments? Can you tell me how large a staff you had in your office, from what unions (or other sources) they were recruited, and would you describe, in general terms, the nature of the work which they (and you) carried on?

Any relevant information you can give me on the background and general political orientation of any of the outstanding individuals (or local unions) associated with the PAC campaign will be appreciated. As you must know, the Stalinist party-line factor is one which I cannot ignore. I am interested equally in the identification of PAC participants whose political conditioning can be ascribed to other factors--to socialist influence, if any, to conservative or "militant" trade union experience, to the influence of "higher education," to a traditional Democratic party allegiance, to a personal appreciation of the benefits of New Deal economic and social reform, etc. I should like to know also whether such participants were, for the most part, young in age and/or trade union experience, and whether they were native or non-native southerners. Naturally, I shall employ footnote documentation with regard to any named individuals judiciously, if at all.

-more-

Finally, one last question: may I write to you again if further questions are suggested to me by your reply to these?

I should tell you that I am doing my research as a doctoral candidate in the department of political science at Ohio State University where I taught from 1946 to 1951. My advisory committee is composed of Alma Herbst, professor of economics, and Harvey Mansfield and E. Allen Helms, both of the political science department.

Thanks very much for whatever assistance you can give me.

Very sincerely yours,

Martha Saenger

Martha Saenger

A turning point in

HISTORY

IN 93 DAYS the American people will make a decision upon which will depend the peace of the world, the prosperity of our country, the health and well-being of our families.

The elections of November 7 are crucial.

We stand at a turning point in history.

The armed forces of the United Nations are opening their assault on the inner defenses of the enemy. Our first obligation is to intensify our effort to drive that assault home, and finally, to crush fascism and all it stands for. The

day of victory will bring with it the liberation of millions from the scourge of fascism. It will give to all the people of the world the opportunity of creating a new, free and more secure life.

We must seize that opportunity. We must not permit the power that is ours to be taken from us and again wielded by the few for their own selfish purposes. The American way of deciding this question is at the polls.

We at home must face with greater seriousness than ever the responsibility of preserving and strengthening our democracy. Those who are dying for us must not be betrayed again by the selfish scheming of a few.

This is no ordinary election. This is no choice between Republicans and Democrats. This is a contest between two ways of life. One way offers us cooperation among nations for enduring peace and a program to give full employment and real security to our people by utilizing our rich resources for the benefit of all.

The other way is the way of aggressive imperialism abroad, the exploitation of the many by the few at home. It is the way of Hooverism, leading inevitably to unemployment and want, international conflict and a third World War.

We need a President and a Congress which will take the people's course.

We need a President who realizes that the Constitutional provision for a civilian Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy is a basic safeguard of our democratic rights, and who can perform the duties necessary for total victory. The Constitutional provision of a civilian Commander-in-Chief is the strongest bulwark to our civil liberties, minority interests, and to the rights of business, agriculture, labor and professional and white collar workers.

We need a President who has the confidence of the people of the world.

We need a President who has confidence in the people and encourages their participation in political life, not a President who fears the people and goes to the length of preventing the men and women on the battle fronts from using the ballot to express their will.

We need a Congress which will pass laws ensuring continuance and expansion of the great progressive measures initiated during the past 12 years, which will work intelligently toward the fulfillment of the goals of freedom from want and fear; a Congress which will make permanent the Fair Employment Practices Committee, established by President Roosevelt; and a Congress which will end Jim Crow practices in our armed forces.

The National Citizens Political Action Committee calls for the support of all progressive Americans. Such committees for the protection of our liberties and the improvement of the general welfare are as old as our nation, are a vital part of our democratic American tradition, and never have been more important than now.

The National Citizens Political Action Committee is a non-partisan group composed of Americans, native-born and naturalized; Americans, white and colored. We come from both parties. We come from the independent voters who owe allegiance to no party. We come from the ranks of labor, farmers, business men, and professional people—men and women. We welcome the support of all citizens who will rally now to assure the election of a national administration which stands squarely for uncompromising victory over fascism; for international cooperation to maintain world peace; for democracy, full employment and security at home.

Our objective is the election of Roosevelt and Truman and a progressive Congress as the best assurance that the will of the people will be realized.

It will, therefore, be the purpose of the Committee:

1. To employ every available means of bringing the issues of this election to the people of America—the great issues of war, peace, full employment and full production.

2. To bring to their attention the records of the candidates—their promises kept and unkept—on these vital issues.

3. To urge all eligible voters to register and vote, and to press for the adoption of methods which will permit the men and women in our armed forces to exercise their right of franchise. We are satisfied that a big vote will be a good vote—a progressive vote.

4. To cooperate with all groups and organizations who share our common objective.

We are satisfied that the people of this country, if they go to the polls with full knowledge of the issues, will not turn from experienced leadership to ambiguous ambition in this historic year.

Statement Issued by the Executive Committee of the National Citizens Political Action Committee on August 5, 1944. Hon. George W. Norris, Honorary Chairman; Sidney Hillman, Chairman; James G. Patton, Vice Chairman; Freda Kirchwey, Vice Chairman; R. J. Thomas, Treasurer; James H. McGill, Comptroller; Clark Foreman, Secretary; Verda W. Barnes; Elmer Benson; Van A. Bittner; James Loeb; Lucy Randolph Mason; Philip Murray; Gifford Pinchot; Dr. Robert C. Weaver; A. F. Whitney.

C
O
P
Y

CITIZENS' COUNCIL FORUM
10 14 Plaza Building
Jackson, Mississippi

PA ✓
JC ✓
MM ✓
LD ✓
DT ✓
FBR ✓
EV ✓

June 6, 1958

Mr. Lee Ruwitch, Executive Vice-President
and General Manager
Station WTVJ
P.O. Box 2770
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Ruwitch:

Here's something fresh, just in time for summer programming! We have just prepared a special series of "Citizens' Council Forum" programs from Washington, featuring a number of leading Congressmen, including several from your area.

In this series, the lawmakers disucss the dangers to individual freedoms and States' Rights growing from the mounting trend towards centralization of power in the Federal government.

This series is professionally-produced on 16 mm. film, and is of network quality. The first 13 weeks of this series is now ready for distribution.

We would be pleased to add your station to the growing number of leading TV outlets now running "Citizens' Council Forum."

We sincerely believe that by scheduling this program, you will perform an invaluable service to your viewers, by alerting them to the dangers of "big government." In addition, your station will gain in prestige, and will win acclaim from business leaders in your community, many of whom have long been aware of this dangerous trend.

The enclosed fact sheet will give you detailed information about our program. We will be happy to discuss this series with you and to answer any question you may have concerning it. Just call, wire or write us at the above address, or complete the enclosed reply card.

We certainly hope you can find a place in your station's schedule for "Citizens' Council Forum." May we hear from you soon?

Sincerely,

WJS:blm

W. J. Simmons

Enclosures

TV Fact Sheet

CITIZENS' COUNCIL FORUM

-- The AMERICAN Viewpoint with A SOUTHERN Accent --

(This Fact Sheet contains information on the special series from Washington)

15-minute weekly program available on 16 mm. film free of charge to television stations.

Type: Discussion-interview between moderator and from one to three guests. Guest participants are different from week to week. During special series of 13 programs from Washington, guests will be about 30 Congressmen, discussing the need for maintaining States' Rights against the growing trend toward centralization of power in the Federal government. Program is entirely non-political. No commercial message content in program.

Moderator: Program is moderated by Dick Morphew, associate news director of WLBT television and WJDX radio, Jackson, Mississippi.

Production: Produced by the Citizens' Councils of America, thru facilities of WLBT and WJDX, Jackson, Mississippi. Producer for Citizens' Councils is W.J. Simmons, editor of the Councils' nationally-circulated newspaper. Special series of programs from Washington filmed by professional crews in the nation's capital. Staging and direction by Al Fred Daniel, WLBT production manager. Voice and music open and close. Filmed with double-system sound track, so that both picture and sound are of network quality.

History: Began in early 1957 as weekly television program on WLBT, Channel 3, Jackson, Mississippi. Continuous weekly since then. Highly-rated in all surveys. Selected programs of special interest filmed and recorded for other TV and radio stations. At urging of numerous station managers, specially-edited version for radio made available early in 1958, offered to stations through the South on no-cost basis. Currently scheduled weekly by dozens of radio stations in 11 states. Special series of programs from Washington available on film to television stations throughout the nation.

Purpose: Program is designed to present the Southern point of view on important issues of the day, and to counteract the propaganda barrage leveled at the South by most national media.

Guests: The first in a series of special programs from Washington is now ready for distribution. These programs will feature leading members of Congress from virtually every Southern state and several from the North. About 30 Congressmen will appear during the first 13 weeks, with many programs presenting interviews with two or three lawmakers from as many states. Both political parties are represented, but the programs are entirely NON-political. To list a few of the distinguished lawmakers who will appear would be to slight the others. Each of them is capable of doing an excellent job of explaining whey the historic concept of States' Rights is vital to the preservation of our American freedoms. The series could well be used as a basic lesson in American government, with the "teachers" being the men chosen by the people as lawmakers.

-- more --

Availability: "Citizens' Council Forum" is offered as a public service to any TV station wishing to broadcast the program. The station's only obligation is to return the film after use, and to keep the producer informed of the day and time the program is scheduled. In order to fully utilize the tremendous news and prestige value of this series, it is suggested that it be scheduled at a time likely to reach the maximum potential adult audience.

Commercial Sponsorship: This program is available for local sale. The only requirement is that commercial message must not imply endorsement by the participants on the program or its producers, and that each program be run in its entirety without interruption, including opening and closing, with commercial messages preceding and following the full program. May we suggest that your local Citizens' Council or affiliated group be offered first chance to sponsor this valuable series, or to purphase tie-in announcements immediately preceding and following the programs. A number of stations report obtaining institutional-type sponsors for this program, and with the sponsors highly pleased with the show, both as to production and content. Since the Citizens' Councils are a non-political organization, we are certain you will cooperate by NOT offering this series to any political party or faction.

Action: To add "Citizens' Council Forum" to YOUR station's schedule, simply sign and return the enclosed reply card, indicating day and time you wish to begin the series. Audition prints available upon request, from address given below.

REMEMBER---"Citizens' Council Forum" is the O-N-L-Y Syndicated Public-Affairs Program Giving the SOUTHERN Point of View!

---more than that, it goes beyond sectional boundaries to present

"THE AMERICAN VIEWPOINT WITH A SOUTHERN ACCENT!"

To begin this valuable series on YOUR station, call, wire or write today! You'll be glad you did!

W.J. Simmons
Producer
CITIZENS' COUNCIL FORUM
Plaza Building
Jackson, Mississippi

Phone: 2-4456

THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL

Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility in our Community and in our State and to the preservation of our States' Rights

Vol. 3, No. 9 | OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA—JUNE 1958 | Jackson, Mississippi

Councils Take Lead In TV-Radio

In Baton Rouge---

Pay Negroes $15 Each To Register

A concentrated effort was made to encourage Negroes to register to vote in Baton Rouge, La., before the June 29 registration deadline.

A weekly Negro newspaper in Baton Rouge, the "News Leader," reported that a group calling itself the "First Ward Voters League, Inc." offered $15 cash to any Negro who became "ten feet tall" by registering before the deadline, thus becoming eligible to vote in the July elections.

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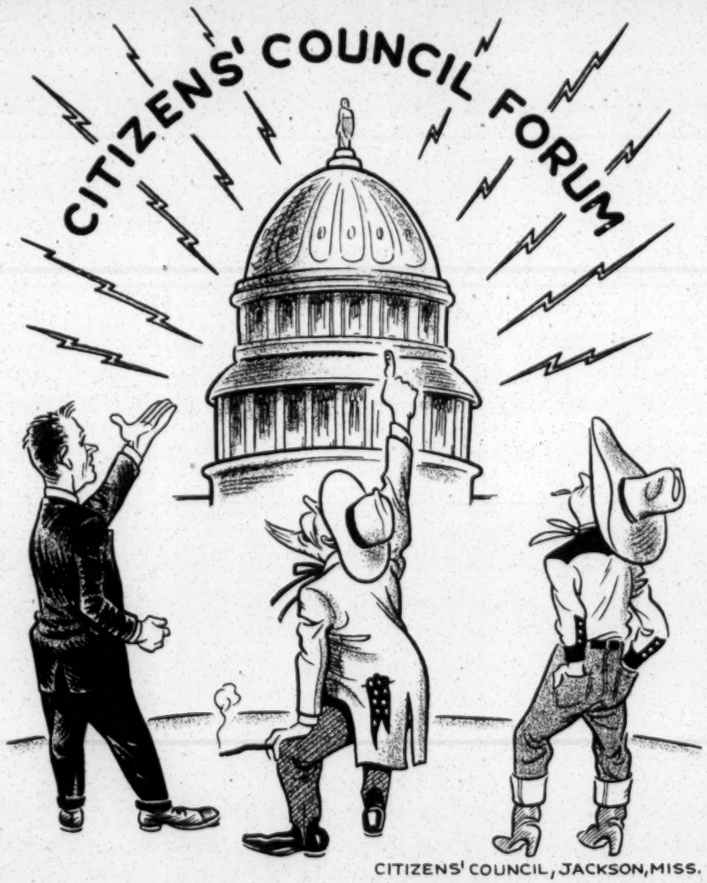
The Negro paper said the $15 offer was part of a drive to boost Negro registration to 15,000 or more in Baton Rouge, from the present total of 9,000. More than 50,000 white voters are registered in the city, but 15,000 votes, delivered in a bloc, would be more than enough to swing any tightly-fought contest.

The Truth For A Change!



First Southwide Programs Feature Top Lawmakers

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C-R Group Meets In Secret To Order Probes

Vol. 3, No. 9 OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA—JUNE 1958 Jackson, Mississippi

Councils Take Lead In TV-Radio

In Baton Rouge---

Pay Negroes $15 Each To Register

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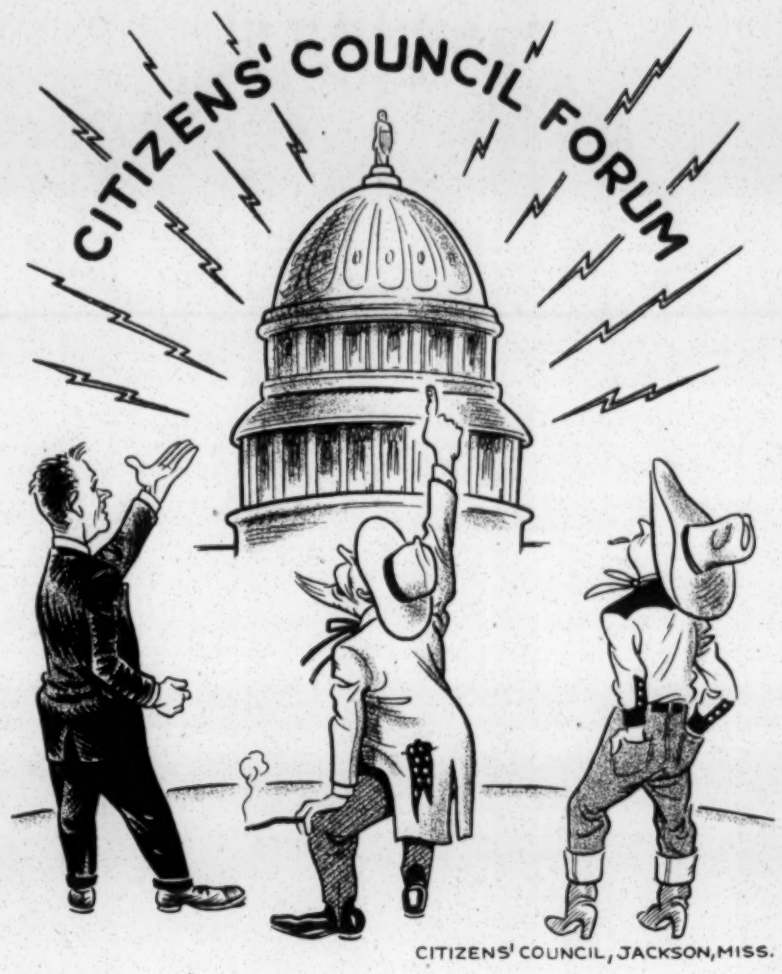

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STATIONS RESPOND QUICKLY

Thus far, the new Washington series of "Citizens' Council Forum" is receiving an enthusiastic reception from television and radio stations throughout the South.

The number of stations scheduling the program is increasing daily, and Council spokesmen associated with production and distribution of the program say the response has far exceeded their expectations.

"In the very near future," says W. J. Simmons of Jackson, Miss., producer of the series, "we anticipate that 'Citizens' Council Forum' can be seen or heard in every Southern home with a television or radio receiver."

What do station owners and managers think of the program? Here are a few typical comments, from the many received:

"This program fills a long-felt need. We've been hoping for the past four years that someone would produce a program stating the South's case. At last, this has been done."

PROPAGANDA EXPOSED

"Our viewers have been quite concerned over the one-sided handling of Southern news, particularly concerning segregation, by the networks. A program such as 'Citizens' Council Forum' helps counteract this Northern propaganda."

"Our state's political leaders have done a lot of talking about the need for a cooperative South-wide effort to inform the people on TV and radio. But until the Councils made this fine program available, the idea had never progressed beyond the talking stage."

Producer Simmons is well aware of the tremendous responsibilities falling upon the Councils in their action to fill the television and radio vacuum. He says, "In describing our program as 'The American viewpoint with a Southern accent,' we are pledging ourselves to do all that description implies.

PRIDE JUSTIFIED

"Every member of the Citizens' Council," Simmons adds, "can take pride in this significant accomplishment. We have stepped in to do a job that needed to be done. Four years have gone by since the U. S. Supreme Court's 'Black Monday' decision on school integration. For the past two years, the Councils have been studying the use of television and radio to inform the people of the South and, eventually, the entire nation."

"We sincerely believe that in developing and producing 'Citizens' Council Forum,' we are serving a

(See TV-RADIO, P. 4)

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If "Citizens' Council Forum" is not yet scheduled on your favorite TV and radio stations, ask them to broadcast the program. Station owners and managers are generally anxious to please the public, and are thus responsive to your wishes.

Any station wishing further information about the program may receive complete details by writing:

Citizens' Council Forum
1014 Plaza Building
Jackson, Mississippi

C-R Group Meets In Secret To Order Probes

The Federal Civil Rights Commission has ordered immediate, broad-scale inquiries into alleged civil rights violations in the fields of voting, education and housing.

With staff director Gordon Tiffany finally winning Senate approval over vigorous Southern protests, the Commission met in mid-June and ordered fact-finding studies of legal developments in the three fields on a nation-wide basis.

VICUNAS ARE EXPENSIVE

Tiffany, the 45-year-old former attorney general of New Hampshire, was sworn in as staff director at a White House ceremony attended by President Eisenhower. The president said he hoped Tiffany would find his new job "rewarding." Tiffany will. It pays $22,500, a year.

(Editor's note—Is it pure coincidence that Tiffany was serving as New Hampshire attorney-general at about the same time that Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams was governor of that state? Did this have anything to do with Tiffany getting the lucrative Federal appointment? We'd give an Oriental rug to know!)

The Commission meeting was a secret session, from which newsmen were barred. Tiffany said the group approved the membership of seven or eight state advisory committees, on which the Commision will rely heavily for leads on alleged civil rights violations.

It hopes to have state committees in all 48 states by September. Tiffany reluctantly admitted that so far, the Commission has received very few, if any, complaints of a factual nature. Under the law, the complaints must be sworn to in order to provide a basis for Commission action.

Forced Mixing Is Ended At Little Rock Central High School; Federal Judge Says Troops Can't Win Over Public Opposition

Segregation will return to Little Rock Central High School this fall.

Federal District Judge Harry J. Lemley has ordered a 2½-year suspension of racial integration at Central, because of "the pressure of public opposition."

Judge Lemley authorized the Little Rock school board to operate on a segregated basis, at least until mid-term in 1961. He said the integration of Central High made it impossible for students to get a decent education.

The NAACP, which hailed court decisions as "the law of the land" as long as the decisions pleased them, promptly attacked the ruling and announced plans for an appeal.

MIXING DIDN'T WORK

Judge Lemley's trend-reversing order was issued June 21. He said the school board "actually put its integration plan into operation, only to find it break down in practice, with a consequent impairment of educational standards and demoralization of the faculty and student body."

The judge said it is important to note that the trouble did not stem from lawlessness on the part of the white students at Central High or the people of Little Rock. Judge Lemley wrote, "Rather, the source of the trouble was the deep-seated popular opposition in Little Rock to the principle of integration, which is contrary to the pattern of Southern life which has existed over 300 years."

Little Rock's school superintendent, Virgil T. Blossom, led a group which petitioned for the stop-integration order. Blossom said he was "very pleased" with Judge Lemley's ruling.

During hearings on the petition, Blossom testified that the tense atmosphere at Central High resulted in a breakdown of normal classroom conditions Blossom and other witnesses told of at least 40 fires being set in lockers at the school, of 37 bomb threats received, and of numerous incidents of inter-racial pushing and food-dumping.

UNCIVIL WRONGS

Blossom also testified that his life was threatened by anonymous callers on several occasions, and there were many incidents of sluggings, pushing, tripping, abusive language, and destruction of property at the school.

Central High was integrated last September 25th, after a prolonged legal battle. Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus ordered out the National Guard to keep Negroes from entering the school. Faubus said violence would result. The Negroes, backed by a court order, appealed to President Eisenhower, who arbitrarily Federalized the Arkansas National Guard, thereby removing it from Faubus' control.

Eisenhower then sent in crack units of the Army's 101st Airborne Division. The bayonet-wielding paratroopers provided personal escort and chauffeur service to the nine Negro pupils who gleefully entered Central.

9 DOWN—NONE TO GO!

Of the nine Negroes who entered Central last fall, one—Ernest Green—graduated last month, to become the first Negro ever to receive a diploma from the school, and the last for at least several years more. Trouble-maker Minniejean Brown was expelled after several episodes during which she dumped hot food on white students in the school cafeteria. The other seven Negroes will presumably return to their own newer and more modern high school this fall.

During the school year under the Eisenhower Army of Occupation, several white students had been suspended from Central, then reinstated. The entire student body suffered from what Judge Lemley called "the impairment of educational standards." And the people of Little Rock found out what it meant to live in Occupied Territory.

Judge Lemley's order suspending integration noted that if Negro students return to Central this fall, "the school board will have to have military assistance or its equivalent, and it is financially unable to bear the expense of hiring guards."

The judge's 35-page opinion said that while troops may be able to check vandalism and violence, "they cannot reduce or eliminate racial tensions or create a climate that is conducive to education."

Attorneys for the NAACP immediately filed notice of appeal. They also asked Judge Lemley to set aside his dis-integration order, pending action on the appeal by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis. The judge refused.

The U.S. Supreme Court rejected an NAACP plea to enter the case.

Southern leaders were quick to hail Judge Lemley's decision.

State Senator W. M. Rainach of Homer, La., president of the Louisiana Citizens' Councils, called the ruling "a very wise move." Rainach said "The decision is a valid demonstration of the results that can be achieved by a strong-willed people in opposing integration."

COURTS GIVE GROUND

Rainach said the stop-integration order shows that Federal courts "are giving ground in attempting to enforce highly impractical as well as unconstitutional integration orders."

Rainach adds, "If the Federal courts will heed the voice of massive public opinion, they will all follow suit and avoid tremendous trouble between the races."

Noting that Arkansas is a Border state with a relatively small Negro population, Rainach concludes, "This certainly shows that there would be a great deal more trouble if schools in the South were ever ordered integrated."

Robert B. Patterson of Greenwood, Miss., executive secretary of the Mississippi Association of Citizens' Councils, says the decision "proves the South does have a case."

RETURN OF REALISM

"We're getting recognition that we're like we are for a reason, and not just because of prejudice," Patterson adds.

"I think the whole nation is taking a more realistic view of the racial crisis," Patterson continues. "It's a specific indication that the Federal judges are beginning to share that view. They're beginning to realize that the South is being realistic and they're not."

"Now," says Patterson, "they're starting to get realistic."

WE'RE A LITTLE LATE FOLKS!

Yes, this issue went to press late. Why? So we could keep abreast of several late-breaking stories.

You'll find the very latest developments in the Little Rock school case, New Orleans transit integration, plus a highly-significant report in depth on the tremendous success the Council is experiencing with the TV and radio program.

We hope these "plus" features make the paper worth waiting for.

—The Editors

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A Prize For Pussyfoot

CITIZENS' COUNCIL, JACKSON, MISS.

The Big Sell-Out

We Southerners are growing more cynical by the day. Why, it's getting so we hardly even pay any attention to the Pulitzer prizes any more!

But to get it on the record, perhaps we'd better note here that, as expected, the trustees of Columbia University handed out the prizes again this year, and, again as expected, the biggest prize went to the editor and paper who performed the most effective hatchet-job on the South.

Of course, the trustees of Columbia U. didn't exactly put it that way. They said Harry Ashmore and the **Arkansas Gazette** of Little Rock DESERVED to win. They said the paper "demonstrated the highest qualities of civic leadership, journalistic responsibility and moral courage in the face of mounting public tension during the school integration crisis."

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"The Pulitzer prize awards have shown again that the path to glory sometimes lies across the prostrate forms of friends and neighbors."

To which we say Amen, and again Amen.

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Report From Tennessee

By Richard Burrow, Jr.

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With respect to its hearings in Memphis last October, the subcommittee said that instead of bringing contempt action against two witnesses, it had decided to give them a second opportunity to testify. One of these was Grace Lorch of Little Rock, whose conduct at the Memphis hearings was described by the subcommittee as "highly contumacious."

It is interesting to note that Mrs. Lorch is the wife of Dr. Lee Lorch, formerly of Nashville, where he was active in the affairs of the NAACP. While living in Nashville, the Lorches, who are white, indicated that they wished to enroll their children in a Negro school.

Perhaps Senator Eastland's subcommittee should investigate the relationship between the advocates of integration in Nashville and the promoters of integration in Little Rock.

Monteagle—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was a principal speaker at a "Workshop on citizenship and integration" at the Highlander Folk School, June 15-21. The Georgia Commission on Education has published material on Highlander identifying the school as a Communist training-ground.

Memphis—An explosive situation appears to be developing at Memphis State University, where eight Negroes have applied for admission. The school's registrar, R. P. Clark, said one Negro applicant has been advised that his score on the entrance examination was too low for admission to Memphis State. Scores of the seven other Negro applicants have not been released, but the professor in charge of administering the entrance exams says he is "sure" that "at least one Negro" will score high enough to

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And, they went on, Ashmore showed "forcefulness, dispassionate analysis, and clarity" in the editorials he wrote.

In passing, we might say that this is the first time in the 41 years they've been handing out Pulitzer prizes that one paper won two awards for the way it handled the same story. But of course, these are unusual times. And who'll argue the fact that the military occupation of a peaceful community IS a big story?

★ ★ ★

We can remember back not too many years when a Pulitzer prize or some similar award really meant something. Nowadays, though, it's getting so the Pulitzer prize winners are all banded together in their own little Mutual Admiration Society—a sort of closed corporation where they speak only to each other, primarily because their homefolks won't have anything to do with them. This probably doesn't seem too important to the little clique, as long as they can turn a tidy thousand bucks or so pounding out another hate-the-South piece for some magazine, or dishing out verbal diatribes on the Yankee banquet circuit.

At this point, we're going to lift a few lines from a pair of editorials on the subject Pulitzer prizes, written by Thomas R. Waring, the editor of the **News and Courier** in Charleston, S. C. Waring is one of that ever-diminishing breed of editors who writes what he thinks, and let the awards fall where they may.

In one of his editorials, Waring takes exception to the views expressed by the Charlotte (N. C.) **Observer**, in Waring's words, "a link in the Knight newspaper chain headed by John S. Knight of Ohio and other points north."

Waring writes, "The Observer said that 'the two awards are a deserved tribute.' And it adds that Mr. Ashmore 'has been unfairly labeled an integrationist by those who disagree with his editorial position.' The Observer called Ashmore's position 'quite moderate and realistic'."

"We do not comment on these statements," Waring says. "We leave it to our readers to judge whether approval of the use of Federal bayonets against Arkansas citizens is 'moderate and realistic.'

"We take exception, however, to the Observer's reference to the Gazette's 'hard-hitting, exhaustive coverage of the school crisis.

"The Gazette certainly hit hard against the wishes of the people of Little Rock. But exhaustive? A newspaper whose executive editor took part in secret conferences designed to bring Federal troops into his home town and failed to mention this in editorials hardly can be called exhaustive in its news approach.

"Truly exhaustive news coverage would have informed readers of the Gazette that its executive editor was busily seeking Federal bayonets for use against citizens of Little Rock."

★ ★ ★

In another editorial, Waring says "Among newspaper editors it was all but a foregone conclusion that Ashmore would win Pulitzer recognition."

"He did indeed win the personal citation for editorials," Waring notes, "and his paper also took the public service award. Whether the gold medal the award brings will compensate for the loss of 10,000 subscribers is a question that newspaper publishers of other newspapers may ponder in private."

Waring summarizes, "The Arkansas Gazette exercised its editorial prerogative in taking a position with the forces of integration. It did so with vigor. In losing the support of a large percentage of people in its own region, it has attained a measure of national fame for itself and its executive editor.

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It is a tragic commentary on the times to note that about the only chance an editor has these days of winning a Pulitzer prize or some similar award is for him to become a sort of professional bleeding-heart for psuedo-liberal causes. Indeed, we occasionally suspect that some of the tears so piously shed in behalf of the so-called minorities by certain editors are of the crocodile variety, and that their emotional pleadings are made with one myopic eye on such an award ("to make them famous") and the other on the carpetbag full of money which usually accompanies same. Unless we have miscounted, or unless some of these recognition-starved printing-press prostitutes have two heads (which has occasionally been suspected), that keeps both eyes busy, without even one to spare to view the facts objectively.

And one final word, brother editors, before you sell out your friends. Make sure your price is high enough. Thirty pieces of silver should be about right.

Power Of Self-Destruction

Science has given this nation, and others, the power to destroy civilization and perhaps the Earth, by unleashing the energy of the atom. This is, by now, a well-known and oft-repeated maxim. Corollary to this is the fact that it is also within man's power to use this newly-won power for the betterment of humanity, if only he harnesses the might of the atom to peaceful projects rather than single-mindedly concentrating on the devastating force of nuclear energy.

A similar parallel may be drawn from another field of science —anthropology. Science has shown us the different races of man. It is for us to determine if this knowledge shall be used for the good, or if it will result in the destruction of our civilization. For, as any scientist knows, the simple fact that different components CAN be mixed together does not mean that they SHOULD be mixed.

Two inert substances, in themselves harmless, can be merged into a highly-volatile and extremely dangerous compound. Thus it is with race. We need only consider the lessons of history.

There is not a single example in the history of the world of any white nation or civilization that remained strong after integrating with a colored race. Egypt, Carthage, Rome, Greece, India, Portugal, Spain—all succumbed to racial integration, thereby either obliterating their civilization or enfeebling it to the point where national greatness was permanently lost.

It is race contact that produces a race problem. But only racial integration can reduce a nation to impotence and decay.

Every section of this country must realize—and soon—that the nation must be united in combating efforts to effect a racial admixture of the American people.

This is a national problem. Efforts are being made to isolate the South, so that the equalitarians can deal with the enforcement of racial integration on a sectional basis. Our white friends in the North must understand that their help is needed. And help they must, if America as we know it is to survive.

The battle to prevent racial integration can be won, but only if white men and women in every village, every city, every state put aside all other considerations—be they political or economic—and through their combined strength preserve the racial integrity of America.

By Richard Burrow, Jr.

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Memphis—An explosive situation appears to be developing at Memphis State University, where eight Negroes have applied for admission. The school's registrar, R. P. Clark, said one Negro applicant has been advised that his score on the entrance examination was too low for admission to Memphis State. Scores of the seven other Negro applicants have not been released, but the professor in charge of administering the entrance exams says he is "sure" that "at least one Negro" will score high enough to gain entrance.

West Tennessee has been fortunate in not having any racial disorders because there has been no forced mixing of the races. Whether or not the people of Memphis will tolerate race mixing at their University remains to be seen. Responsible citizens are hoping that Governor Frank Clement may yet awake to his obligations, and not surrender this fine educational institution to the NAACP.

Georgia Attorney Says High Court Favors Commies

Attorney R. Carter Pittman of Dalton, Ga., warns that "the Federal judiciary in America is fast approaching that which exists in Russia."

Speaking to the Demosthenian Literary Society in Athens, Ga., Pittman charged that seven of the nine U. S. Supreme Court justices have "habitually voted in favor of Communists and Communist causes."

Citing 20 cases in which he contended the high court ruled against the "interest of the internal security of the United States," Pittman asserted, "No fair person can read those 20 cases without suspecting that there are at least five members of the court who have a fellow feeling for Communists."

Charleston Paper Offers Booklet Of Provocative Editorials

A compilation of editorials worthy of the attention of all good Americans is being offered by the **News and Courier** of Charleston, S. C.

The booklet is titled "Since Little Rock," and presents two dozen of the newspaper's thought-provoking editorials dealing with U. S. race relations and freedoms since the invasion of Little Rock by Federal troops. Editor Thomas R. Waring states the South's case in a forceful manner.

Copies of "Since Little Rock" may be obtained by writing direct to the News and Courier, Charleston, S. C.

The doctrine of racial equality threatens our American civilization, and undermines our freedoms.

Our Way of Life:

What's Happening To Us?

PREJUDICE IN REVERSE

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The two claim that Proxmire forced the election of Negro housewife Vel Phillips to the post of Wisconsin's Democratic National Committeewoman. And the action threatens to split Wisconsin Democrats into rival camps, as party members take sides on the issue.

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These figures show a marked resemblance to the increased Negro population in the nation's capital.

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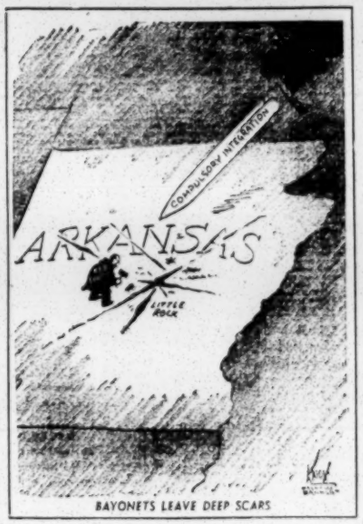

BAYONETS LEAVE DEEP SCARS

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But it is believed the number was negligible until forced mixing transformed the schools of the nation's capital into scenes of jungle pandemonium.

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"We will make it mighty uncomfortable for them," Preacher Powell said from his pulpit.

All this was too much even for the NAACP's executive secretary, Roy Wilkins. "We cannot condemn racism in others while using it ourselves," Wilkins said in a statement, adding that the NAACP "disassociates itself completely from the threats made by Powell against any person's right to go freely about the city of New York."

IT'S "UNCLE" ADAM NOW

Liberal columnist George E. Sokolsky devoted a recent column to a rundown of Powell's activities, including the income tax charges. And Sokolsky concludes, "It would be far better for the Negroes of this country if Powell did not relate his race to his personal problems."

"There are two sides to prejudice and discrimination," Sokolsky writes. "One is the side of the person of a minority group who attributes every act against his person as an act against his race. This is a form of Uncle Tomism in reverse."

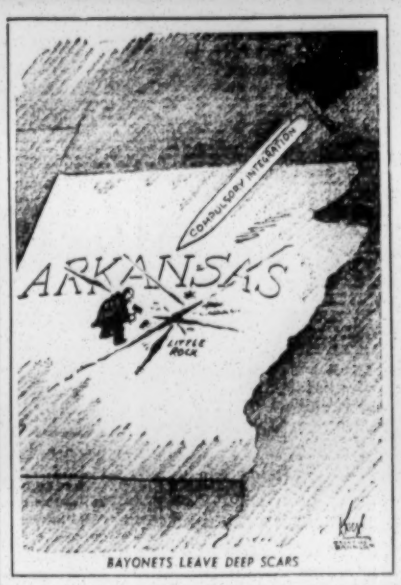
Digging into the motivation of the Harlem preacher-turned-politician, Sokolsky writes, "Powell has reverted to racial politics and demagoguery. It may get him a vote, but it will do the Negroes of this country nothing but harm. It takes courage to take the blame for one's own errors. Powell apparently lacks that courage."

SEX CLASSES IN D. C.

Principals of eight junior and senior high schools in Washington, D. C., report in glowing terms on the results of an 18-month sex-education campaign taught in the schools at their request.

The executive director of Washington's Social Hygiene Society, William F. Benedict, says his group has provided the sex instruction at the principals' request.

Speaking at an annual meeting, Benedict says one principal reports



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Grocer Belk, who successfully fought off the drunken attack, promptly found himself accused by the NAACP of trying to rape the alcoholic Negress. The NAACP based its claim on the fact that the woman's skirt was torn during the struggle over the knife.

THE RIGHT TO BURGLE?

Negro groups in Hattiesburg, Miss., held a mass meeting this month, apparently to add the "right to burgle" to their ever-growing list of claimed Civil Rights.

The local NAACP and Negro ministers called the meeting after alert Hattiesburg police shot and killed a night-time burglar who was caught in the act and fled. The burglar turned out to be a Negro.

The Negro ministers issued a statement pointing out that the burglar was merely trying to run away, and made no attempt to fight police. They said police should have done the sporting thing, and "given chase to take him alive."

(Editor's note—Maybe the Civil Rights Commission will add to their list the "right to burgle" and the "right to run away" — both, of course, applicable to Negroes only.)

PRACTICE OR PREACHING?

The broad, open-minded view toward race relations taken by Northerners who roundly condemn the South at every turn is typified by this report from Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

Four District Superintendents of the Methodist church have urged the 560 churches of the Central Pennsylvania Methodist Conference to appoint ministers without regard to race.

At present, one **(Yes—ONE!—Ed.)** of the 560 churches has a Negro minister. And it so happens that the same church has a Negro congregation.

"Even in Central Pennsylvania," the churchmen lament, "Some would say the Negro should know his place and stay there."

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EXAMPLE IN HAITI

An example of what happens to a nation after integrationists take over can be found on the island of Haiti, writes New Orleans attorney Drew L. Smith.

Smith's article, entitled "Race, Color and Chaos," has been published in leaflet form by the Federation for Constitutional Government, 801 American Bank Bldg., New Orleans, La. In the article, Smith notes that Haiti has been a completely free country, peopled entirely by Negroes and mulattoes, since 1804. Yet, he writes, in their 150 years of freedom, they have been unable to progress and achieve national unity. Dictatorships, revolutions, and internal conflicts have been the rule, rather than the exception.

A color line has been drawn across Haiti's politics, Smith writes, adding "no black-skinned Haitian wants a mulatto for president, and no mulatto wants a black."

Quoting further: "Could anything more clearly answer the question as to whether or not the theory of racial equality and civil rights tend to solve the race problem? Does anything more emphatically demonstrate that a color question and a problem of race cannot be eliminated, even in a mongrelized country?

"In Haiti, the doctrine of the equality of races is an accepted fact by everyone, and yet they cleave unwaveringly to the color line. In Haiti, everyone has long since had his 'civil rights,' and yet the bar of color is raised on all sides. In Haiti, mongrelization has been effected, and the problem of race remains.

"Clearly it is to be seen that the race issue cannot be solved by either equalitarian propaganda or by any law, court decree, executive order—or by mongrelization itself.

"The lesson of Haiti should provide a clear-cut example of the ultimate failure of racial integration and mongrelization as any solution of the race issue, looking toward the establishment of national unity and the general welfare of the American people.

"But tragically, the doctrine of racial equality, integration and civil rights has now so effectively captured the leadership of both major political parties in this country, that they may be considered the most dominating forces in American politics."

Racial impoverishment is the price America will ultimately pay unless racial integration is stopped.

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Cordele—WMJM (1490 kc.) Schedule not received.

Monroe—WMRE (1490 kc.) Saturday 12:30 p.m.

Winder—WIMO (1300 kc.) Monday 10:45 a.m.

LOUISIANA

Bogalusa—WHXY (920 kc.) Sunday 11:30 a.m.

Homer—KYHL (1320 kc.) Sunday 1 p.m.

Houma—KCIL (1490 kc.) Sunday 5:15 p.m.

Jonesville—KLEC (1480 kc.) Sunday 8:45 a.m.

Opelousas—KSLO (1230 kc.) Friday 6:30 p.m.

MISSISSIPPI

Aberdeen—WMPA (1240 kc.) Friday 5:30 p.m.

Brookhaven — WJMB (1340 kc.) Wednesday 2:15 p.m.

Columbus—WACR (1050 kc.) Friday 12 noon.

Corinth—WCRR (1330 kc.) Sunday 1 p.m.

Grenada—WNAG (1400 kc.) Sunday 7:05 p.m.

Gulfport—WROA (1390 kc.) Saturday 1 p.m.

Jackson—WJDX (620 kc.) Saturday 12:45 p.m.

Kosciusko—WKOZ (1350 kc.) Sunday 12 noon.

Leland-Greenville — WESY (1580 kc.) Schedule not received.

Louisville—WLSM (1270 kc.) Saturday 12:45 p.m.

McComb—WAPF (980 kc.) Saturday 8 a.m.

Oxford—WSUH (1420 kc.) Sunday 1 p.m.

Starkville—WSSO (1230 kc.) Saturday 6:45 a.m.

Tupelo—WELO (1490 kc.) Sunday 12:30 p.m.

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Laurens—WLBG (860 kc.) Sunday 1:05 p.m.

Orangeburg—WTND (920 kc.) Fri- 12:15 p.m.

Sumter—WSSC (1290 kc.) Saturday 4:45 p.m.

TENNESSEE

Lexington—WDXL (1490 kc.) Friday 6:15 p.m.

Milan — WKBG (1600 kc.) Sunday 3 p.m.

Murfreesboro — WGNS (1450 kc.) Sunday 9 p.m.

TEXAS

Brownsville—KBOR (1600 kc.) Tuesday 8 p.m.

Carthage—KGAS (1590 kc.) Sunday 12:45 p.m.

Center—KDET (930 kc.) Saturday 5:15 p.m.

Edinburg—KURV (710 kc.) Sunday 10 p.m.

Gainesville—KGAF (1580 kc.) Sunday 5:15 p.m.

Kermit—KERB (600 kc.) Saturday 5 p.m.

Kilgore—KOCA (1240 kc.) Thursday 1 p.m.

Pasadena—KRCT (650 kc.) Sunday 4:30 p.m.

Post — KRWS (1370 kc.) Monday 1:30 p.m.

San Angelo—KWFR (1260 kc.) Sunday 5:15 p.m.

Terrell — KTER (1570 kc.) Monday 6:30 p.m.

Tyler—KTBB (600 kc.) Sunday 5:45 p.m.

VIRGINIA

Charlottesville — WCHV (1260 kc.) Sunday 7:45 p.m.

Falls Church — WFAX (1220 kc.) Schedule not received

Richmond—WMBG (1380 kc.) Sunday 10 p.m.

Roanoke—WRIS (1410 kc.) Sunday 6:30 p.m.

★ ★ ★ ★

WATCH US GROW!

New stations are being added to this list every day. In each issue, we will print complete TV and radio listings in this space.

If your favorite television or radio station is not yet listed, see "How You Can Help" on page 1.

"Citizens' Council Forum" is provided free of charge to television and radio stations as a public service of the Citizens' Councils of America. We urge you to see and hear this series of programs, and invite your comments.

Our address is Citizens' Council Forum, 1014 Plaza Bldg., Jackson, Miss. Let us hear from you.

And be sure to watch this space next month. We're sure you'll be pleasantly surprised at the number of new stations added to the schedule in a short time.

Officials Are 'Walking On Eggs'

New Orleans Transit Mixed; Secrecy Can't Hide Protests

Streetcars and busses in New Orleans fell victim to race mixing by Federal court decree, and residents of the Crescent City are wondering if it's more than coincidence that the integration order came on Memorial Day. Many feel that when the decree took effect, memorial services for the city's public transit facilities were in order.

A curtain of secrecy has been imposed by New Orleans city officials, fearful that reports of incidents might lead to open defiance of the order. Even so, a number of clashes brought about by the compulsory mixing have leaked into the public view, and responsible citizens feel that even more would result were it not for the fact that most Negroes are still observing the old seating patterns and moving to the rear.

STRATEGICALLY TIMED

Citizens' Council leaders point out that the Federal court order was timed so as to take effect in the middle of a holiday weekend, when transit riding is normally slack. In addition, it was timed to take advantage of the many distractions brought on by school graduations, summer vacations and out-of-town trips, in an apparent effort to win acceptance by default.

Nonetheless, informed sources report that New Orleans residents are forming car pools, and that streetcar and bus riding has dropped far below normal in the month that compulsory mixed seating has been in effect. Downtown merchants are privately complaining that the forced mixing has had an adverse effect on their cash registers.

POSITIVELY SILENT

A wire service correspondent writes, "Some things are best left unsaid, and in New Orleans transit integration is one of them."

"City, transit and civic leaders," the report continues, "feel the less said about the matter, the better. They are like men walking on eggs."

"The plain fact remains that Negroes and whites continue to segregate themselves. The Negro passengers continue to go to the back of the bus, as they have for years."

Meantime, spurred by Citizens' Council resolutions, the Louisiana Legislature is considering proposals to restore transit segregation in New Orleans.

The Word Gets Around

Every now and again, a newspaper editorial so succinctly summarizes the particulars of a given case that it is "lifted" and reprinted time and time again in other publications. The following editorial first appeared in the Phoenix, Arizona, **Republican.** Among the papers republishing it was the Lewiston **Daily News** in Pennsylvania.

The publisher of the Lewiston paper, Edward L. Fike, sent the reprint to the Montgomery, Alabama, **Advertiser,** along with a note describing it as "An all too rare example of objective editorial interpretation outside the South on this problem."

In reprinting it again, the Montgomery paper noted that the Phoenix editor, writing in a prominent Far West organ, "has hit to the very kernel of bayonet race mixing."

All of this was then picked up by the **Union Leader,** a distinguished daily in Manchester, New Hampshire, under the heading "Important: Race Mixing By Bayonet." The **Union Leader** added the cartoon which re-appears on this page.

If a single editorial can be so highly regarded in so many sections of the nation, it is certainly deserving of our attention.

TV-Radio

(Continued from Page 1)

need felt deeply by everyone who realizes that our basic problem in the South today is one of informing our own people."

Programs already prepared in the Washington series feature discussions on States' Rights, the growing danger to individual freedoms stemming from the tendency towards centralization of power in the Federal government, the propaganda campaign being conducted against the South by Northern radicals and subversives, and ways in which the people of the South can effectively meet these dangers.

Moderator of the new "Citizens' Council Forum" series is Dick Morphew, widely-known television and radio newscaster in Jackson, Miss. Morphew has conducted the Council programs since their inception in Jackson.

LAWMAKERS AGREE

Of the Washington series, he says, "I was frankly surprised to find so many Northern and Midwestern Congressmen in sympathy with the South —not only on the subject of segregation, but in their whole theory of government."

"Programs in the Washington series are entirely unrehearsed," Morphew adds. "This results in spontaneous questions and answers that add appeal to viewers and listeners. The Congressmen let you know what they're really thinking, and I believe this spontaneity makes the programs much more interesting."

"We can already claim a number of 'firsts' for 'Citizens' Council Forum,'" Morphew declares. "On one of our programs, we talked with six Congressmen—the entire Mississippi delegation. I think that's the first time anything of this nature has been done, especially in a 15-minute program. We'll average two or three lawmakers on each program, and they'll be from virtually every Southern state, as well as some surprise guests from places like New York, Illinois and Indiana."

That the Congressmen see the need of a South-wide TV-radio series is evidenced by the fact that so many of them have taken time out from their busy Washington schedules to appear on "Citizens' Council Forum." Production of several programs was temporarily delayed by quorum calls, which sent Congressmen scurrying to the House floor to vote on key issues.

A GROUP EFFORT

Thurmond Says South Is Reawakening

The people of the South have developed a "determination and a spirit that is not going to accept Federal dictation, outside domination, or tyranny in any form," says Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina.

Speaking at St. Matthews, S. C., Thurmond lashed at critics who describe the South's cause as a "lost cause."

"A fight for principle is never lost," Thurmond declared. "Even though the Confederacy suffered military defeat, its heroic struggle left the South's sense of separate identity, its unity, its solidarity, stronger than ever."

Thurmond spoke confidently of the South's future. "No matter what changes our form of government may undergo, the South is going to maintain its identity and the distinctive values of its way of life." Eventually, he predicted, the South will "regain at least a measure of its autonomy, its independence, and will become master of its own destiny."

"Over the past few years, we have witnessed the beginning of a great historic movement," Thurmond continued. "We have seen a great stirring, a reawakening of the Southern people, on all fronts—political, spiritual, economic and intellectual. But especially have we seen a rebirth of the Southern people's awareness of their own identity and their heritage. And we have seen this reborn awareness give rise to a determination and a spirit that is not going to accept Federal dictation, outside domination, or tyranny in any form."

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Speaking to the Duval County Federation for Constitutional Government, Grant said recent bomb incidents in Jacksonville and elsewhere were "part of the Communist technique . . . to disparage just such organizations as this which support segregation."

To combat the Communist conspiracy, Grant called for better coordination among patriotic groups and careful screening of candidates for public office, all the way down to the local level.

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How To Beat The Mixers

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1. Stop giving money to churches and preachers who preach, support or want race-mixing. (Don't purchase self-destruction with your own money).

2. If you have a race-mixing preacher, get rid of him. He is not preaching from the Bible.

3. Don't buy products from companies that sponsor race-mixing programs on television. Write the sponsors and give them the reason.

4. Join some organization that opposes race-mixing.

Secrecy Can't Hide Protests

Streetcars and busses in New Orleans fell victim to race mixing by Federal court decree, and residents of the Crescent City are wondering if it's more than coincidence that the integration order came on Memorial Day. Many feel that when the decree took effect, memorial services for the city's public transit facilities were in order.

A curtain of secrecy has been imposed by New Orleans city officials, fearful that reports of incidents might lead to open defiance of the order. Even so, a number of clashes brought about by the compulsory mixing have leaked into the public view, and responsible citizens feel that even more would result were it not for the fact that most Negroes are still observing the old seating patterns and moving to the rear.

STRATEGICALLY TIMED

Citizens' Council leaders point out that the Federal court order was timed so as to take effect in the middle of a holiday weekend, when transit riding is normally slack. In addition, it was timed to take advantage of the many distractions brought on by school graduations, summer vacations and out-of-town trips, in an apparent effort to win acceptance by default.

Nonetheless, informed sources report that New Orleans residents are forming car pools, and that streetcar and bus riding has dropped far below normal in the month that compulsory mixed seating has been in effect. Downtown merchants are privately complaining that the forced mixing has had an adverse effect on their cash registers.

POSITIVELY SILENT

A wire service correspondent writes, "Some things are best left unsaid, and in New Orleans transit integration is one of them."

"City, transit and civic leaders," the report continues, "feel the less said about the matter, the better. They are like men walking on eggs."

"The plain fact remains that Negroes and whites continue to segregate themselves. The Negro passengers continue to go to the back of the bus, as they have for years."

Meantime, spurred by Citizens' Council resolutions, the Louisiana Legislature is considering proposals to restore transit segregation in New Orleans.

The Word Gets Around

Every now and again, a newspaper editorial so succinctly summarizes the particulars of a given case that it is "lifted" and reprinted time and time again in other publications. The following editorial first appeared in the Phoenix, Arizona, **Republican.** Among the papers republishing it was the Lewiston **Daily News** in Pennsylvania.

The publisher of the Lewiston paper, Edward L. Fike, sent the reprint to the Montgomery, Alabama, **Advertiser,** along with a note describing it as "An all too rare example of objective editorial interpretation outside the South on this problem."

In reprinting it again, the Montgomery paper noted that the Phoenix editor, writing in a prominent Far West organ, "has hit to the very kernel of bayonet race mixing."

All of this was then picked up by the **Union Leader,** a distinguished daily in Manchester, New Hampshire, under the heading "Important: Race Mixing By Bayonet." The **Union Leader** added the cartoon which re-appears on this page.

If a single editorial can be so highly regarded in so many sections of the nation, it is certainly deserving of our attention. For this reason, the **Citizens' Council** is happy to become at least the fifth newspaper in the chain, adding our own observation that this all goes to show that the truth will out, no matter how clever the attempts at concealment. Herewith, the editorial:

★ ★ ★ ★

Results at Central High School in Little Rock have refuted the idea that integration in public schools could be accomplished just by exhibiting a little legal toughness.

The members of the Central High School Board and Supt. Virgil T. Blossom have petitioned the U. S. District Court for a stay of the order of integration.

The reason is obvious. It is easy to say that the school already is integrated. But it is not. Several Negroes are attending the school. But their ability to stay in the school depends on the presence of National Guard troops. Without the troops there, the situation would immediately explode. Even with the troops present, there have been explosions. One of the Negro girls has been expelled from the school because she seemed unable to keep out of trouble. She has had to go to a Northern school to continue her education. Undoubtedly the incidents in which she was involved were at least as much her fault as the fault of the white students, but integration has done her no favors.

In Little Rock, the nation has found that integration of schools is possible now, but frequently it will require the presence of enforcement officers to make it stick. If this nation wishes a group of high schools watched over by a group of armed guards; if it wants thousands of its children to grow up in such an atmosphere, that's fine. But those children who do grow up in such an atmosphere are going to receive a frightful picture of democracy—when its evident aspects to them are more reminiscent of a concentration camp.

It is silly to say that if the nation sticks by this policy of toughness, integration will work out in time. It isn't working out in Little Rock. As long as the guards are necessary, there will continue to be tension and nothing can work itself out under such circumstances. And the amount of education received by the students is going to deteriorate as long as tensions are present.

The federals are in the circumstance of the Russians with their conquest of the satellite countries. Their conquest is good only so long as the countries are occupied by troops. Similarly, the mixing of the eight colored children in the Little Rock school is now impossible without the presence of troops.

★ ★ ★ ★

Next, a comment added by the Montgomery **Advertiser:**

The **Advertiser** again ventures the observation that some of the heat is being drawn from the new national pastime—reforming of the South.

The disturbances in New York have rocked the central headquarters of the abolitionists. Perhaps millions of Americans have wondered what they would do if their children were assigned to some of the New York schools where the student princes attack teachers, carry knives and commit rape.

The recession and Sputnik have distracted the professional wailers.

realizes that our basic problem in the South today is one of informing our own people."

Programs already prepared in the Washington series feature discussions on States' Rights, the growing danger to individual freedoms stemming from the tendency towards centralization of power in the Federal government, the propaganda campaign being conducted against the South by Northern radicals and subversives, and ways in which the people of the South can effectively meet these dangers.

Moderator of the new "Citizens' Council Forum" series is Dick Morphew, widely-known television and radio newscaster in Jackson, Miss. Morphew has conducted the Council programs since their inception in Jackson.

LAWMAKERS AGREE

Of the Washington series, he says, "I was frankly surprised to find so many Northern and Midwestern Congressmen in sympathy with the South —not only on the subject of segregation, but in their whole theory of government."

"Programs in the Washington series are entirely unrehearsed," Morphew adds. "This results in spontaneous questions and answers that add appeal to viewers and listeners. The Congressmen let you know what they're really thinking, and I believe this spontaneity makes the programs much more interesting."

"We can already claim a number of 'firsts' for 'Citizens' Council Forum,'" Morphew declares. "On one of our programs, we talked with six Congressmen—the entire Mississippi delegation. I think that's the first time anything of this nature has been done, especially in a 15-minute program. We'll average two or three lawmakers on each program, and they'll be from virtually every Southern state, as well as some surprise guests from places like New York, Illinois and Indiana."

That the Congressmen see the need of a South-wide TV-radio series is evidenced by the fact that so many of them have taken time out from their busy Washington schedules to appear on "Citizens' Council Forum." Production of several programs was temporarily delayed by quorum calls, which sent Congressmen scurrying to the House floor to vote on key issues.

A GROUP EFFORT

Citizens' Council members everywhere deserve full credit for the success of the program. Not only will it fill a vital need in bringing the South full information concerning a number of timely and important questions, but it also proves the value of organizing to protect our freedoms.

Only an organization, such as the Citizens' Councils, has the facilities to plan and prepare such large-scale projects. And only through active participation in the Councils can Southerners know that they are doing their part in carrying out the vital task of informing their fellow citizens.

As the introductory message heard on each "Citizens' Council Forum" program puts it: "An informed people will not surrender their freedoms."

Same Problem Years Ago

Politically-inspired race problems are nothing new, according to newspaper accounts. A recent issue of the **Enterprise-Tocsin,** published at Indianola, Miss., recounts an interesting bit of local history on that subject:

"In 1891, while Benjamin Harrison was president, a Negro woman, Minnie Cox, was appointed postmistress in Indianola. The white residents met this situation by renting a building, hiring their own postmistress, having their mail taken off the train at Heathman, three miles away, and brought in by buggy. According to the story that has been handed down through the years, the mail was transported in a white-painted wagon, flying a Confederate flag, and drawn by white horses. One version even has it that the driver's name was Mr. White.

"It is definitely true that letterheads in business and professional offices here gave Heathman as their mailing address, and the post office boycott worked so completely that it was finally closed.

TEDDY CAN'T BEAR IT

"This situation continued until President Teddy Roosevelt came to the Delta on a bear-hunting trip. After visiting in this vicinity, associating with Delta people, and gaining first-hand knowledge of their problems, he went back to Washington and appointed a white postmaster.

"The entire episode brought forth no violence, and no hate campaign was directed against the colored postmistress. She continued to live on friendly terms with the people of Indianola, where she owned her home and a nice farm. Her husband later organized a highly-successful insurance company and founded one of the first Negro banking institutions in the South."

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2. If you have a race-mixing preacher, get rid of him. He is not preaching from the Bible.
3. Don't buy products from companies that sponsor race-mixing programs on television. Write the sponsors and give them the reason.
4. Join some organization that opposes race-mixing.
5. If you find race-mixing literature being used in your church or Sunday School or any other place, then protest to the leaders of such groups.
6. Write letters of encouragement to public officials and preachers who are resisting integration and fighting for segregation.
7. Send letters of protest to anybody who wants race-mixing.
8. Protest and resist any attempts that may be made to put over race-mixing programs.
9. Pay your poll tax so you can vote against any race-mixing politician.
10. Write letters to the editors of local newspapers telling them why you are opposed to race-mixing. Ask him to publish your letters.
11. Make this pledge. Educate a new person each day about the danger of race-mixing.
12. Teach your children why they should have pride in their own race, that race-mixing will mean the end of the white race.
13. Teach your children to speak up in defense of their beliefs at school, church, youth meetings and other places when they hear the Communist doctrine of integration and race-mixing being taught.
14. Don't permit your children to see race-mixing movies or television programs or hear race-mixing records nor permit them to attend dances where the music is furnished by race-mixing bands.
15. Don't permit your children to play on a team where there are Negroes and white people taking part.
16. Continually cite to your associates that the greatest progress known to history has always been made by the white race. (When races have been mixed in the past, it has caused the decay of that nation).
17. Tell everybody so they will know that the Communists are responsible for enforced integration and race-mixing. Pass out material to help educate the people.
18. Make everybody realize if the white race is to survive, they must take a definite stand and do their part.
19. Always point out that the white race is in the minority, that five-sevenths of the world's population is colored.
20. Oppose the Big Lie that Segregation is Unchristian. (For 2,000 years our forefathers could not have been wrong, and if it is unchristian, then they have gone to their graves in sin).

MR. B. J. THOMPSON
246 WESTMINSTER DR. N. E.
ATLANTA 9, GEORGIA
11 567, 8

WCC

August 18, 1958

Dr. Robert E. McNeill, Pastor
First Presbyterian Church
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Dr. McNeill:

It is my hope to come to Columbus in the early fall and meet with two or three people like yourself to discuss an adult education program for your community to prepare our state for whatever situation we might face in the future, near or distant. I have already written Mrs. Dimon to this effect and will write Miss Wilkins soon.

In the meantime, there is something I wish you would check on for me. We have learned that the White Citizen's Councils are offering for use to TV and radio staions a special series of programs riddled with untruths and half-truths about the integration movement. This material is being distributed byW. J. Simmons, Producer, Citizens' Council Forum, Plaza Building, Jackson, Mississippi.

Please watch this program scheduled for showing on WTVM (TV) Channel 28, Columbus at 3 p.m. on Sunday. That is the only Georgia station that we know to be taking this program material.

The FCC reportedly has advised one station that the FBI should be notified if these programs incite people to riot; also any station which does not seek out the other side of controversial issues such as desegregation can be accused of unfair editorials and is subject to reprimand by the FCC.

If you have an opportunity to view this program next Sunday, will you let me know your opinion of it?

Sincerely,

W. C. Cowart
Executive Director

WCC/lk

C
O
P
Y

Mr. W. C. Cowart
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Cowart:

Thank you for your recent letter indicating that you might visit us soon. We shall be very glad to talk with you.

I checked on the WTVM program and learned, to my delight, that the station mamager had sent the film back to Mississippi without bothering to even review it. The manager, Mr. Guy Tiller, made this comment:

"We just don't show stuff that comes from that source." I am sending him a copy of this letter as a kind of thanks and commendation for his forthrightness and his good taste.

We shall look forward to your visit at whatever time in convenient to you.

Sincerely,

Rob McNeill

Copy - Mr. Guy Tiller
WTVM TV
Columbus, Georgia

PROPOSALS OF CITIZENS COUNCILS

Harris Urges Segregation Organization

ORLANDO, Fla. (UPI) — The president of the Citizens Councils of America proposed the creation of a national racist organization to fight integration at a segregation rally here Saturday night.

"If you are a real white man then it's time to stand up with us," declared segregationist Roy Harris of Augusta, Ga., "Otherwise, black your face and get on the other side."

600 ATTEND

Harris, also publisher of a weekly newspaper, proposed a sweeping program for segregation before some 600 persons attending the rally.

Other speakers included Robert B. Patterson, Indianola, Miss., who founded the first White Citizens Council in 1954, and Phil Campbell, Georgia commissioner of agriculture.

VANDIVER ABSENT

Absent from the rally were Georgia governor-nominee Ernest Vandiver, Louisiana State Senator W. A. Rainach, and Alabama Attorney General McDonald Gallion. All had been advertised as "honored guests" in literature announcing the affair.

Harris' program for segregation called for:

A reduction of all political campaign issues in all state and local elections to a single question — who's the strongest man for segregation.

A "straightening out" of clergymen who preach the brotherhood of man.

Chasing Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution "clean out of the State of Georgia."

MASS COMMUNICATION

A fight against all agencies of mass communication: Newspapers, magazines, radio stations and television stations.

Absolute defiance of all federal court rulings in favor of racial integration "by every means and at every cost."

Harris labeled all persons who disagreed with his views as "traitors and quislings."

Reprinted from "The Atlanta Constitution" Sept. 22, 1958

WCC mat

CERTIFICATE OF STUDENT

Name

Mailing Address

High School

Subject

I hereby certify that the work on the attached essay is my own. Where I have quoted from authors on the subject I have indicated with quotations. I have received only suggestions of a supervisory nature.

_____
Signature of Student

_____
Date

STATEMENT BY SCHOOL OFFICIAL

Name of student submitting essay

_____

Average grade of student_____

Character traits of student

_____

Leadership qualities

_____

Special activities

_____

_____
Signature of school official

Date_____

Title_____

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STATEWIDE SCHOLARSHIP

Essay Contest For

MISSISSIPPI HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

1958 - 1959

TWO $500.00 CASH AWARDS

BEST ESSAY BY
SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL BOY

BEST ESSAY BY
SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL GIRL

CITIZENS' COUNCILS
STATES RIGHTS · RACIAL INTEGRITY

Sponsored by

THE
EDUCATIONAL FUND
OF THE
CITIZENS' COUNCILS, Inc.

Dedicated to

STATES RIGHTS AND RACIAL INTEGRITY

RULES GOVERNING CONTEST

SUBJECT

(a) Why I believe in social separation of the races of mankind.

(b) Subversion in racial unrest.

(c) Why the preservation of States Rights is important to every American.

(d) Why separate schools should be maintained for the white and colored races.

AWARDS

Essay award at local high school level by local Citizens' Council.

$50.00 for best essay by Senior High School Boy.

$50.00 for best essay by Senior High School Girl.

State Educational Fund Award—

$500.00 Scholarship for best essay by Senior High School Boy.

$500.00 Scholarship for best essay by Senior High School Girl.
(Payable $250.00 each semester)

FORM

Essay shall be 1500 words or less.

Essay must be typewritten and double spaced on 8½ x 11 unruled paper.

Manuscript must be accompanied by Certificate properly filled out and signed by both pupil and school official.

All manuscripts submitted will become the property of the Educational Fund of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi.

Manuscripts must be submitted by the pupil to the school principal accompanied by Certificate with pupil's part properly filled out, and sufficient postage, on or before the 1st. day of May.

School principal will complete Certificate and mail with essay on or before the 10th day of May to:

The Educational Fund of the
Citizens' Council, Inc.
207 West Market Street
Greenwood, Mississippi

Essays will be judged by members of the State Contest Committee who are appointed by the chairman of the Educational Fund.

Winners will be notified by the Chairman of the Educational Fund on or before the 1st day of July.

PURPOSE

1. To assist our young people to develop into informed, patriotic, American citizens.

2. (a) To stress the importance of maintaining States Rights and Constitutional Government.

   (b) To stress the importance of maintaining Racial Integrity.

SUGGESTED REFERENCE

BOOKS

"The Sovereign States" by James J. Kilpatrick
Henry Regnery Company
64 East Jackson Blvd.
Chicago 4, Illinois $5.00

"States Rights—The Law of the Land"
by Charles J. Bloch
The Harris Company
Atlanta, Georgia [illegible]

"Black Monday" by Judge Tom P. Brady
The Association of Citizens' Councils of Miss
207 West Market Street
Greenwood, Mississippi $1.00

"The Cult of Equality" by Stuart O. Landry
Mr. Stuart O. Landry
305 Chartres Street
New Orleans, Louisiana $3.50

"White America" by Col. Earnest Sevier Cox
P. O. Box 116
Richmond, Virginia $3.00

"The Age of Error" by W. E. Michael
Vantage Press, Inc.
120 West 31 Street
New York 1, New York $3.50

"The Tragic Era" by Claude G. Bowers
Houghton Mifflin Company
The Riverside Press
Cambridge, Massachusetts $5.00

MAGAZINE

U. S. News and World Report
David Lawrence, Editor

OTHER REFERENCES

Transcript of Hearings
"Subversion in Racial Unrest"
Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee
P. O. Box 450
Homer, Louisiana $1.50

PAMPHLETS

"A Christian View on Segregation"
by Rev. Guy T. Gillespie

"The Supreme Court Must Be Curbed"
by James F. Byrnes

"The Congressional Committee Report on what Happened When Schools Were Integrated in Washington, D. C." — Congressional Record

"Mixed Schools and Mixed Blood"
by Herbert Ravenel Sass

"The Ugly Truth About the NAACP"
by Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook

The pamphlets listed may be obtained, free, by writing to the Association of Citizens' Councils, 207 West Market Street, Greenwood, Mississippi. There are many other excellent references which are not listed here.

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF GEORGIA

Affiliated with Citizens' Councils of America

611 HENRY GRADY OFFICE BUILDING

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

TELEPHONE 525-2230

MAY 1965 BULLETIN

Are we going to accept this insult or are we going to fight?

AMERICANS EVERYWHERE RESENT THIS OUTRAGEOUS ACT.

NONVIOLENT DEMONSTRATORS have a way of taunting that can test the restraint of the most docile citizen. With no possible constructive purpose, they burned this Confederate flag in Selma as part of their taunting. The flag has a sentimental value to history conscious Southerners second only to that of the U.S. flag. Demonstrators carried the United Nations flag-the banner of world government.

IT IS TIME FOR ALL GOOD AMERICANS TO COME TO THE AID OF THEIR COUNTRY.

This insult is resented by American patriots in all parts of the United States, and red-blooded Americans are doing something about it. Just talking about it is of no avail.

Here is where well organized Citizens' Councils are a powerful factor in helping to remove such revolting acts from the American scene.

Well organized Citizens' Councils are composed of loyal patriots, dedicated to fighting this great evil that has overtaken our country, and are willing to work to increase membership and secure adequuate funds with which to fight it.

The Citizens' Councils of America is a growing organization, with Councils being rapidly organized from coast to coast. This represents a powerful force capable of winning this fight for justice and freedom, and, with God's help, WE WILL WIN.

Don't let us forget that, what has been going on is Communism in action. If America should go Communist and our form of constitutional government should fall, with the result that our people would become slaves of a power-mad dictator and his henchmen,many would blame the President, the Supreme Court, the Senate and Congress. However, no thinking person could honestly place the blame on them. It would be the fault of those individuals who have stood silently by and did nothing more than complain. They never belonged, worked for, or donated to a patriotic cause, such as the Citizens' Council, to help turn back the growing revolution and preserve our liberty.

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty". Each generation must earn its own liberty if it is to be preserved. Join the Citizens' Council and help maintain your American way of life.

A left-wing columnist recently wrote that the Citizens' Council was falling apart. Perhaps he wishes that it were, but we can assure him that it is not. Of course, when the left-wing sees that an organization is effective, they will smear it in every way they can.

Do you want to prove this columnist wrong? Then loyally support your local Council by attending meetings regularly, signing up new members, and keeping your dues paid up to date.

"He who hesitates is lost". This is no time to hesitate. Time is running out. Make up yout mind that you are ready and willing to work and help in every way possible to restore to the Unites States of America the way of life that made our country great - or prepare for you and your children to live under atheistic Communism. You have no other choice.

If you are not a member, join the Citizens' Council. If you are a member, it is your patriotic duty to ask your friends to join.

The Citizens' Councils of America is an organization that works for the good of all Americans. It is not a "hate" organization; it is a "love" organization. We love our country - we love our freedom - we love our children - and,with the help of Almighty God, we are going to fight to preserve the true American way of life. You can render no better service to God and country than working for this cause.

We do not have free enterprise in America anymore. No business man can run his business the way he wishes -- the Federal government determines his policies.

by
J. EDGAR HOOVER
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

IT IS beyond my comprehension that some allegedly loyal citizens of our country should be reluctant to proclaim their devotion to our democratic ideals. It is repugnant to me that the pseudo-liberals pride themselves upon being internationalists and view the emotion of patriotism as evidence of decadence and weakness. In some circles, I regret to say, the word patriotism has become a dirty word, and belief in God old-fashioned, if not "ridiculous."

We need more than ever to rekindle the spirit of patriotism. We have long since reached the time when loyal Americans must be willing to stand up and be counted. We are living in an era when staunch beliefs are needed to conquer the patent lies of communism and the creeping immorality of crime. It takes intelligence, rare courage and bulldog determination to fight these twin evils.

Fear, defeatism and cowardice have no place in the hearts and minds of true Americans. America has always been a land of great champions, produced by the fires of adversity. Extraordinary men and women since 1776 have achieved extraordinary goals and conquered extraordinary obstacles. We must be real champions of America if we are to defeat our enemies within and without.

In combating the encroachment of socialism and Communist espionage, America must adhere to the laws of God and man. As a result, our fight is doubly difficult because of the Communists' reckless disregard of the code of morality.

The host of Soviet and satellite officials in the United States, 70 to 80 per cent of whom are estimated by reliable sources as having some type of espionage assignment, are today feverishly attempting to obtain this country's secrets. The long list of Soviet officials declared persona non grata by this government, following their exposure by the FBI as espionage agents, bears testimony to their flagrant abuse of diplomatic status.

In June, 1960, our State Department estimated that Russian and Chinese Communist bloc countries have some 300,000 trained spies serving throughout the world, and commented that "there has never been a government in history which has placed heavier emphasis on espionage" than present-day Russia.

Standing side by side with these specialists in internal intrigue are those home-grown traitors who call themselves members of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and readily admit that their purpose is and always has been the communizing of America. These fanatical disciples of Marxism are eagerly worming their way into such fertile fields of endeavor as youth, labor, education and racial minorities.

The diabolical influence of communism on youth was manifested in the anti-American student demonstrations in Tokyo. It further was in evidence this year in Communist-inspired riots in San Francisco, where students were duped into disgraceful demonstrations against a Congressional committee.

No field is overlooked for Communist infiltration; educational, cultural, civic, political and religious. Front groups, having no apparent association with Communists, have been cunningly herded along by Communists in this Nation to foster sympathy and support for the Soviet Union.

Alert Americans look with frank suspicion on those articulate apologists for Soviet imperialism who are so quick to criticize our security measures and attack our elected representatives who resolutely withstand the international diplomatic blackmail practiced by the Communists. Beware of those who preach that America should never be first in anything but disarmament and demobilization!

The proximity of danger is especially apparent to us here today, as less than 100 miles from our shores a gang of bearded bandits exhibit daily the chaos and corruption which closely follow the dictatorial usurpation of power. The Communist-inspired developments in Cuba graphically demonstrate the cold-blooded ruthlessness of tyrannical rule. They display how craftily an entire and basically peace-loving nation can be manipulated as a pawn to support the policies and programs of international communism, with its hypocrisy, guile, deceit, subversion, violence and thievery.

There, the Trojan snake of communism

Continued on next page

Those who are not members of the Citizens' Council may subscribe to our monthly bulletin for the remainder of 1965 for only $1.00. Address Citizens' Council Bulletin, 612 Henry Grady Office Building, Atlanta, Georgia - 30303.

Don't miss the June issue of the Citizens' Council Bulletin. The information in it will be valuable.

If you believe in our cause, support it by sending your contributions to the Citizens' Council Bulletin at the address given above.

Be sure to vote in the general election in June, and vote for a man who stands for preserving our American way of life and will not compromise on principle.

has discarded its disguise for brute force and slaughter. Communism, shed of all its false smiles, is on its bloody march again, not only in Cuba but in every country of the world. The resultant misery and mistreatment of the citizens of countries into which the tentacles of communism have reached should serve as a clear warning to all freedom-loving peoples of the world.

On still another front, the never-ending struggle of the Communists to capture the minds and loyalties of American youth goes on incessantly. Party leaders overlook no opportunity to pervert academic interest. They have openly lectured to student groups at colleges and universities throughout the country. Glowing reports have been submitted by these adept and devious Communist leaders concerning the pliability and receptiveness of their audiences.

Alarming, too, is the ease with which some major educational institutions have been duped, under the much-abused term of "academic freedom," into permitting underhanded attacks to be made on democratic institutions and officials of government by instructors responsible for the higher education of our young people.

When academic freedom fails to recognize the importance of truth as the basic requirement for college classroom lectures and discussions, then the usefulness of our colleges and universities is a thing of the past.

We have failed in our educational processes to inculcate the basic element of American history, our philosophy of government and our moral and spiritual foundations. It is time to make our history and traditions glow and throb. We have heard about America with our ears, but not with our hearts.

The Communists never rest in carrying out their design for the destruction of America whether their efforts are cloaked with an aura of respectability or are boldly disclosed in their true light as in Cuba. A Communist will enter an alliance or "coexist" only to advance communism.

The words of Lenin are well to remember—"We do not believe in eternal morality and we expose all the fables about morality." Lenin said that every lie, deceit or knavery is to be encouraged as good, provided it furthers world revolution.

What better examples are there today of this despicable guidance in human conduct than we find in Khrushchev and Castro!

There is another marching column attempting to attack our country by taking advantage of an era of materialistic selfishness. Our country is recording an alarming new crime rate and society's lack of progress in reducing this scourge has been indeed disheartening. During the first six months of 1960, serious crimes increased nine per cent over the same period in 1959. In 1959, 79 per cent of those arrested for auto theft were under 21 and 64 per cent were less than 18 years of age.

The crime problem, particularly involving our youth, clearly remains an acute danger to national survival. Our Nation's moral strength has slipped seriously when we find our youngsters substituting idolatry of hoodlums and thugs for admiration of heroes, patriots and sports.

The teachings of God, if followed, will prevent criminality. The stabilizing force of religion is needed more today than ever before. A child who has been taught to respect the laws of God will have little difficulty respecting the laws of man.

Our Nation today needs leaders and citizens of unusual vigor and foresight. America can rise no higher than the individuals who walk her streets, conduct her business, teach her young, make her homes and attend her churches.

Reverence for our democratic ideals and unlimited faith in God can help us recapture our national moral strength and retain the freedom safeguarded so dearly with the blood of our comrades in arms.

The challenges of today, though different in nature, are no more formidable than those overcome by our Founding Fathers. The question is whether the same pioneering spirit of determination to succeed exhibited by our heroes of history can be mustered by our people in opposition to the varied assaults on our way of life.

I am convinced that there is inherent in our Republic those sparks of courage which electrified the world in the past. By remembering the richness of our tradition and by reviving the spirit displayed by such great Americans as Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, this Nation can overcome each of the deadly dangers besetting it.

IT COULD HAPPEN HERE !

"Society cannot leap into Communism from Capitalism without going through a Socialist stage of development."

"I am convinced that tomorrow the Red Flag will fly over the U. S. But we will not fly the flag. It will be the American people themselves.

Nikita Khrushchev

EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD HEED KHRUSHCHEV'S WARNING LEST HIS PREDICTION COME TRUE.

YOUR FUTURE AS A FREE AMERICAN DEPENDS ON HOW YOU PROTECT YOUR HERITAGE OF LIBERTY AND FREEDOM.

"It is your business to rise up and preserve the Union and liberty, for yourselves, and not for me . . . I appeal to you again to constantly bear in mind that with you, and not with politicians, office-seekers, but with you is the question, 'Shall the Union and the liberties of this country be preserved to the latest generation?' "

Abraham Lincoln

"IF"

If you can keep your head when all about you
UNESCO seeks to muddle and deceive;
If you can trust yourself when "pinkies" doubt you
Because you love your Country and believe
Its Constitution is the best that ever
Was drawn to guard the liberties of man,
And that Americans must all endeavor
To keep it safe and solid if they can . . .

If you won't let the UN be your master,
If you won't make world government your aim;
If you can fight the sinister disaster
Of letting spies and traitors win the game–
If you are loyal to the land that gave you
Your freedom and the chance to fight and win,
And count upon its Bill of Rights to save you
From tyranny and slavery and sin . . .

If you respect your Flag and love your Maker
And pray that He will guide you to do right,
And do not let the first high-sounding faker
Convince you white is black and black is white–
If you stand up and say you love Old Glory
And show that you're an American with guts . . .
Baby, you'd better get yourself a lawyer,
For "Mental Health" is out to *prove you're NUTS!!*

—*Author Unknown*
with apologies to
Rudyard Kipling.

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The Pending Tragedy In The South

By

The Rev. Geo. W. Cheek, Sr. D. D.

To the people of the South who hold as sacred the faith and belief of their forefathers, this message is dedicated

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READ AND PASS ON

Dr. George W. Cheek

Foreword

I am honored in the privilege of writing a foreword to of one of the most interesting and convincing statements on racial segregation I have read. The author, Dr. George W. Cheek, for many years until his retirement, minister of the Alabama Avenue Presbyterian Church, Selma, Alabama, is one of the most respected and influential ministers in the Presbyterian Church. Indeed his influence extends far beyond the bounds of his own denomination.

Dr. Cheek had a solid background in his training, having graduated from Southwestern University, (A.B.) and also from Louisville Theological Seminary with the B. D. degree. Because of his later attainments, Southwestern University conferred upon him the Doctor of Divinity degree. Over the period of a long and fruitful ministry, he held pastorates in North Carolina, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Alabama. Wherever he served he was admired for his grasp of the great questions that confront both individuals and nations.

In this booklet Dr. Cheek has spoken with his usual clarity and courage. He separates the wheat from the chaff - the truth from falsehood. Here is one whose ministry has been one of kindness and helpfulness to the people of both races, but who turns the light of truth on the wholly unfounded error that racial segregation is "unchristian." For one of the strangest of all phenomena in Christian history is the new dogma, invented by politicians who devised plans to control the negro votes and promoted by misguided social and religious dreamers - that God's plan in creation of bringing into being different races with distinguishing characteristics was in error insofar as they are to maintain their separate racial identity and destiny - and that to encourage such separateness is "unchristian." Our forefathers and the saints of the church throughout the ages knew nothing of this strange new doctrine, for it is unsupported in the Bible, and in the writings of Christian scholars there is a complete absence of any statement that a reasonable separation of the races is sinful.

It is my hope that this realistic approach that Dr. Cheek has given to this most troublesome question will have the widest reading. He answers many questions that people have been asking. He has lived with this problem. He has brought his mind and heart into the discussion.

G. Stanley Frazer, D. D.

St. James Methodist Church
(Membership 1,000)
Montgomery, Alabama

Introduction

Our present racial problem could easily wreck the stability of our nation. Communism is using our present condition as a means to divide our nation. Dangerous integration propaganda has infiltrated into every area of our existence. Millions of our people have been brainwashed. They have been led to believe that one cannot be a true follower of Christ without believing in the integration and amalgamation of the races. This is a dangerous and dark hour in the life of our nation. If we are to survive, we must have the united action of all our people—NOW.

Dr. George W. Cheek, Sr., a retired Presbyterian minister of Selma, Alabama, expresses these convictions and many more in the following articles under the general theme, "The Pending Tragedy and the South". Dr. Cheek's writings present the truth without pulling a single punch. His message is historically accurate. Great care has been exercised by the author in developing his thesis from the Christian viewpoint. He writes without hatred towards any race. We are told in these articles that "first-class citizenship" for all humanity is possible only in the separation of the races. Separation of the races is God's way of preserving the integrity of each race.

Dr. Cheek is a loyal Southerner, a true American and a dedicated Christian. His writings deserve careful and prayerful consideration by each reader.

Henry L. Lyon, D. D.

Pastor's Study
Highland Avenue Baptist Church
(Membership 3,200)

Montgomery, Alabama

THE PENDING TRAGEDY AND THE SOUTH

My earnest hope for this open letter, is not for publicity, as such I am far beyond that stage of life. My supreme desire is to be farsighted enough to envision the catastrophe of bloodshed. In the blood is life (that is a Divine fiat). Some has already been "spilt," in the cause for which I am pleading, and is crying out from the ground to high heaven for vengence (see front cover).

This deplorable condition is due in the main to two causes: On the one hand greedy politicians, who place expediency above principle, self above service. On the other hand, a lethargic citizenship, inexcusable complacency and withal, like unto the proverbial ostrich with his deluded head in the sand while the wily huntsman is shooting his tail to pieces; but perhaps more deadly than that, the disloyal spirit of "Let George Do It."

My earnest prayer is that nothing I write here, or hereafter, will offend any of my friends, thanks to God's grace Who has given them to me in the past by the hundreds, nor would I insult my foes or enemies, if I have any, be they white, black, red or yellow. My relationship to the Negro race has been extremely friendly across the span of many years, and my devotion to them has mellowed with the passing years. I have never intentionally injured one of them, and I have been very impatient with those who have regarded them as less than a creation of God, with a soul in God's image. With such a view otherwise, nothing short of injustice and hatred could be expected. I have from childhood "leaned backward" in order to deal out the spirit of justice and good will.

Now for the pending tragedy:

Our nation is at present in a cold war, such as began more than one hundred years ago, with criminations and recriminations, with insults and counter insults, with reprisals, etc. Those who know and can read history, cannot deny that we are in the first of three stages connected with the Civil War of nearly one hundred years ago. It remains to be seen if wisdom and the better judgement of men will forestall the second stage of that terrible fratricidal monstrosity. The influence of the third period of that war, the period of reconstruction days, was painfully felt by some who are still living today. Some of those wounds had begun to heal, but are being reopened now by do-gooders, hot-heads and selfish politicians.

A great general and the leaders of an army will seek to know the character, the purposes, the tactics and the whereabouts of an opposing foe. I shall endeavor to name and analyze the enemies of the Southland, whose

traditions, principles and freedom from alien infiltration and foreign ideologies is a source of blessing to our nation, and the hope for its future, if left alone by meddlers.

The first enemy is that of the renegade, one who has lived in, and enjoyed the blessings of the South, but has moved on out and joined hands and hearts with those who would destroy us. Without calling names I would like to mention some of these:

One is sitting in the exalted seat of the Supreme Court of the United States. Another has become famous (I would say infamous) on the stage. Another one-time head of the school system of a southern city, now at the head of one of the largest school systems in the South, bordering on the Mason and Dixon Line, along with hundreds of others of like character. All these are now "biting the hand thot fed them."

The second enemy I would name is the so-called scalawag. We usually think of the scalawag as one of very low breeding and disreputable character. But such usually sits in the seat of supreme power and influence. Some stand behind the sacred desk, enjoying the privileges of the highest calling God ever laid on the heart of man. Witness the diatribe of one such spokesman in the North for a denomination numbering in the millions, who recently flashed across America a message demanding obedience to the black robed LIE, "the law of the land" and Federal enforcement of this lie at Little Rock, even with "troops and tanks if necessary." Others sit in prominent editorial chairs of the South - to name a few: the editor of a prominent Atlanta Daily; another in Little Rock, Ark., another in Greenville Miss. All these with their eyes on the Pulitzer Prize, if they have not already received it, "selling their birthright for a mess of pottage."

The third enemy is the infamous carpetbaggar of reconstruction days. In those days he came down from the North, not only to grab pilfer and power, but to place his heels on the neck of a prostrate South, by elevating the ignorant Negro, newly freed from slavery, to the highest seats of government in the South. The carpetbaggar became a local character in our midst during reconstruction days, but today he stays above the Mason and Dixon Line, and functions through and by means of negro bloc votes, the NAACP, and the Supreme Court, all of which are tainted with the spirit of Communism.

Beware of some of the "Shiboleths" of today. Namely: 1. "Segregation Unchristian," which I will later prove false; 2. Second-class Citizenship." Why not fourth-class citizenship? How could a people only 200 years removed from heathenism and cannibalism, be

expected to stand equal with a great race with a background of 6,000 years. 3. "The Law of the Land." The irony of such! A law enacted by nine appointed, not elected men, based on the opinion and psychological conclusions of a foreign Sociologist, "gulped up" by what a prominent Virginia Editor called "nine judicial illiterates," and palmed off on the nation as the "Law of the land." 4. What will Russia think of our country? What should we care about what a bluffing, bullying, lying, Godless nation thinks of our great Nation?

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THE PENDING TRAGEDY AND CHRISTIANITY

The greatest farce ever palmed off on the public has been that you cannot be a Christian and a segregationist at the same time. Thousands of consecrated, timid, and sensitive Christians have been intimidated by such slush. We see in society all around us a necessary law that calls for a form of segregation, a few chosen from the many, in our civic, social and fraternal clubs. We invite into our homes those whom we love, and with whom we are congenial, with no insult to those who are excluded. We invite to our churches all who would be saved and can find a ready and blessed fellowship. The Negro, with the exception of a few, does not want to join with us, preferring his own church. They do not want us in their churches as habitual worshippers, lest our presence should cramp their style of worship. I am not saying that that style is not as close to the heart of God as is ours.

In the world, the God of nature seems to have ordained a segregated life. In all my years, of more than three score years and ten, from childhood I have observed closely natures' bird family: The black, the red, the blue, the jay bird. I discover no change in the color of even one feather, or one inherent characteristic. I note also that they have no communion with one another, and when contacts are too close, there is a fight.

In God's word we find these significant words: "Can a leopard change his spots, or an Etheopian his skin? No, they never try to make this change, neither has God ordained it. Of all the creatures who have strayed from the Holy hand of a loving God, it has been man. God never intended a change in the Ethiopian's skin. Man thru his greed and passion, has made the change. Two hundred years ago greed for gold brought the Negro to our shores from Africa, not of his own choosing. At this point of greed was placed a temptation before the human passions of man, and thus we have had in our midst a large sprinkling of mixed blood. This is the seat of our troubles today.

"From Greenland's Icy mountains
From India's coral strand,
Where Africa's sunny fountains
Roll down their golden strand . . .
What tho the spicy breezes,
blow over Ceylon's Isle,
Tho every prospect pleases,
and only man is vile"

As I grow older more and more do I believe in, and lean upon, God's infallible word. It says in effect "The sins of the fathers shall be visited upon their children unto the third and fourth generation." "The Fathers have eaten sour grapes, and their children's teeth are on edge." And again, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap."

"Falsehood Disguised as Truth"

One of the world's greatest "shiboleths" is: All men were created free and equal." No man has ever been free to do as he pleases, if that which pleases him is hurtful to his fellowman. As for equality, what a misnomer! All men are indeed equal in standing before God. All men should be granted freedom of life and the pursuit of happiness. But can't you see all about you the many inequalities and different characteristics.

Another one of the most outlandish euphemisms ever dished out to an unthinking and gullible world is, "One worldism, one race, one creed, one church." God never intended it in the sense this would connote. God made variety, and seems to love it. We are told that in the myriads of leaves on the trees, there are no two alike. God must hate the mixing of species. The mule brays his protest against the mixing of species, for propagation stops with him.

The saddest part of this troublous mess is that the "top flights," the machinery of the various denominations, are dishing out this stuff as tho it were God's truth. At my own denominations' annual general meeting last May, a discussion arose relative to the freedom of the pulpit. A committee was appointed to study how "enslaved" (my word) are our ministers held by the whims and heresies of their congregations.

Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, perhaps one of the most popular and influential ministers in our nation, on a TV panel discussion recently was asked his opinion about the ministry of the South. His sympathetic reply was that they are afraid to speak out. I am deeply in sympathy with the predicament ministers are facing and many of them deserve no criticism. They know that a united people make for power and influence, and there are always some, tho in the extreme minority who are ready to criticise at any divergence. Then too there is usually fear of disfavor at the hands of those in high authority. But with all, I myself have been made to feel very lonesome, as I have said before, in standing up to be counted alone, when so many could make their power felt in a cause that hopes to forstall bloodshed.

I have also felt the disfavor of others in not joining hands with those who sought to work out our problems with Negro leaders. Who wants to sit down around a council table to discuss peace with those who "bring with them a revolver?" Each one of them who claims to be an authrodox member of his race, carries a membership card in the NAACP, the source of the

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greatest trouble striking at the taproots of our cherished traditions?

Sometime ago a young Negro was arrested for an alleged crime, and when searched, there was found on his person a membership card in the NAACP, and along with it the picture of a white woman who had reached an all-time low, portrayed completely nude. Will intelligent and decent people not learn a perfectly patent lesson? The rapings, knifings, pushings, and fondlings in the halls of Northern and Eastern schools, ought to be an eye-opener to prejudiced people, and greedy politicians.

It is crystal clear that the native and naive longing of the ordinary negro is to enter the bedroom door of white women. It is the avowed purpose of the NAACP to intermarry and mongrelize the races. It is due to his influence in the North that the laws in some of the States forbidding interracial marriage have been wiped off the books. The burning desire for this type of mixing flatly and forever refused, arouses in some of the uncouth and heartless members of that race, a kind of brutish, vengeful spirit, which stems back into his native Africa, where a big, fat, slick, human being, would have no more chance of living, than a fat shoate has on the farm the coldest day of winter. Oh, the horror of what often happens, the mutilation and brutal raping of our white women; one such cruelty in a million is one too many to contemplate! Just wait till one of them, possessing a veneer of civilization asks you for the hand of your daughter in marriage, or from lurking in a dark corner suddenly seizes your wife or daughter, pulls her into the dark and brutally assualts her. Then you will wake up from your unseemly lethargy!

THE PENDING TRAGEDY AND THE BIBLE

When I speak of the Bible in this connection I am speaking of it as the mind and purpose of God, as He moved upon men to write his will as a rule for the faith and practice of human beings. "For the prophesy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." (2 Peter 1:21) This rule then is an infallible one, not subject to the changing whims of mortal man, however intellectual he may become, or whatever change in interpretation expediency may call for.

Mark this, all of the heretical, wildcat, fantastic so-called religious movements afflicting the world at this time, and I can name one dozen of them, began with a deviation from the true interpretation of the Bible, the Mind of God. The urge for such movements had their origin, either in the life of an individual who had some "pet sin" he or she wanted to paliate by some other authority than that of God, or by some preconceived idea of what God ought to have revealed, or by new scientific discoveries and inventions "which make imperative" a change in ancient beliefs.

I have been taken to task in recent years by men in the seats of higher learning, who believe in the so-called social gospel as paramount, rather than the old gospel of redemption. I have in mind one now who sits in the theological seat of one of the greatest conservative theologians of a former generation, who said to me.

"I do not think, however, that the discoveries of science are altogether the decisive cause of newer methods of biblical interpretation. I should rather say that the decisive element has been a new discovery of the Bible itself." My answer to this is that no new discovery relative to the Bible as we have it has warranted any change in its essential teachings. Such an idea is making a "mountain out of a mole hill." My reply was that there are certain axiomatic immutable laws of nature, such as gravitation, mathmatics (2 and 2 make 4), cosmic rays, the wind, etc. that have never changed from the beginning of time. It is also true in the realm of grace. There are certain essential, basic, beliefs, such as are found in God's word as immutable as God is Himself.

Are we surprised that out of our colleges and seminaries, many youths, come with a warped and twisted conception of the great essentials? Can we not see that the least slant and variance from accepted truths are timed to coincide with a readiness on the part of youth to "debunk" the old truths, and they are thus started on a path that leads too far astray, until a "blind alley" is reached. We need not wonder that

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consecrated, sincere Christians become confused, and therefore hesitate to speak out and cease following such leadership. The only recourse is to "know the truth and the truth shall make you free." (John 2:32)

I would like to quote from a statement by a prominent Baptist minister, pastor of the largest congregation in one of our large cities, in a public address on "why Racial Integration is un-Christion," who said: "segregation is God's way of preserving the races . . . We hear much of first class and second class citizenship, but there is no first class citizenship in any integrated race. God has made some men white and some men black. None should be ashamed of the color of his face, for God made it and it is sacred to God. An 'unmixed' face black or white, is the work of God: a 'mixed' face is the work of the devil."

What a far cry this, from another noted denominational leader, a prominent congressman, a self-styled moderate, who was shoved out of his seat by an unknown politician, thru a write-in vote! To high heaven went up a wail of gross injustice, by renegades, scalawags, and carpetbaggers. But they couldn't change the democratic vote of a soverign people.

I now attempt to give the Bible's version of the origin of the various races. It will be difficult to tell this story in the short space alloted here, a story on which so many books have been written. So-called, self-styled infidels and ultra-modernists will of course not accept, it as being too crude and childish to be authentic. It was God's wise way of revealing Himself to an infant people, and through them to the world.

There is recorded in the 9th Chapter of Genesis the story of one man, by the name of Noah, the father of three sons, Shem, Japheth, and Ham. Out of the great flood of destruction because of the shameful sin of the world, came this family of only eight souls, to repopulate the world. In connection with the drunkenness of this father, a sin, the nature of which is not definitely understood, was committed by Ham the youngest. Subsequently, God pronounced a blessing on Shem and Japheth, and a condemnation on Ham, as progenetors of three distinct races that should populate the Earth. Shem, or the Semitic race, was to be greatly blessed of God in the future. Japheth, or the Japhetic race was to be "enlarged," pointing to a vast increase of prosperity and possessions." This race is known in history as the Caucasian or white race. A significant fact of this phophesy was that Ham's posterity should be the servants of that of Shem and Japheth. If there is any controversy in this connection, it must be with the Bible and History.

In the Providence of God through the centuries

these three races took their roots in Asia, Europe, and Africa. The white race, in fact, has been the most active and enterprising, and has spread over the best and largest portion of the world—all of Europe and a great part of Asia. Arrica has been the native home of the colored race and he has never made any progress except by the aid of other races from the outside. Living in a land of rich resources, he has been contented to clothe himself about the loins with animal skin, and to feast, betimes, on the flesh of his fellowman. Under the very shadow of the great Egyptian civilization he never learned; he helped to hew, and drag the stones to build the great Pyramids of ancient Egypt, and yet he never imbibed ambition and inspiration to progress.

He has always been a "leaner" on others stronger than himself.

His children are being trained in the best and most modern High schools in our fair city here; the youth of his race are housed in one of the greatest colleges in the land, located in our State of Alabama, all this a gift from the hand of outsiders. He pays less than 10% of the taxes that provide education for his children.

It is the sheerest nonsense for our Northern brothers to say that the Southern Negro has been deprived of opportunity. There are a few who have climbed to heights in the professions and in wealth; "infinitesmally" few who have become world benefactors, but these are exceptions and not the rule. It is ridiculous for the Negro race to hanker for the highest seats in social life, and controlling power in government affairs. Only a few of them are guilty of this ingratitude, but such is very annoying to a proud southland, whose cherished traditions have meant such a blessing to the world.

The forgoing Bible comments may seem trite to Bible scholars, but perhaps profitable to the unthinking, and withal, a gentle warning to our colored friends who must not begin to "push too hard and too far," being aided and abetted by hypocritical, so-called friends of other sections. Most certainly the foregoing comments on facts and history are not offered in the spirit of scurrilous derision, but for setting forth patent truths that all may see who are not blinded by prejudice, ignorance, and hate.

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THE BIBLE AND THE RACES

The preceding message dealt with the human race as viewed by the inspired writers of The Bible, mainly the Old Testament. We would be painfully remiss should we fail to point out the New Testament teachings on this subject mainly those of Christ and His immediate Disciples.

Notably true was the underlying principle of God, evidenced in His purpose to select a race to be His chosen people, to be nurtured and trained, to receive a special divine blessing, and thus become a blessing to the world. God threatened to curse them if they mixed or should come under the influence of other races. When they did so, they were allowed to go into captivity by their enemies. When they repented and turned to God, they were brought back to their native land. It is from that race of people that we have our Bible and our Christ. Many years ago someone was asked what has been the world's greatest miracle, and the answer was "The Jew." His idenity is the same through the ages.

One among the many infallible links between the Old Bible and the New is in Acts 17:26. We have the statement that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation." It is presumed that under the microscope the blood from the veins of the lowest Hottentot of Africa, is not different from that of the most highly-developed white inhabitant of Europe. This first part of the text is harped on by prejudiced race mixers, but the last part, 'determined their bounds.' is hypocritically omitted. They thus deny God's plan of segregating the races of mankind. When His plans and demands are denied and disobeyed, there is always trouble ahead.

In order to get a true picture of Jesus and His immediate Apostles, may we relate three instances that are misinterpreted to prove "race-mixing" propaganda. The good Samaritan parable told by Jesus, is the one used most, (Luke 10th Chapter). The main purpose of this parable story was to reveal their heartless lack of concern for humanity in trouble, on the part of the Pharisees. The man wounded and left for dead by robbers, was a Jew. The man who gave aid and a lift was one of a mixed race, a Samaritan.

Another instance in the life of Jesus in the hope of proving integregation, is the story of the woman at Jacob's well, (John 4th Chapter). As Jesus sat there resting, while His diciples had gone for food, this woman of mixed breed came for water. When His disciples returned they marvelled that he talked with one

of another race, proving not only the type of prejudice He came to break down, but their failure to understand that His sole and paramount mission to earth was to redeem sinful humanity. In this case He said nothing about culture, society, economics, or education. His every statement pointed to two purposes: That she might see her own sinful heart, and by reason of that, realize who He was. That accompolished, she turned, left her water pot, rushed back into the city, and told the people what this wonderful meeting had meant to her life.

A third instance of false interpretation was that of the Apostle Peter's visit to the home of a Gentile officer, Cornelius. His mission there was not a social mission. God had in a vision out of heaven to Peter, wiped out the prejudice that no one was a fit subject for the Kingdom of God, except his own race. He had been emphatically told, "What God hath cleansed call thou not common." He is now prepared to carry out the total program of Jesus that "God our Savior— will have all men to be saved, and to come unto knowledge of this truth." (I Tim. 2:4) As a result of this mission, focused on the one central theme of the Gospel, Cornelius became the first Gentile convert and his family were saved with him.

O well, all this has no appeal for the northern modernist, and the Southern liberal, so-called. The former's "mutilation" of the Scriptures leaves us with a different Bible altogether. It might be profitable for us to describe in brief these two schools of thought the modernist is one who throws over-board, or twists the meaning of the fundamentals of Scripture. He hoots at the idea of the "blood Atonement;" denies the plenary inspiration of the Bible; rejects the Deity of Christ, and His bodily resurrection, and many other essentials. The liberal would not dare go all the way with the modernist, but he makes for him a comfortable "bedfellow." He loves to keep company with him on matters of mutual agreement. He refuses to comply with God's command: "If there come any unto you and bring not this doctrine (of Christ), receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed: For he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deed."

(2 John:10,11)

As to the makeup of the NAACP there is such a deep urge to change the extreme black into a chocolate tan, and the chocolate tan into white, that the voice of Scripture must be very dim. They have deleted everything that speaks of the old time negro in Steven Foster's beautiful hymns. Instead of "The Darkies are gay," they substitute "The people are gay, etc." What could the unadulterated teachings of God's Holy Word mean to such as they?

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OUR CHILDREN AND SEGREGATION

The most precious possession of true parenthood is children. If parents are faithful to their God-given task there is nothing in life that should claim the precedence over the interests and welfare of their children. Thir physical, mental, and spiritual development should claim supreme priority.

These three areas of young life would be in great peril should we stand by placidly and allow our schools to be integrated.

Official investigation of conditions in the integrated schools of Washington, D. C., presents a sad picture of prevalent morals in those schools,

The ratio percentages of unwed mothers under 16 years of age is around 40 to 5 between colored and white. Are we surprised that anxious white people are moving out into the suburbs, and many of the do-gooders and reformers are sending their children to private schools?

The things that they strive to cram down the throats of others, they will not swallow themselves.

The same ratio as to veneral diseases prevails. What a hazard to the children of those parents who want them to be healthy in body!

The danger of contagion in connection with rest rooms, drinking founts, and close association would be great. This is not to disparage those Negroes whom we know to be respectable and of a high order of morals. What a travesty on the spirit of true morality when next to the "top-flight" colored leader in the fight for integration, in a nearby city a so-called minister of the Gospel, was purported to have been found guilty of molesting a 15-year-old girl. This so-called leader is the bosom companion of, and co-worker with, the "high and mighty" Martin Luther King, now in India to study the tactics of the lowly Mahatma Ghandy.

Did this knowledge bring shame and disgrace upon him on the part of church members, or did it enhance his standing, reputation, and leadership?

Of no less importance is the mental welfare of school children. Learning has been the supreme purpose of our great public school system.

What a drawback to this would be the tenseness, the strife, the suspicions, and even physical combats, in this race mixing venture! The great social advantages enjoyed by the "like-mindedness' of pupils, suddenly would be destroyed. Negro children themselves would profit most by associating in closeness of contact with

their own race. A story comes out of Little Rock's experience, when a "bayoneted soldier" answered the call of a disturbance in the girl's rest room, ran in to find that three white girls were trying to push a Negro girl's head down into a commode. This certainly was a reprehensible act, but it proves what is in store for integration.

A type of flimsy token integration as a compromise is going the rounds. There is no such thing as token, it is all or nothing. We will stake our lives on the latter. NOTHING.

An ancient Arab desert fable is apropo here. The story is that a camel plead with a tent-dweller to permit him to stick the end of his cold nose in his tent. This allowed, the camel soon had his whole body in, bringing total eviction of the tent inhabitants.

There is another story of a little boy who owned a litter of pups. His father informed him that they were a breed of dogs that "wore their tails bobbed." With his sharpened knife the father was ready for the job, when the little son ran out and cried, "O daddy, daddy, it will hurt too bad to cut them off all at once, cut just a little bit at a time every day till they are cut short enough."

The famous Patrick Henry in an hour of dire peril cried: "Give me liberty or give me death."

In this race-mixing mess proposal, we of the Southland, cryout as if with one voice, "give us freedom from it, or give death to every hallowed tradition we hold dear."

Our public school system is one of the greatest assets, excepting the Churches, to our national life. Are they of the South to be abolished by a mongrelizing Supreme Court, and a bastard organization, known as the NAACP?

Let our Boards of Education and school superintendants say emphatically to the negroes seeking entrance into our schools. "It is not to your best interest educationally, spiritually, mentally, and physically to enter here; go back to your own schools which are in many cases better than ours." If the Supreme Court refuses to accept that as a valid reason for segregation, then let us begin at once to raise funds voluntarily for private schools, and begin to channel our tax money in a way that no law can possibly hinder. True, we will thus throw overboard one of our most cherrished institutions, but we will thus avoid this monstrous proposal of race-mixing by the intermeddlers of our nation.

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NAACP, ARCH-MEDDLER

The so-called National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is the most ridiculous "misnomer" of all time. Not one step of advancement for the Negro has this tax-free organization on the score of benevolences achieved during its life-time of nearly a half century.

On the otherhand, this group of Communist-inspired "do-gooders" and reform political plotters, has set the real interests of the Negro race back at least two generations.

It has been only the Christian conscience of the Southland, understanding the Negro from "scratch" which has been instrumental in advancing the welfare of this race, suddenly snatched out of heathernism and thrust into slavery, and eventually set free almost suddenly, and granted Southern citizenship with the take power to vote and assume prerogatives to govern a proud people with the heels of spiteful renegades, scalawags, and carpetbaggers on their necks.

Truly, John Patterson, recently elected governor, in his campaign for governor was right when he made the statement that the NAACP was the greatest enemy of Alabama and the South. It was he who had the understanding, foresight, and power to run them out of the State of Alabama. Their millons of dollars speak loud and strong.

No sooner is a nervy Negro, encouraged by the NAACP to violate our laws, made for the preservation of peace in our society, is sentenced to jail, than on the spot do we discover another Negro with a "sack of NAACP gold," to go on his bond. We are indeed troubled and disturbed by this organization's meddling into our Southern affairs, and the sooner we strike with heavy blows as we would a rattlesnake or a mad dog in our midst, the sooner we shall have peace. Also the sooner we pull the heavy veil from over the faces of those among us who are willing to compromise and temporize with this enemy, so they can be seen for what they are in our Southland, the sooner will the success of our cause be achieved.

Let us now analyze this group and the enemy schemes behind them, with their "fellow-traveler" organizations infesting our entire nation. It began with five northern men, four of them white, and decendants of the prewar abolitionists, who brought on the tragic, bloody, Civil War, and a shrewed Negro lawyer (perhaps a Mulatto) by the name of W. E. C. Dubois. No less than 72 times has he been summoned before the Un-American Activities Committee of Congress, as being related in some way with the Communist Party

and subversive organizations. About half of the organization officers and leaders of the NAACP have been in the same category.

This organization, made up mainly of Northern carpetbaggers and Mulatto Negroes, are at present striking our Southern people terrible punches by means of two very strong arms:

On the one hand with Negro "bloc votes" and on the other with a Communist - inspired Supreme Court, together with the lower federal courts, all of which have been in the process of building for the past quarter century. The politicians of both our national parties are bowing at the feet of the Negro vote in New York, California and Pennsylvannia. Franklin Roosevelt got them out of the Republician Party with some of his "haywire" schemes, and the Republican Party, where they ought to be today, has been fawning at their feet to get them back into the fold, and the almost helpless South finds itself ground between the "upper and nether mill stones."

Instead of Supreme Court it ought to be called the political court. The basic principle underlying the May 1954 "Black Monday" decision to mix races in our school system, was based on the social philosophy of one Swedish sociologist, Gunar Myrdal. It was his book, "An American Dilemma," which gave the court fancied ideas of making Utopian laws to govern America, rather than interpreting those already made, sacred to American life. Their pet powers shall not prevail, and their "Utopian schemes" will die aborning.

This organization parading under the banner of charity goes into every State filching from the pockets of ignorant Negroes, and unthinking white people enormous sums of money, operating tax free. But its greatest source of wealth comes from the pockets of "do-gooders" up North, and the millions of trust funds and foundations, erected for the purpose of helping humanity and raising the standards of living. Would to God that all other states of the South, like Alabama, would run them out of their borders.

But they are very enterprising schemers. They are the same outfit operating under other names, but having access to the same alien funds.

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THE ANSWER

The only answer to the tragic problems which face the Southland is an awakened and aroused public opinion, together with a militant plan to "block trouble" before it lands on our necks. Not just a few but all of our citizens should rise up and in one united voice say, "You shall not pass!" The times demand such an awakening irrespective of political affiliations, economic interests, pet delusions, or social status.

Why should YOU sit idly by and let your neighbor fight your battles, protect your homes and children, preserve the sacredness of your institutions and prized traditions, while you nonchalantly stay in the background and in an undertone whisper, "sic 'em tiger?" Why do people wait till the devil gets a strangle hold and then begin to resound an SOS scream. "Let George do it," is the attitude of too many people in so many areas of life.

Mind you, the organization against which we must fight is the most closely-knit piece of machinery in our nation. Their foundation and strategy have been in the making for nearly half century. Note the fact that they have selected the "soft spots" in the South on which to land first.

Look at harassed and troubled Little Rock today, the editor of the leading paper, the mayor of the city and the superintendent of her great high school, joined hands and aided by the NAACP, worked out the plan over a period of five years to integregate the schools, believing no doubt that an unsuspecting citizenship would finally stand for it rather than fight back.

When integration came to a vote 72 per cent of Little Rock's citizens voted "NO." There were too many "loud mouth integrationists" yelling for it while others were saying "it can't happen here."

Note the next two strategic points selected, were Charlottesville, Va., the home of Jefferson, who was one of the founders of the famous University of Virginia and whose theory as to the best solution for the Negro race was to send them back to Africa. Another tender spot was Montgomery, the "Cradle of the Confederacy," not because the city was actually soft but because of the young upstart Negro minister, who succeeded in building up an arrogancy that recently brought the city to the verge of a race riot. God forbid that that shall ever occur anywhere, but when and if it ever does come, he will be in parts unknown, and the innocent will suffer. "His Highness" is now in India, studying the tactics of Ghandi on non-resistence. There is as much difference in the two as their is between night and day. One lived in the direst poverty, and the other is living on the fat of the land, and rolling in the wealth placed at his disposal by ignorant partisans.

Allow me to close my message with an earnest appeal to all the people of our city and county and every where to rally to the support of the Citizens Council. These leaders are sacrificing their time, energies, and means, for the best interests of the whole community. Often times when we are asleep they are planning and operating in a self-sacrificing way that has fore-stalled the onslaughts of this nefarious NAACP. In the North it is believed that this group of people in the South are from slums, and the lowest elements of any community. I have had to refute this slander of our honorable mayor and county judge, along with many, many other prominent leaders who are in the front ranks.

I am a charter member of the local Citizens Council, the first organized in our state. I have not served on the policy-making body of these men, but I would like to make a suggestion from the outside of that group of leaders:

In case there are many who have not felt the urge to become an active mmber, because of the inability to attend its meetings or the ability to pay its stated dues, I would suggest that a call go out for donations of any dimension whatsoever, and with it, a note to the chairman or treasurer, saying:

"I am with you and back of you in spirit; call on me when I am needed."

I think it was Edmund Burke who said: "All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing."

I take the liberty to use the following confession of a friend. "When fear, worry and frustration pile hign, there are things we fail to consider.

There were points in your messages never considered by the average person. Thank you for bringing them to light.

I suppose most people are like myself; awfully anxious for something to be done now, quickly. No use to close the barn door after the horse is gone."(Signed)

The above letter was written in response to my public appeal for our people to wake up. It was written by a conscientious citizen, with an honest confession, that we can so easily allow the many burdens of life, crowd out some of the most important problems facing us. The letter speaks a resounding truth. I say again, why wait till the devil gets a strong hold and starts pulling down the hill before we respond effectively to the pending tragedies.

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A MESSAGE TO OUR COLORED PEOPLE

A question to our colored population which everyone with ability to think and reason should weigh seriously:

On what grounds can you justly claim access to the ballot, and thus governmental rule, won by the white man's tears and blood? By this privilege in some states of the South you could and would gain every office from constable on up to the governership.

This eventuality is absolutely unthinkable and impossible.

But what right can you justly claim to equal social privileges with a race who through more than four thousand years has risen in the realms of education, invention, discoveries, and accomplishments, to heights never dreamed of throughout the past ages?

Why should you seek to force your way into the privileges of a society in which you are not wanted and to which you have not been invited?

If your dream is amalgamation of the two races, tho centuries in the future, haven't you the intelligence to follow the pages of history and discover that no such mixture of blood, forming a mongrelized nation, has ever made any worthwhile contributions to the world?

My candid Christian advice is that you fix your ambitions and hopes on self-improvement of your race with the aid and encouragement of all white people of good will, so that you will soon regain, and even command respect among your ownselves, as well as esteem on the part of all right-thinking people. Just don't be led up a "blind alley" of false hopes, by your selfish hypocritical, would be friends.

Ponder, if you please, the stated principles of several men of the past whom you most certainly have reason to love and respect:

Abraham Lincoln, in a speech in 1861 said. "I will say—that I am not now, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about the social and political equality of the white and black races. I am not now, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors, or qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people."

I had the privilege of hearing the great Booker T. Washington during my college days, make an open air speech to an audience numbered into the thousands of colored and white people at a state fair in Louisville, Ky. The whole tenor of that speech added up to a concrete message to the world, made by him a few years before that: "The wisest among my race understand that agitations of social equality is the extremest folly, and the progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle, rather than of artificial forcing. In all things that are purely social, we can be separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

The same year in my native State of Mississippi, I stood in an audience of thousands and listened to a speech by James K. Vardeman, who was governor and later U. S. senator, designated by aliens as a "red-neck demagogue," from the backwoods of Mississippi, but who proved himself to be a sage as well as a prophet.

He said: "We'll continue to build higher the old rail fence of voting privileges, rail by rail, just as the Negro race tries to climb over it. When we come to the point that no higher rail can be found to obstruct him, we will back and pull down the old rifle and make a rail-by Honey I'm Gone."

[illegible] federal inquisitors marched on the Cradle of Democracy, there was telecast perhaps all over the nation a portion of the farcical court which they conducted in that city. I was visiting on the border of the Mason and Dixon Line, at the time and this greeted my [illegible] A negro man from Barber County Alabama was on the witness stand to tell how he had been cheated out of his right to register and vote. The episode was something like this: " How long did you wait in the anteroom?" "Several hours." "Did anyone tell you to come in and register?" "No one at all." "Did anyone say anything to you ?" "Yes, a man came along and asked me what I was doing there." "What did you say?" "I said I was waiting to register." "What did he say to that?" He said, "to hell out of here!" I, of course do not approve of profanity in any form. But the "red-neck" from the backwoods of Miss. was indeed a prophet. There was no rifle brandished in this instance, but it does not take very much imagination to hear again that tune, "Goodbye, honey, I'm gone!"

There is no doubt but that those registrars were longing for that last and final rail to raise the voting fence higher. The man who finds it, and makes it effective once for all, will deserve the eternal gratitude of the entire Southland.

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CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Citizens' Councils
(Jefferson County Citizens Council, Birmingham, Ala.)

REGARDING:

Distribution of "A Study of Voter Registration in Jefferson County, Ala."

by: Grover S. McLeod

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Folder marked: "Voting and Registration - General"

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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Mike Feller

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To Mr. Richard Boone — Jan. 31 1966

Street and No. The Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty

Care of or Apt. No. 2027 Massachusetts Ave. NW *Destination* Washington, D. C.

Your Proposal for the Rural Action Project is excellent. SRC will be happy to cooperate in identifying communities and community groups and in otherwise assisting in any way possible.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

(telephoned in to Western Union 2:00 p.m.)

Senders's name and address (For reference)

Sender's telephone number

Paul —

Dick Boone of CCAP would like a telegram from you by Tuesday pledging SRC's support of this program and cooperation. They are about to submit the proposal to Stern and wants endorsements from Southern groups.

1-22-66 For your review & comments
Tom Kerland

RURAL ACTION PROJECT IN THE SOUTH

(A Proposal to Support Grass Roots Organizations in the Rural South)

Purpose of Proposal: To develop a pilot program enabling ten rural community groups in the deep South to form partnerships with "support groups" from other areas of the Nation in order to bring to bear resources sufficient to insure that these local groups are sustained in their infancy and have the opportunity to grow into strong community groups representing the poor. The Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty would serve as a bridge between resource and need, bringing together support groups deeply concerned about problems in the deep South and those local groups desperately in need of outside assistance.

Need for Such Program: While the Civil Rights Movement has made important inroads in addressing traditional injustices in the South, local political, economic and social forces continue to operate successfully to hinder and restrict the use of public funds and facilities for self-help programs committed to eliminating poverty and bringing the poor into a first-class partnership with the rest of the community. In those few communities in the deep South where the Office of Economic Opportunity has approved funds for community action programs, with few exceptions, the funds have flowed to the traditional establishments--the very ones which have kept the poor in poverty. The poor, especially the Negro poor, have been uninvolved by design.

In the Child Development Group of Mississippi, an exceptional program with strong involvement of the poor, pressures were brought to bear on OEO to limit funding of its Head Start program started last summer. For the want of physical facilities some classes had to be held in open fields and sharecroppers' cabins. This was one of the few projects organized with full involvement of the poor.

In Alabama, the need for the mobilization of private resources is acute. In eight Alabama counties where Negroes have a political majority and have submitted proposals for community action programs, the Office of Economic Opportunity has yet to fund a single program.

New methods of supporting bona fide grass roots organizations are needed now. Despite stepped-up Federal efforts since 1954, the position of the poor Southern Negro is still compromised by traditional alliances arraigned against him. SNCC, COFO, the Freedom Democratic Party, and the Freedom Labor Union have all rocked the system--but have not broken it.

There are many groups across the South struggling to preserve their gains of the last few years. If these "movements" are to stay alive, they will need immediate assistance. Regardless of our hopes, these extremely important local groups will not be nourished sufficiently by funds from the public sector--local, state or Federal. It is up to the voluntary sector to help support them until they are strong enough to make effective demands for continuing public support. With strong bases of operation, supplemented by new voting power, eventually such local groups could play a major role in redirecting the allocation of public funds in the South.

A program developed between Wilton, Connecticut and McComb, Mississippi is illustrative of an important approach to private sector assistance provided by one community to another.

About one year ago, residents of Wilton, Connecticut, including certain ministers who were in McComb at the time of the bombings of Negro homes, became alarmed by local conditions. They wanted to help. The town of Wilton, an affluent suburban community, was mobilized to raise funds to build a comprehensive community center in McComb. Dave Brubeck, contemporary modern jazz pianist, gave a concert at which $6,000 was donated. In honor of a deceased Wilton resident, funds for a memorial library to be located in the Community Center were raised. Contributions of money have come from sources outside Wilton as well. So far, a total of $18,000 has been raised. Edward Durrell Stone has designed the community center. It is planned to accommodate programs in education, health, recreation, citizenship instruction, etc.

At the same time, residents of McComb have formed a private, non-profit corporation. The State has granted a charter to the group. At the cost of $2,900, land has been purchased for the community center site.

Thus, two communities have found a mutual concern.

In attempting to establish effective anti-poverty programs in the rural South, one comes face to face with an almost complete lack of "community" among the rural poor. In part, this is due to the lack of a common physical facility serviceable as a rallying point for community programs and around which the poor can gather. We believe that one of the most effective means of establishing a sense of community is through community centers. These must be centers where the poor can hold their meetings, where groups can hold voter registration campaigns, a place where they can run their own Head Start and other programs without going as supplicants to the traditional powers which have kept them poor. These centers could provide the jumping off point for intensive community organization and bring to the poor an opportunity for self-respect, self-determination, and hope.

In countless communities across the Nation there are relatively affluent groups who, like the residents of Wilton, are anxious to help in the war on poverty. In many of these communities there are churches, high school student groups, college and university students, women's organizations, etc., waiting to be mobilized to provide a variety of supports for indigenous groups emerging in the South. This is a proposal to match private resources with chronic need in the rural South--to pair poor communities with a potential for political and social development with those persons and organizations capable of providing the resources to grow. Once adequate operational bases are established among these groups in the deep South, legitimate demand could be made for Federal program support.

A Plan for Action. CCAP will organize pilot projects, creating bridges between ten support groups and ten selected communities in Mississippi and Alabama. The projects will be administered under the general supervision of the Citizens' Crusade staff reporting regularly to its Commission on Community Activity and Organization. (A listing of Commission members is attached.) As part of the plan, each support group will raise funds to help build a community center or remodel an existing structure. The support group will work with the Southern community group in planning strategies to make full use of all available resources--local, state, and national. The community center will be the keystone of the project, around which other activities can be developed. Programs might include voter registration, health services, adult literacy, and pre-school education, or others decided upon by the local community. Community Development Center Programs will be open to all groups in the community.

The Community Groups. These community groups in the South will be chosen on the basis of their willingness to involve poor people in planning, administering, and employment by the project. Within these groups there must be a basic commitment to institutional change. There are a number of such groups now active in Mississippi and Alabama, all of which have shown leadership in civil rights campaigns. Some have engaged in new programs such as Head Start and are anxious to move towards permanent organization and programs.

The ten Northern support groups will each function as a loose coalition of interested citizens and local organizations. Each group will have a chairman and support committee responsible for fund raising and developing a range of community resources. Each support group will not only raise money to build or remodel a center, but will stock it with books and materials, provide emergency clothing, food and other supplies, seek scholarships for bright but impoverished high schoolers to go on to college, and organize citizen participation and exchange programs involving teachers, students, young lawyers and doctors. A support group will develop a close and continuing relationship with the Southern group, working always to make it a partner and not a welfare dependent.

Specific CCAP Responsibilities. CCAP staff will be responsible for organizing support groups from throughout the Nation and relating them to appropriate community groups in the South. In fulfilling this responsibility staff will be able to tap into resources of over 100 national organizations currently identified with the Crusade. While the staff is identifying support groups, work will begin in identifying and involving ten poor Southern communities in this plan. Identification will be facilitated by the fact that CCAP is already establishing a nationwide information network of grass roots organizations. 150 volunteer "spotters" from many parts of the United States are helping CCAP to identify local organizations of the poor. By January 15 the Crusade expects to be in contact with 3,000 of these groups; by June the roster will increase to 6,000. Existing spotters in Alabama and Mississippi will be asked to identify and check out groups for the pilot project.

In developing local programs, groups in the South will have the assistance of CCAP staff associated with this project, personnel from the Delta Ministry, the Southern Regional Council, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, as well as volunteers recruited from the support groups themselves.

If the pilot project is successful, an expanded program will have the added support of CCAP's projected program to train 1,000 persons for work with the poor. (See summary document attached.) Inevitably, some of the workers trained in that program will be working within the support group system.

After the Beginning. If the pilot project begins to move well, CCAP will expand the Southern Rural Action Project to match other rural communities in the South with support groups. This concept of forming partnerships may be widely adaptable. Through such coalitions it may prove possible to give new strength to the demand for institutional change in the South.

Location of Project Headquarters. Project headquarters should be located in the South. Possible locations include Jackson, Birmingham, New Orleans or Atlanta.

Staff Requirements. In the pilot period, a staff of four professionals will be required.

> Director: Charged with over-all administration, organization of support groups, liaison to Federal agencies and Congressmen and organization of over-all operational strategy.

Associate Director: Identifies the ten Southern groups. He will work with these groups in the overall program and will be charged with the technical details of helping to get the centers rolling once the support groups are organized.

Two Staff Associates: Responsible for general administrative work. The staff associates will work as directed by the Director and Associate Director.

BUDGET FOR ONE YEAR

DIRECTOR	$16,000
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR	12,000
STAFF ASSOCIATES (2) @$6,200 each	12,400
SECRETARY AND OFFICE MANAGER	5,500
TRAVEL EXPENSES/LODGING AND PER DIEM	10,000
TELEPHONE EXPENSES	5,000
OFFICE EQUIPMENT	3,000
RENT	2,500
POSTAGE	500
PRINTING AND DUPLICATING	1,500
TOTAL	$68,400

1/14/66

Make file

April 4, 1966

Mr. Dudley Morris
Citizens Crusade Against Poverty
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Dudley:

With some concern I find that I have a conflict with the April 13-14 Meeting. A delegation of foundation people is due to visit us on those days. Therefore, I won't be able to be there. I trust you understand, and sympathize with, the fact that foundation business is the one thing that keeps me out of program.

Al Ulmer of our staff will be present at the meeting and I suspect can make a better contribution than I would.

As we discussed on the phone, SRC remains willing to be of any possible help to CCAP.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd 3/31/66

news CC AP

CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036
Telephone 202 / 234-3645

Walter P. Reuther, Chairman
Rabbi Richard Hirsch, Secretary
Clyde Ellis, Treasurer

Richard W. Boone
Executive Director

****

ANNUAL MEETING
CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

INTERNATIONAL INN, WASHINGTON, D. C.
APRIL 13 - 14, 1966

****

Dear Friend of the Crusade:

The Annual Meeting of the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty promises to be an important two-day meeting. We hope that you will join with us to:

--Hear DR. EUGENE CARSON BLAKE, ROY WILKINS, SARGENT SHRIVER and WALTER REUTHER.

--Review, debate and present resolutions and recommendations about questions raised in the four scheduled forums.

--Hear and question representatives from major poverty areas across the nation, including WATTS, HARLEM, DELANO, APPALACHIA, MISSISSIPPI DELTA, and others.

If you are coming from out of town, we request that you arrange your own accomodations. However, if you have trouble finding a hotel room, please let us know by wire or phone and we shall try to help you. Springtime in Washington is always busy. We suggest that you make hotel reservations immediately. On the enclosed card, please indicate: (1) your attendance plans; (2) your preference for forum participation--please state order of preference, one through four; and (3) luncheon and dinner reservations. Please return the card to us as soon as possible in the enclosed self-addressed envelope.

We look forward to seeing you on the 13th and 14th of April.

CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

ANNUAL MEETING
INTERNATIONAL INN
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM ANNOUNCEMENT

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 13, 1966

MORNING SESSION

8:30 REGISTRATION

9:30 GENERAL SESSION

ADDRESS: Walter P. Reuther, Chairman
Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty

10:30-11:45 FORUMS

A. ECONOMIC POLICY AND POVERTY: Discussion and resolutions pertaining to employment of the poor; minimum wage; unemployment insurance; guaranteed annual income; etc.

Chairman: Robert R. Nathan, President
Robert R. Nathan Associates

Co-chairman: Michael Harrington, Chairman
League for Industrial Democracy

B. QUALITY EDUCATION AND THE POOR: Discussion and resolutions pertaining to quality education for youth in the ghetto.

Chairman: Dr. Kenneth B. Clark
Professor of Psychology
City College of New York

C. MAXIMUM FEASIBLE PARTICIPATION OF THE POOR: Discussion and resolutions on the concept's meaning and methods of implementation.

Chairman: Bayard Rustin, Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

D. NEW PIONEERING ROLES FOR PRIVATE AGENCIES IN THE WAR ON POVERTY

Chairman: (To be announced)

AFTERNOON SESSION

12:15 LUNCHEON MEETING

Chairman: Jerry Anderson, Acting General Manager
National Rural Electric Cooperative Association

LUNCHEON

ADDRESS: Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk
United Presbyterian Church in the USA

1:45 RECESS

2:00 GENERAL SESSION

Chairman: Dr. Eugene Carson Blake

THE WAR ON POVERTY: VOICES FROM THE NATION

Delano Speaks

Mississippi Delta Speaks

Appalachia Speaks

QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR

Residents from these areas will speak on:

--Local Poverty Conditions
--What Local Groups are Doing About Poverty
--What More Must be Done to Attack Poverty

3:30-5:30 FORUMS A, B, C, D (CONTINUED)

EVENING SESSION

6:30 DINNER MEETING

Chairman: James G. Patton, President
National Farmers Union

DINNER

ADDRESS: Roy Wilkins, Executive Director
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

8:45 FORUMS: A, B, C, D (CONTINUED)

THURSDAY, APRIL 14, 1966

MORNING SESSION

9:00 GENERAL SESSION

Chairman: Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch, Director
Religious Action Center
Union of American Hebrew Congregations

THE WAR ON POVERTY: VOICES FROM THE NATION (CONTINUED)

Watts Speaks

Chicago Speaks

Harlem Speaks

QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR

Residents from these areas will speak on:

--Local Poverty Conditions
--What Local Groups Are Doing About Poverty
--What More Must be Done to Attack Poverty

10:30 RECESS

10:45 GENERAL SESSION

Chairman: Walter P. Reuther

FORUM RECOMMENDATIONS AND RESOLUTIONS

AFTERNOON SESSION

12:30 LUNCHEON MEETING

Chairman: Richard W. Boone, Executive Director
Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty

LUNCHEON

Address: Sargent Shriver, Director
Office of Economic Opportunity

2:15-2:30 RECESS

2:30 GENERAL SESSION

Chairman: Walter P. Reuther

AFTERNOON SESSION (CONTINUED)

FORUM RECOMMENDATIONS AND RESOLUTIONS (CONTINUED)

CRUSADE BUSINESS

DIRECTOR'S REPORT

FINANCIAL REPORT

NEW BUSINESS

FORUM PARTICIPATION

Please state order of preference.

___Economic Conditions and Poverty.

___Education of the Poor.

___Maximum Participation of the Poor.

___New Roles for Private Organizations.

LUNCHEON AND DINNER RESERVATIONS

___Lunch, April 13 $3.75

___Dinner, April 13 5.00

___Lunch, April 14 3.75

$12.50

Please enclose check. Tickets will also be sold at registration.

(over)

CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY ANNUAL MEETING

APRIL 13-14 INTERNATIONAL INN, WASHINGTON, D.C.

I will_____ will not_____ attend.

NAME: _____

ALTERNATE: _____

ORGANIZATION: _____

ADDRESS: _____

TELEPHONE: _____

(over)

FIRST CLASS
PERMIT NO. 36165
WASHINGTON, D. C.

BUSINESS REPLY ENVELOPE

NO POSTAGE STAMP NECESSARY IF MAILED IN THE UNITED STATES

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY—

CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

April 20, 1966

Mr. Richard W. Boone
Executive Director
Citizens Crusade Against Poverty
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dick:

I will make every effort to be available for your meeting in New York next month.

I could not agree with you more in that the experience at your Washington meeting last week is a strong indication of the need for a program such as that envisioned by CCAP. That unfortunate experience was nothing more than a documentation of the deep frustration and the need to meet that frustration with the most instructive programs possible. Your work is not only necessary, it is vital, and we will be happy to do anything possible to help you with your program.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

2027 Mass. Ave NW
Wash DC

(1)

603P EST APR 19 66 AF440 CTA627

W RBY027 RBZ2 RBZ2 PD RB WASHINGTON DC 19 NFT

MR PAUL ANTHONY EXECUTIVE DIR SOUTHERN REGIONAL CONCIL INC

5 FORSYTH ST NW ATLA

MY SINCERE THANKS FOR AGREEING TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CITIZENS CRUSADES RURAL ACTION PROJECT. I'M SURE YOU WILL AGREE WITH THE OFFICERS OF THE CRUSADE THAT THE FRUSTRATION AND ANGER EXPRESSED AT OUR RECENT CONVENTION MAKES VIVIDLY CLEAR THE NEED FOR THE SWIFT EXECUTION OF THIS PROJECT TO PROVIDE GRASS ROOTS GROUPS WITH THE RESOURCES AND LEADERS THEY NEED TO CONSTRUCTIVELY FIGHT POVERTY. WE WILL BE CALLING A MEETING IN NEW YORK IN EARLY MAY TO START IDENTIFYING SUPPORT GROUPS AND GRASS ROOTS COMMUNITIES WHO NEED ASSISTANCE. WE HOPE YOU WILL JOIN US. WE WILL ADVISE YOU OF THE TIME AND PLACE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. MY THANKS AGAIN FOR YOUR SUPPORT AND PARTICIPATION. SINCERELY

RICHAD W BOONE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR.

SF1201(R2-65)

May 3, 1966

Mr. Richard W. Boone
Executive Director
Citizens Crusade Against Poverty
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

file

Dear Dick:

This will confirm my attendance at your meeting in New York on Wednesday, May 11, at 1:30 p.m.

I look forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
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LC = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

510P EST APR 29 66 AE401 CTE409

CT WW RBY025 RBZ2 RBZ2 92 PD RB WASHINGTON DC 29 NFTT

MR PAUL ANTHONY

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

(SOUGHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL,) INC. 5 FORSYTH STREET, NW ATLA

THIS IS TO CONFIRM THE FIRST MEETING OF THE ORGANIZATIONS PARTICIPATING IN THE CITIZENS CRUSADE SOUTHERN RURAL ACTION PROJECT. THE MEETING WILL BE HELD ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 11 AT BROTHERHOOD HOUSE, 7TH AVENUE AND EAST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY, BEGINNING AT 1:30 PM. WE EXPECT TO START IDENTIFYING SUPPORT GROUPS AND LEADERS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PROJECT AT THIS TIME. I SIN RELY HOPE THAT YOU OR A REPRESENTATIVE OF YOUR ORGANIZATION CAN JOIN US FOR THESE CRUCIAL DISCUSSIONS. PLEASE WIRE YOUR CONFIRMATION COLLECT.

RICHARD W BOONE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY 2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON D. C.

file

SF1201 (R2-65)

MJ - fit citizens Crusade Against Poverty

Draft Pg. 1
May 11, 1966

Whose proposal?

AV
~~ES~~
RA

Draft Guidelines For Southern Rural Action Project

Purpose: The purpose of the Southern Rural Action Project is to organize groups in various parts of the Nation to support emerging community groups in the deep South, providing them with the resources and leadership they need to grow into independent grass roots organizations.

The project will seek to bring new dignity to the lives of poor people in the South. It will seek to make a positive and permanent change in the policies of institutions controlling the community. It will seek to provide grass roots organizations with the means to develop an independent economic base in order to sustain their growth and independence.

The Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty and the agencies which have agreed to participate in the Southern Rural Action Project will form a nucleus group to serve as a bridge between grass roots groups and support groups in various parts of the Nation. This group will be expanded as other organizations who have the capability and desire to participate in this project are identified. The participating organizations will be asked to work in cooperation with the staff and Executive Director of SRAP, to identify possible resource groups and leadership people who might be willing to work with a grass roots organization at the local level, and to advise the SRAP staff on both strategy and tactics for the successful completion of the project.

1. What Communities Will Be Eligible To Participate?

To participate in the Southern Rural Action Project a community must have the following qualifications:

1. a grass roots organization which can serve as the base for the project.

2. the potential of developing an on-going base of support within two years.

3. the potential for developing independent community leaders.

4. the ability to clearly indicate their needs and justify their choices.

5. be located in the Southern or Southwestern United States.

6. share the General Objectives of the Crusade.

2. What Are the Qualifications for a Support Group?

An organization may participate as a support Group providing that it:

1. has the ability to develop resources and/or leadership for a rural community group in the South.

2. be willing to make a one and preferably two years commitment to participate in the program.

3. support the general purposes of the Crusade and SRAP.

Individuals may participate in the SRAP either as members of support groups, as resource persons in the grass roots communities, as fund raisers, or in any other constructive manner as approved by the Director of SRAP.

3. How Will the Grass Roots Organizations Be Chosen?

The Grass roots organizations will be chosen by the staff of the SRAP and an independent advisory committee in each state. The advisory committee will be chosen by the staff of SRAP and be composed of people who are sympathetic to the objectives of the project and who understand and have the respect of the people in the grass roots communities. Suggestions of

grass roots communities will come from but not be limited to participatory national organizations, the state advisory committees, individuals and staff of the Southern Rural Action Project. Final responsibility for the selection of communities, however, will remain with the Director of the Southern Rural Action Project and the State Advisory Committee.

4. How Will the Support Groups Be Chosen?

The support groups will be chosen by the Executive Director of the Southern Rural Action Project based on the recommendations of participating national organizations. The Executive Director will have the responsibility of assisting in the development of these support groups as well as matching the resources with the need. The choice will be ratified by the grass roots organization.

In addition, a National Advisory Committee composed of members of the National Organizations and three persons from the Citizens' Crusade Commission on Community Organization Activity will evaluate the effectiveness of the Northern Support Groups and, in consultation with state project advisory groups, the ability of the rural action groups to put these resources to work. This group will periodically report to the Vice Chairman of the Crusade in charge of the Commission on Community Activity and Organization, who will in turn report on the progress of the project to the Executive Committee of the Crusade. The grass roots organization will maintain a veto over the activities of any outside group working with it. Support groups will have a similar freedom to withdraw from any partnership which they find unworkable.

What Types of Projects May Be Supported?

a. a grass roots community may receive resources for any project which is consistent with the purposes of the SRAP and the Citizens' Crusade. CCAP matching funds, however, will go only to those projects which have the potential to bring about positive and lasting economic, and institutional change in the community.

Eleanor French [redacted]

Warren McKenna

[redacted]

30 yrs –

1 state

not 100 good efforts

state-wide support groups not always

same as local units or individuals

local white leadership varied

membership exists

so agriculture [redacted]

The Future of the Rural South

Rec'd 7/14/66

file

CC
AP

CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036
Telephone 202 / 234-3645

file

Walter P. Reuther
Chairman
Rabbi Richard Hirsch
Secretary
Robert S. Benjamin
Treasurer

Richard W. Boone
Executive Director

July 11, 1966

TO: NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS INTERESTED IN THE SUCCESS OF THE POVERTY PROGRAM

Please find enclosed herewith the letter which we agreed, at a meeting of national organizations on Tuesday, July 11, to request your endorsements. I request that you call us by 10:00 A.M., Thursday, July 14, and tell us whether your organization will agree to an endorsement on its behalf to be affixed to the enclosed text.

Our telephone number is 234-3645.

Very truly yours,

Donald L. Anderson

Donald L. Anderson

In the two years since the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act we have been encouraged by the growth of community based anti-poverty efforts across the Nation. As a result of the Act, in hundreds of communities, programs stemming from local initiative have been launched. It is in the Nation's interest that such efforts continue until the objectives of the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act have been reached.

The current Adminstration request of 1.7 billion dollars does not represent the rate of progress originally anticipated in order to reach those objectives. Decisive action by the Congress is required to maintain the momentum generated by anti-poverty programs.

We note, with special regret, that Committee action in the House has reduced the Community Action authorization, a reduction which affects deleteriously the very heart of the Economic Opportunity Act. In fact, this severely limited authorization seems designed to inhibit the future growth of Community Action Programs. Other amendments added by House Committee action would have the effect of crippling and frustrating community action efforts. This should not be tolerated.

The undersigned organizations regard the Administration request pending before the Congress as a minimum requirement if the momentum of past efforts is to be maintained. Further, we oppose all amendments which would weaken the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

f.6

August 25, 1966

Mr. Richard W. Boone
Executive Director
Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Dick:

We are delighted to know you are staffed and have opened your Atlanta office, and will be happy to cooperate with any plans you have in that regard.

We look forward to close cooperation between SRC and the Citizens' Crusade and particularly working with Randolph in his new position.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

cc; Mr. Randolph Blackwell
50 Whitehall St SW
Atlanta, Ga.

add address
(SCLC)

(2)

CCAP CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036
Telephone 202 / 234-3645

Walter P. Reuther
Chairman
Rabbi Richard Hirsch
Secretary
Robert S. Benjamin
Treasurer

Richard W. Boone
Executive Director

August 17, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On August 1, Randolph Blackwell, former Program Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, opened offices in Atlanta, Georgia, as head of the Citizens Crusade's Southern Rural Action Project (SRAP).

Mr. Blackwell's first priority will be the location of grass roots communities to participate in the project. Shortly thereafter, he should be in contact with you for assistance in locating the proper groups to provide support for these communities.

We are planning to hold a press conference in Atlanta shortly to announce Mr. Blackwell's appointment, your participation in SRAP, and examples of the first communities involved in the project. We will, of course, keep you informed of developments.

We look forward to working with you in this program in the year ahead.

Sincerely,

Dick Boone

Richard W. Boone

MS

CCAP CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036
Telephone 202 / 234-3645

Walter P. Reuther
Chairman
Rabbi Richard Hirsch
Secretary
Robert S. Benjamin
Treasurer

Richard W. Boone
Executive Director

September 1, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your kind letter. It was good meeting with you in Atlanta, and I appreciated your dropping in on the SRAP press conference.

I think it is going to be a good program and we look forward to working with the Southern Regional Council on it closely.

Sincerely,

Dick

Richard W. Boone
Executive Director

RWB:ms

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
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230A EST SEP 17 66 AA095 CTA056
CT RBY082 RBZ5 RBZ5 NL PD RB WASHINGTON DC 16
RAUL ANTHONY EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC
5 FORSYTH ST NW ATLA
GTN
CT RBY083 RBZ5 THE CITIZENS BORAD OF INQUIRY OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT GR OUP OF MISSISSIPPI WILL HOLD AN IMPORTANT PLANNING SESSION ON WEDNESDAY Y, SEPTEMBER 21 IN NEW YORK CITY AT BROTHERHOOD IN ACTION, 560 SEVENTH AVENUE AT 40TH STREET AT 2 P.M. IT IS URGENT THAT YOU ATTEND. THE BOA RD WILL ALSO HOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE TO BRIEF THE NEWS MEDIA ON THE IM PENDING ANALYSIS OF THE CDGM PROGRAM AT 12 NOON, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, HOTEL ROOSEVELT, NEW YORK CITY. PLEASE CONFIRM BY RETURN WIRE YOUR AVAILABILITY AT BOTH THE PLANNING SESSION AND THE PRESS CONFERENCE
A PHILIP RANDOLPH, CHAIRMAN
ROBERT SPIKE CHAIRMAN CITIZENS BOARD OF INQUIRY CITIZENS CRUSADE AGA

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

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CT RBY082 RBZ5-2

INST POVERTY 2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVE NW WASHINGTON DC.

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

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855P EST SEP 20 66 AB557
DEB600 DE WA229 NL PD 16 EXTRA WASHINGTON DC 20
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC 5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA
URGENT THAT YOU ATTEND CITIZENS' BOARD OF INQUIRY PLANNING SESSION WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, BROTHERHOOD IN ACTION, 560 SEVENTH AVENUE AT 2:00 P.M. AND BOARD'S PRESS CONFERENCE AT 12 NOON, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, ROOSEVELT HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY. PLEASE MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO ATTEND
A PHILIP RANDOLPH CHAIRMAN ROBERT SPIKE CHAIRMAN CITIZENS BOARD OF INQUIRY CITIZENS CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY 2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE NORTHWEST WASHINGTON D C 20036

21 560 2:00 12 22 2027 20036.

C I T I Z E N S' F A C T - F I N D I N G M O V E M E N T O F G E O R G I A

CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
AUGUST 1, 1937 - DECEMBER 31, 1949

FROM ANNUAL AUDITS BY L. E. CAMPBELL, C. P. A.

R E C E I P T S

Donations	$23,829.59	a/	
Foundation grants	25,000.00	b/	
Fellowship grants	3,600.00	c/	
Sale of reports	242.72	d/	
Sale of Georgia Facts in Figures	16,571.13	e/	
Miscellaneous	387.85	f/	
TOTAL	$69,631.29	g/	$69,631.29

D I S B U R S E M E N T S

Personnel:			
Administration	$ 3,600.00	h/	
Research	16,300.00		
Publicity	600.00	i/	
Steno-secretarial & clerical	13,649.51		
Consultants	491.20	j/	
Publications (printing only):			
Reports	9,044.89		
Georgia Facts in Figures	7,777.94		
General operating expense	5,427.57	k/	
Rent & electricity	7,165.27		
Postage, express & drayage	3,639.59		
Travel (staff)	987.18	l/	
Contingencies	636.57	m/	
TOTAL	$69,319.72		
BALANCE ON HAND 1-1-50	311.57	n/	$69,631.29

AVERAGE YEARLY DISBURSEMENT OVER 12½ YEARS: $5,545.58

a/ Practically all from within Georgia. Would be multiplied many times if money value of local support in goods and services were shown (i.e., services of Consultants, expenses borne by committee members to meetings, volunteer personnel, donated equipment, etc. Donations ranged from $1,000 down to six cents. Among larger contributors: The Coca-Cola Co., Bellgrade Manufacturing Co., Georgia Power Co., Southern Bell Telephone & Telegraph Co., Eagle & Phoenix Mills, General Mills.

b/ $13,500 from General Education Board (three grants), $10,000 from Carnegie Corporation, $1,000 from Field Foundation, $500 from National Sharecroppers Fund.

c/ Fellowship grants awarded Administrator by William C. Whitney Foundation. ($3,200 also awarded by Whitney through The University of Georgia.)

d/ Sale of quantity orders only. Single copies free upon request -- over 300,000 copies so supplied without charge.

e/ Balance of 783 copies on hand 1-1-50. 10,000 copies printed (two printings).

f/ Sale of equipment and supplies.

g/ The following amounts which offset each other do not appear in this statement: 1) $2,963.29 received from sub-rental of part of agency's office space, offsetting $2,963.29 of the rental on its offices; 2) non-interest bearing loans in the amount of $7,000, offset by repayment. (Loans covered at all times by letter on file cancelling loans in full, or any unpaid portion thereof, if agency unable to repay from own receipts.)

(continued next page)

(CFFM consolidated statement, cont.)

h/ Fellowship to Administrator referred to in footnote c/. Administrative Associate served on dollar-a-year basis; this $1 annually included in honoria, footnote m/. (From 1940, Administrator was also research associate of the Division of General Extension of the University System of Georgia, thereby providing an informal relation which permitted foundation grants to be made agency through Board of Regents and administered through the Division.)

i/ Publicity man employed for short period to promote Georgia Facts in Figures.

j/ Travel and hotel only. Services of Consultants given gratis.

k/ Telephone and telegraph, supplies, stationery, office equipment, Treasurer's bond, audit fees, and non-recurring office expenses.

l/ Offset in whole by donations.

m/ Extra expenses of committee meetings, reprints, honoria.

n/ No outstanding indebtedness.

This is to certify that the foregoing statement of receipts and disbursements of the Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia, together with the foregoing footnotes, present an accurate consolidation of my annual audits of this agency since its organization in 1937. I wish to commend the manner in which its financial records have been kept during the entire period of operation. Receipts for all disbursements have been consistently secured and filed. The handling of 10,000 books, with the detailed record of their disposition, is especially commended.

Respectfully submitted,

L. E. Campbell CPA

L. E. Campbell, C. P. A.
Emory University, Georgia

February 24, 1950

C I T I Z E N S' F A C T - F I N D I N G M O V E M E N T O F G E O R G I A

GEORGIA FACTS IN FIGURES

Consolidated Statement of Copies Printed and Distributed
Taken from CFFM Records and Royalty Statements from
The University of Georgia Press

Quantity printed			10,000 copies
	CFFM	U. OF GA. PRESS	TOTAL
Copies consigned	8960	1040	10,000
Accounted for as follows:			
Review purposes	83	56	139
Courtesy copies	387 a/		387
Replacements	6		6
Faulty copies	33		33
Staff copies	5		5
Permanent file	6		6
Copies sold	7721	920	8,641
On hand Nov. 30, 1949	719 b/	64	783
Total copies	8960	1040	10,000
Income from sales	$15,455.56 c/	$1,263.16 (net) d/	$16,718.72

a/ 307 of these to current and past members of the Coordinating Committee and to the Consultants.

b/ Balance on hand consigned to The University of Georgia Press, Nov. 30, 1949, as authorized by Coordinating Committee, royalties to accrue to Agency as heretofore, making a balance at the Press of 783 copies.

c/ Includes $6.57 refund on C.O.D. postage. Average amount received per copy $2.00.

d/ Net after deducting $294.06 for the following expenses: mailing and handling, $130.90; advertising, $163.16. Gross sales of $1,557.22, averages $1.69 per copy sold (educational, library and other discounts allowed by both Press and Agency account for the difference in average sale price).

Lyle E. Campbell C.P.A.

Lyle E. Campbell, C.P.A.
Emory University, Georgia

February 24, 1950

CITIZENS' FACT-FINDING MOVEMENT OF GEORGIA

CONCLUDING REPORT

To Members of the Coordinating Committee
From Josephine Wilkins, Administrator

Since the foreword of our source book, Georgia Facts in Figures, gives a summary of the work of the Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement through 1945, this report will deal almost in whole with its activity since that time.

The Movement has continued to function as a service agency and as such has perhaps made its greatest contribution. But this will be summarized later as our primary work has been geared to completion of our last project, publication of Georgia Facts in Figures.

Designed as a reference book on this pivotal southern state, the volume was brought out in the late spring of 1946, published by The University of Georgia Press. A total of 10,000 copies was issued in two printings of 5000 each. The widespread distribution of the book in some ways has been remarkable, considering the nature of the volume and the fact that our agency was in no sense equipped to do a thoroughgoing promotion job. It has been purchased widely throughout the state by a cross section of our people and has been placed in all of the public schools and public libraries of Georgia by order of the State Board of Education. It has gone as well into every other state in the Union, to the District of Columbia and the following territories, possessions and foreign countries: Alaska, Brazil, British Columbia, Canada, Canal Zone, England, France, Greece, Guam, Hawaii, Philippines, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

Production of this volume was an ambitious undertaking for an agency such as this, involving not only its preparation but its promotion and the handling of orders. It is a matter of pride that the agency has a record of each volume that went out, card-indexed and classified. A summary audit is attached.

It will be recalled that the book is dedicated "To the people of Georgia and to their tomorrows." Accordingly, on the eve of publication an advance copy was presented the then governor of the state, Honorable Ellis Arnall, as titular head of Georgia, the presentation taking place at a dinner meeting of the Coordinating Committee attended by some three hundred people. It was indeed gratifying to hear Governor Arnall state during his address that evening: "I would be less than fair tonight if I did not say that from the Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement sprang the entire program that we have undertaken to push forward to improve the conditions of our people."

To promote the book, some 25,000 copies of a well designed announcement were mailed out, with order form enclosed, and several hundred posters distributed. But with that done, the volume itself was immediately put to work by using information derived from the book as a vehicle for further promotion. To this end a number of articles were supplied the state's two hundred-odd daily and county weekly papers. Filler material was also sent - brief facts about the state. Especially good was the coverage given a set of stories done specifically for each county and confined to information about that particular county. A series of longer interpretive articles, together with pictorial mats, was prepared for the dailies. The press was most cooperative and according to our records, which are far from complete since based only on clippings sent us, gave more than 2000 inches of space to the book.

News articles done with a view to the audiences served were also supplied the following: the state's seventeen trade journals, its four religious

journals; official organs of the teachers and the press; the state's five labor papers; its two Negro papers; the two service periodicals, The Southern Banker and Behind the Wheel; and Two Bells and Kilowatt News, publications of the Georgia Power Company.

We had excellent cooperation from radio stations, encouraged by the head of their state association. This consisted of news references, spot announcements prepared by us - again brief facts about the state, and participation in a number of feature programs. We had, too, the cooperation of the state book fair and other meetings where the volume was displayed.

All in all, through these media, information derived from the source book was given in popular form to a far wider audience than the volume itself could be expected to reach.

The book has been reviewed widely, and references to its publication were carried in all national library services. A review came in only recently from Brazil, a column and a half carried in the official organ Revista Brasileira de Estatistica. Of the numerous comments received, none do we value more than the one from the late Jackson Davis, former Director of the General Education Board and Vice-President of Rockefeller Foundation, who said: "The book is an amazing array of vitally interesting material setting forth objectively the status of Georgia in every important field. It is a mine of information and will no doubt prove one of the most helpful source books dealing with state affairs. It has great significance for the public schools and for all educational institutions of the state...The volume is a constructive achievement of a high order."

As a source book, Georgia Facts in Figures has fulfilled our hopes for it. Space precludes a review of uses made of the volume coming to our attention. Suffice it to say that even before publication the Southern Bell Telephone and

Telegraph Company asked for an advance copy to use in connection with certain work it had in process and sent for additional copies afterwards. Georgia Tech has applied it as basis for a publication of its own, drawing from it a wealth of related information and presenting it in graphic form. Such accounts have continued to come to us, the last being word since the first of the year that The University of Georgia is using the volume in preparation of a work-book in the College of Business Administration. There have also been a number of requests from organizations for reproductions of charts appearing in the volume, one order for 500 copies each of nine of them. And gratifying are the times the book appears in a footnote of this or that publication, showing it has been drawn on. The volume no doubt will long be a basic source of information on Georgia. Even the book's own footnote references, as to sources it has used, will themselves serve as guides to later information as it is published for years to come.

It is with profound sorrow that we report the death of Lyle R. Chubb who as a staff member of the Fact-Finding Movement prepared the material for this volume. The book stands as one of the major contributions of his brief life span of thirty-nine years.

Publication of Georgia Facts in Figures was undertaken as a self-liquidating project, and its price, $2.00, was set as low as possible to cover the estimated costs of printing, promotion, and handling. It will be recalled that a revolving fund was made available to us under the arrangement that the entire amount or any unpaid portion would be automatically canceled if the agency from its own receipts were unable to repay. While we had anticipated that the project would be liquidated within a few months, unforeseen complications threw our estimate to the four winds. First, we found ourselves caught in the Georgia primary of '46. Our publication estimates had been keyed in large part to

assurance of a block order placing the book in the schools of the state. By the time the volume came out, it was found that the Board of Education planned no more meetings until after the primary. When the election resulted in a change of administration, we learned it was the Board's custom to purchase no more books until the new administration took office. Consequently, there was a delay of some nine months before this transaction was completed. Meanwhile, the delay left out-dated the printer's quotation on cost of a second printing gotten with view to this block purchase. The printing proved forty-seven per cent more than we had figured, due to increased cost of paper, labor, etc. Further, after publication, we found that The University of Georgia Press was committed to certain discounts on its materials ranging from twenty to forty per cent. The impact of these two factors so threw our estimates out of line that the project was not fully liquidated until last fall.

Meanwhile, as stated heretofore, the organization has continued to function as a service agency. It has maintained its long-time practice of supplying requests for information or advising where that information might be obtained if available. Only those close to the office could know the extent to which it has been called upon for such assistance. By way of illustration, an entire class of sixty students was directed to the agency in preparing term-papers on various phases of the state. Similarly, assistance has been sought by students in such universities as Harvard, Princeton, Yale, Ohio - the request usually coming from some Georgian doing a thesis on the state. An extensive card index bears testimony of such service. In this connection, the agency's press digest has been of unique assistance - a daily running account

and supporting press clippings of major developments in the state, kept throughout these years by the Administrative Associate, Mrs. Harry M. Gershon, giving her services as a volunteer.

In the field of consultation the agency has made a contribution as well. Demanding no recognition, it has helped chart the course of many an endeavor and has often been a guiding factor in far-reaching developments here. And many are the manuscripts of distant newspaper reporters and authors that have been reviewed for accurate interpretation of this state and the South. Some contend that the public relations value of the agency for those temporarily in Georgia for study and conference would alone justify its existence. Among those so assisted have been: representatives of the New York Times, New York Post, Washington Post, London Times, British Broadcasting Company, Philadelphia Record, Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance, PM, Collier's, Woman's Home Companion, Reader's Digest, New Republic, Look Magazine, and Time, Life and Fortune; representatives of various government agencies, including the U. S. State Department, Justice Department, Federal Communication Commission, and the British Embassy, as well as such institutions as the American Council on Education, American Library Association, The Tax Foundation, and representatives of numerous colleges and universities. Using its services also have been such authors, to mention but a few, as: John Gunther, Gunnar Myrdal, Jonathan Daniels, David L. Cohn, A. G. Mezerik, Victor Bernstein, Sterling Brown, John Roy Carlson, Stanley High, Wenzell Brown, Daniel Guerin - French historian, and Bryan Smith - London documentary film producer.

A single case will serve as illustration of service rendered by the agency from time to time. It is the assistance that was given the Commission set up under Public Law 162 to recommend reorganization of the executive branch of the Federal government, known as the Hoover Commission. Five representatives of

its professional staff studying the field operations of the government were for several weeks in Atlanta where some seventy-five or a hundred regional offices are located. Toward the end of their stay, they were anxious to confer with a group of well chosen local leaders to learn their general attitude toward governmental operations. Upon request, the agency assumed the responsibility of selecting the persons for this conference and of assembling them for a dinner meeting with the representatives of the Commission.

When it was foreseen that our last project would finally be completed last fall, serious thought and discussion was given to whether other work should be undertaken and the agency further continued. At no time had the agency been thought of as a permanent one, rather its life had been geared to specific projects and extended from time to time. Finally the fact was faced that the work had completely outgrown the financial base on which it had been initially undertaken and carried on these years and that adequate financing was not in sight at this time. Therefore, upon recommendation of the Administrative Committee and unanimous concurrence by the stateheads of the participating organizations, it was agreed that the activity of the agency would be concluded but the agency itself left intact for possible reactivation later. Copy of this authorization is attached.

The office was closed on November 30, 1949. But terminating an operation such as we have carried on was a large operation in itself and work incident to it extended well into the first of the year. This has now been completed. The remaining copies of Georgia Facts in Figures, 783, have been placed with The University of Georgia Press, royalties from the book to accrue to the

agency as heretofore. The Press Digest has been turned over to the library of Georgia Institute of Technology, which has agreed to keep it up to date. The base files have been stored under the care of the Continuing Committee. With all indebtedness cleared, we have a final balance of $311.57. This amount has been changed from our regular account to a savings account where it will draw modest interest. If the agency in due course is not reactivated, this fund and any additions to it will go to the Division of General Extension of The University of Georgia, as provided in the authorization. The Division has given generous cooperation to this work throughout these years, and its former Director, the late Dr. J. C. Wardlaw, served as treasurer of the Movement up to the time of his death. A twelve-year consolidated audit is attached.

The Administrative Committee had its final meeting on March 4. Dissolving as that committee, it reconstituted itself as the Continuing Committee in accordance with the authorization. J. Roy McGinty, Calhoun, former president of the Georgia Press Association, agreed to serve as chairman; Knox Walker, Atlanta, former president of the Georgia Education Association, as treasurer; and Mrs. Fred Bridges, Atlanta, former president of the Georgia Council of Church Women, as secretary.

In retrospect, just what was the Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia and what did it do? In essence, just what?

It began in the summer of 1937 when Georgia was chafing under an avalanche of unfavorable publicity. Seventeen statewide organizations, no one of them a special interest group, created it as a medium through which they might collectively seek out the truth about the state and stimulate among their members

an understanding of it. Hence, the Movement was a coming together of a large segment of Georgia's responsible leadership to consider their state as a whole.

The work functioned under the direction of three committees. These were an over-all policy-determining body, a sub-committee of it, and an administrative committee. The policy-determining body, called the Coordinating Committee, was composed of the stateheads of the participating organizations, each serving ex officio. Over the years nearly two hundred of these state leaders thus served in turn on this committee, coming from communities well scattered throughout Georgia. In rotation the chairmanship changed at each meeting, also the secretaryship. The sub-committee was built around these two officers, made up of three groups of them, those serving as officers-elect, current, and immediate past. In these successive capacities each therefore served on the Sub-committee three periods, a dovetailing of membership that gave the committee a degree of continuity. The Administrative Committee was composed of members chosen with a view to their accessibility to the office and long terms were provided for them and also for the Treasurer.

Action was arrived at in the following manner. Usually proposals came first from the staff and were made to the Administrative Committee where they were discarded, approved, substituted, or revised. Through this same process, proposals went in turn from the Administrative Committee to the Sub-committee, and from it to the over-all policy group, the Coordinating Committee. Therefore, when action was finally taken it represented the thinking of all.

That was the organizational structure of the undertaking. Through it a number of Georgia's outstanding specialists in various fields were asked to condense their knowledge of the state to brief reports written in simple and popular style. Twenty-five of these specialists, assisted by unnumbered other men and women, thus gave their services without charge and none so

asked declined.

It was initially contemplated that the reports would be distributed only among the 5000 local units of the seventeen organizations. But public demand gradually increased the distribution to sixteen thousand per issue. The practice of making single copies available upon request was followed. More than 300,000 copies were supplied in this way.

The reports dealt with broad aspects of the state that were chosen with a view to obtaining a picture of Georgia as a whole. Three series were undertaken. The first was in the nature of a state inventory, the second related that information to the South, and the third dealt with possible solutions and was the product of the thinking of the entire group of consultants.

While the country was engaged in World War II, the agency undertook the preparation of a comprehensive reference book on the state. More than 9000 copies of this volume have gone throughout Georgia, into every other state in the Union and to thirteen countries beyond its borders.

The Movement meanwhile developed into a service agency, the very words "fact-finding" seeming to serve as a magnet to those within and from without the state seeking information on Georgia.

From the start it was agreed that this joint undertaking would rest on public support, since most of the participating organizations had budgetary problems of their own and many had constitutional provisions that precluded the diversion of funds from their own organizational activity. The work was therefore financed by donations and carried on largely by volunteers. Donations ranged from $10,000 from Carnegie Corporation down to a few cents. Especially valued was the nickel and a penny that came wrapped together in a piece of brown paper, the $100 sent voluntarily by Collier's magazine shortly after ordering a

copy of the agency's source book, the $10 sent by a Georgia youth in military service on foreign duty, the bottle of pickles sent by the farm woman as barter for the reports, and the $1000 contributions that came from several of Georgia's business institutions. Total cost of the agency over more than twelve years was only $69,319.72, an annual average of $5,545.58. Almost from the outset the work was handicapped by inadequate funds. Snow-balling as it did left little time for seeking them, and no matter the warmth of public response, it is well known that such assistance does not often come unsolicited.

While the Fact-Finding Movement was entirely an information-giving agency and not an action one, still the fact remains that forty-one proposals discussed in its reports have been enacted into law. The work had influence on various other developments in the state. For instance, former Governor Arnall, under whose administration the Georgia Citizens Council and the late Agricultural and Industrial Development Board were established, has said that these agencies grew directly out of the work of the Movement and the structures of both would seem to bear this out. The agency has also had influence beyond the border of Georgia, acknowledged influence in Michigan, Ohio, Alabama, Texas, Louisiana, South Carolina, New York, and Kentucky. The Committee for Kentucky, patterned on this Georgia undertaking, has in many respects outdistanced Georgia in its work. (Recorded in Kentucky on the March published recently by Harper's.) A. G. Mezerik, author of Revolt of the South and West, has said: "As I travel through the Southern states I am again and again impressed by the impact and influence of the work pioneered by the Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement...I have found that your ideas have stimulated groups in states as far away as Texas and your methods have been adopted widely."

In reviewing the bulging folder of comments on the work one runs across such statements as . . . . . from a writer, "a piece of pioneering not only of prime significance throughout the region - but throughout the country" . . . . . from a Georgia newspaper editor, "the most telling project of this nature which I have observed over a long period of years, and the most promising" . . . . . from librarians, "a boon to librarians trying to find material about the state" . . . "may we have another copy - heavy call for these" . . . "you are giving a service no other group has given" . . . . . from a minister, "you have indeed come to the very core of the need of our democratic life" . . . a state legislator, "one of the best things in Georgia" . . . a businessman, "is bound to have influence in shaping the future destination of our state" . . . a church woman, "dear friends in the Master's work" . . . . . then there is one from a public health official on coming to the state, "should have been lost indeed without this most valuable tool" . . . another from a university president, "is doing more than has ever been done by any single agency to stimulate thought about Georgia problems" . . . a teacher, "used extensively by teachers of citizenship in the public schools of the state" . . . a student, "the most interesting and stimulating course I ever had" . . . . . from a judge, "is of the very essence of the democratic process and deserves the support of all who would preserve it" . . . and a welfare worker, "has meant more to Georgia than possible to estimate now" . . . . . This Georgia undertaking caught national attention and articles on it have appeared in The Atlantic Monthly, Educational Record, Survey Graphic, The Christian Century, National Municipal Review, and the New Dominion Series, published by the University of Virginia. It has also been written about in such publications as The Yale

Review, Mississippi Historical Review, Reader's Scope, Virginius Dabney's Below the Potomac, W. Brooke Graves' American State Government, J. Minor Gwynn's Curriculum Principles & Social Trends, Gunnar Myrdal's An American Dilemma, and John Gunther's Inside U. S. A.

So, now, after twelve years, on completion of its last project, the Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement concludes its work, leaving the agency itself intact. The way is thus left open for it to function again should there be the will and should adequate means be provided. The agency therefore is left, so to speak, as a foot in Tomorrow's Doorway.

Approved by the Administrative Committee,
meeting in Atlanta, March 4, 1950:

Mrs. Fred T. Bridges, Atlanta
Stanley A. Elkan, Macon
W. C. Henson, Cartersville
J. Roy McGinty, Calhoun
Knox Walker, Atlanta
Mary R. Gray, former member

CITIZENS' FACT-FINDING MOVEMENT OF GEORGIA

A coordinating agency for studying Georgia and for stimulating its progress through the democratic process

818 FORSYTH BUILDING, ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Georgia Congress of Parents and Teachers
Georgia District, Civitan International
Georgia District, Kiwanis International
Georgia District, Lions International
Georgia District, Pilot International
Georgia District, Rotary International
Georgia Division, American Association of University of Women
Georgia Education Association

Georgia Council of Church Women
Georgia Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs
Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs
Georgia Home Demonstration Council
Georgia League of Women Voters
Georgia Library Association
Georgia Press Association
Georgia State Exchange Clubs
Georgia Farm Bureau

March 20, 1950

TO FORMER MEMBERS OF THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE:

The accompanying material is in the nature of a report to you who in turn over the years have served on the Coordinating Committee and have helped develop this joint undertaking.

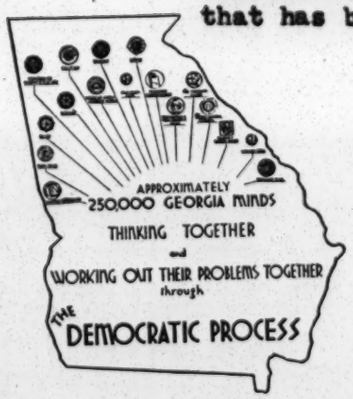
The material consists of: 1) a concluding report; 2) copy of the authorization unanimously approved by the current statheads of the participating organizations; 3) a consolidated audit covering the entire period of the agency's activity; and 4) a summary audit of the distribution of our source book, Georgia Facts in Figures. The Administrative Committee has asked that a copy of the second printing of the book also be sent you, since it contains a number of revisions to bring it up to date with changes growing out of an intervening meeting of the Georgia legislature. This is being mailed you under separate cover.

As you will see from the authorization, the work of the agency was concluded with the close of 1949, but the agency itself left so that it might be reactivated later if desired and deemed feasible by the organizations that initiated it. It will be recalled that at no time have we thought of the agency as a permanent one, rather its life has been geared to specific projects and extended from time to time.

On conclusion of the work of the Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement, I want to say to each of you that participation in it has for me been a deeply enriching experience. Always shall I cherish the confidence you have given me and the warm association with you that has been mine.

Cordially yours,

Josephine Wilkins
Administrator



AUTHORIZATION

Re: Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia

As current ____(title)____ of _____(name of organization)_____ and therefore an ex officio member of the coordinating committee which these past twelve years has directed the work of the Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia (an agency created in 1937 by _____ and sixteen other statewide organizations), and upon recommendation of the agency's administrative committee, I do hereby authorize the following:

1) that now upon completion of its last project (publication and liquidation of the production cost of the source book, Georgia Facts in Figures) the work of the agency be suspended and its office closed on expiration of its lease, November 30, 1949;

2) that the future of the agency be placed in the hands of a continuing committee composed of the members of the Administrative Committee - Stanley A. Elkan (Macon), W. C. Henson (Cartersville), Knox Walker (Atlanta), J. Roy McGinty (Calhoun) and Mrs. Fred T. Bridges (Atlanta) - together with the Administrator, Josephine Wilkins, and the Administrative Associate, Mrs. Harry M. Gershon, and that authority rest in them to fill vacancies in their number, any such vacancy to be filled by appointment of a former state head who has served on the Coordinating Committee;

3) that discretionary power be vested in the Continuing Committee either to propose to the state boards of the seventeen constituent organizations reactivation of the work of the agency, or in lieu thereof finally to dissolve the agency, including discretion to determine the time for either course of action;

4) that upon the present closing of the agency's office, a) the Continuing Committee sell the equipment therein and deposit the proceeds in the agency's bank account, and b) preserve and store its basic records until the agency's reactivation or final dissolution;

5) that the remaining supply of the agency's source book, Georgia Facts in Figures, on hand in its office, be added to those now at The University of Georgia Press, with royalties from the sale thereof to accrue to the agency as heretofore;

6) that should the Continuing Committee in its discretion dissolve the agency, residue funds on hand be given to the Division of General Extension of The University of Georgia.

_____

____(Title)____, _____(Name of organization)_____

_____ ___, 1949

Please return to Guy B. Johnson
710 Standard Bldg.

OFFICE OF

George Elmer Ross

XXXXXXXX STREET
AUGUSTA, GEORGIA

1209½ Ninth

TELEPHONE 2-4767
Ofc. 2-6712

NOTARY
VETERANS' CLAIMS
PENSION CLAIMS
INDIAN CLAIMS
LEGAL CLAIMS
LEGAL PAPERS
INCOME TAXES

July 25, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Complying with request of last week for a synopsis and case history beg to submit the following:

In 1935, because of ill health, I was advised by my Physician at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to move among the Pines in the South and under all probabilities the peculiar climate would act upon my enfeebled condition having a tendency to add a few more years to my life's span; and in keeping with this advise, I moved, on February 4th, 1936, to Augusta, Georgia.

Three years later, with health greatly improved, I sought admission to the Georgia Bar by examination with the view of opening and maintaining law offices in Augusta.

The first bar examination I stood was June 28th, 1939, continuing to so stand at each 6 month interval these Georgia Bar examinations through and including December 16th, 1942: a total of 7 examinations.

Up to and including may 10th, 1941, I had no idea that all Negro applicants of the Augusta Circuit for admission to

the Georgia Bar were denied admission, nor that they were so bitterly discriminated against because of their color. I had always been of opinion that the papers comprising the answer to various bar examination questions were faithfully, honestly and impartially graded based upon one's knowledge of the law and that each applicant for admission to the Georgia Bar received whatever mark his papers assidiously merited.

Being denied admission after standing so many examinations, it made me dubious of the entire affair immediately assuming that I was being discriminated against. This I could not prove until the May 13th, 1942 examination. Upon a through investigation I learned that no Negroes had, since 1910, been admitted to the Georgia Bar(that is from the Augusta Circuit). Each time a Negro applicant sought admission by examination to the Georgia Bar having in mind the hope of opening and maintaining law offices in Augusta, he had been denied. This denial was not due to pre-legal nor legal education, but solely because of color, and to make complete and certain this discriminatory denial, the judge of the superior court of Richmond County, has without statutory authority transferred the examinations to other and more hostile Circuits(Louisville, Jefferson County Georgia).

There have been 5 Negroes to seek admission to the Georgia Bar by examination during the past 30 years. The first, Judson Lyons; second, Henry M.Porter; third, Charles R. Tucker, fourth, Percy G. Shadd; and fifth, George Elmer Ross. The only successful Negro was Judson Lyons. He passed the examination more than 30 years. ago because the power had not at that time completed their

plans for the exclusion of Negroes. All others have failed. Mr. Porter and Mr.Tucker failed here on 4 attempts, but did pass in Savannah. Mr. Shadd could not pass here after 3 attempts, but did pass at Macon. I have stood this examination in this circuit 7 consecutive times and have failed, and this is true after having earned 19 points above the passing (70%) mark on several examinations and 28 points above the passing(70%) mark on another. Mediocre white applicants pass on 60 and 65% but no Negroes. This information comes from Atlanta, Georgia where-the examination papers are graded.

The Georgia State Board of Bar examiners has repeatedly denied me any information concerning the examination and has impinged upon my Constitutional right to a review of the proceedings by a premature destruction of the examination papers comprising the record of the case before I could petition the court for a review, and this is true in spite of ample and timely notice of my intention so to do. Yes, the Georgia State Board of Bar examiners has gone a great deal farther than this. It has ignored the request of the judge of the superior court of Richmond County, to safely keep the examination papers until the identity of the same could affirmatively be established. On one ocassion the Secretary of the Board sent me a copy of the questions and informed me to figure out for myself about what I thought my grade should be.

On one examination at Louisville, Georgia under date of May 13th, 1942, the County Treasurer, for what reason I have never known, met me as I was leaving the examination room saying:

"YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF A LAWYER, WELL! YOU HAVE WASTED YOUR TIME AND MONEY: AS FAR AS PASSING THIS EXAMINATION IS CONCERNED, YOU MAY AS WELL GO HOME, BECAUSE YOU ARE A NIGGER AND DON'T AMOUNT TO MUCH IN THESE PARTS".

Aside from this, the monitors, serving in the absence of the judge who is supposed to conduct the examinstion, told the white applicants, not to hurry through the examination, but to wait until that nigger goes, we are going to certify all of you for passing.

Still another happening at Louisville. A judge of the superior court from South Georgia was paying some one a visit on the day set for holding the examination. Upon completing my examination, he took it upon himself to look over the examination papers I had submitted. He told the white applicants that I had answered each and every question correctly and if they did as well as I did, they would pass. He further intimated, that it was too bad that I was colored.

On December 16th, 1942, I stood another Georgia State Bar examination, and am positive of having correctly answered all of the questions propounded. At the conclusion of the examination, the monitor in charge of the examination gave me a list of numbers from which to chose one to identify my papers. I selected 10 as my choice and expressed that choice by Roman Numeral X; and, as a further requirement of the law wrote this number together with my name and address placing the same in a separate envelope supplied for the purpose carefully sealing the same and left it in the constructive possession of the judge.

On December 28th, 1942, twelve days after the examination, I returned to the courthouse to receive the returns from the grading of the examination of December 16th. Instead of the certificate setting forth that Number X did not pass, it stated that Number 4 did not pass. I called the court's attention to this mistaken identity of the papers and requested him to notify the Bar examiners of the mistake. This he did by letter. I also put them on notice of mu exceptions to the grading advising them against destroying the papers until I culd petition for a review of the proceedings. The chairman by letter under date of December 29th acknowledged the receipt of my n tice and informed me that I could take whatever steps I saw fit, but that the papars had been destroyed following a custom of force for more than thirty years.

Thereupon, armed with what information I had proceedings Ex Parte in the form of a motion was instituted for admission to the bar. This motion came on for hearing before Hon A. L. Franklin on March 29th, 1943. At the hearing Mrs. Catherine S. Wright(a white applicant who stood the examination with me on May 13th, 1942) testified under oath that I had been the victim of bitter discrimination because of my color. The court rendered its opinion on April 13th, 1943 and adjudged that the court lacked jurisdiction of the case stating in part that if such a proceedings could be entertained at all, it would have to be brought in the County of at least one of the members of the Board. A bill of exceptions was taken to that judge-

ment carrying the case to the Supreme Court of Georgia. The Supreme Court upheld the judgement of the suoerior court of Richmond County suggesting that my remedy for any complaint I might have about the actions of the Georgia State Board of Bar Examiners may be determined by the writ of mandamus against the Board.

On October 27th, 1943, I presented to the Fulton County superior court a petition for a mandamus against the Board as was suggested by the Supreme Court of Georgia. This court adjudged that the petition did not entitle me to the relief sought. To this judgement I again went before the Supreme Court At that time the Supreme Court of Georgia further clothed the Georgia State Board of Bar Examiners with a shroud of discrimination by upholding the judgement of the superior court of Fulton County.

Immediately and within the 90 days set by the rules of the Supreme Court of the United States, I notified the Supreme Court of Georgia of my intention to petition for a Writ of certiorari to review its judgement on the grounds that its judgement was discriminatory and violated the 14th amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Upon a reconsideration of the matter and upon advise of Mr. Leon A. Ransom, Dean, Howard University Law School, my Washington Counsel, we have decided to reinstitute our proceedings. Our next cause will be presented by Quo Warranto.

Owing to the fact that it takes a great deal od money to prosecute any cause before the courts and having gone through

this before, I am complete out of finance. For this reason, I am asking all of my well wishers to contribute to my cause to the end that this discriminatory practice may be done away with in this circuit for all times. It simply means this; if I am unsuccessful and it does me no good, it will do some other Negro good. It will open to whoever might try a door which has been shut for more than 30 years. I firmly believe that whatever effort spent in fighting this cause will not be spent in vain.

Now, Dr. Johnson, will you go among your friends, explain my cause and request of them, should they be inclined to assist a small contribution? Whatever amount realized will be highly appreciated. I am in need of about $1,200.00

Thanking you in advance for this consideration,

GER:VG

Very truly yours,

George Elmer Rose

Legal Practice
Negro

OFFICE OF

NOTARY
VETERANS' CLAIMS
PENSION CLAIMS
INDIAN CLAIMS
LEGAL CLAIMS
LEGAL PAPERS
INCOME TAXES

George Elmer Ross
~~[illegible]~~ STREET
AUGUSTA, GEORGIA
1209½ Ninth
TELEPHONE 2-4767
Ofc. 2-6712

July 8,1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am in receipt this morning of your letter of the 6th Inst., and beg to state that I shall be in Atlanta on the 18th as was suggested by Msgr. McNamara for the purpose of conference on my case at 1.30 P.M. E.W.T.

Thanking you for this courtesy.

Very cordially yours,

George Elmer Ross

GER/VG

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

FOR THE

NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA

GEORGE ELMER ROSS AUGUSTA, RICHMOND COUNTY SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA VERSUS THE GEORGIA STATE BOARD OF BAR EXAMINERS, A BODY CORPORATE, COMPOSED OF JOHN M. SLATON, CHAIRMAN ATLANTA, FULTON COUNTY NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA; GRAHAM WRIGHT, SECRETARY ROME, FLOYD COUNTY NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA; AND ELIJAH W. MAYNARD, A MEMBER MACON, BIBB COUNTY MIDDLE DISTRICT OF GEORGIA IN THEIR OFFICIAL CAPACITY AS MEMBERS OF SAID GEORGIA STATE BOARD OF BAR EXAMINERS.	IN RE: TO VACATE, SET ASIDE AND DECLARE VOID AND OF NO EFFECT QUASI JUDICIAL JUDGEMENTS ENTERED OR ENROLLED ON THE GRADING OF THE BAR EXAMINATION PAPERS SUBMITTED BY PETITIONER UNDER DATES OF MAY 13, AND DECEMBER 16, 1942; FOR A RULE NISI, DIRECTED TO THESE RESPONDENTS TO SHOW CAUSE, IF THEY CAN, WHY PETITIONER IS NOT ENTITLED TO CERTIFICATION AS AN ATTORNEY-AT-LAW IN THE STATE OF GEORGIA AND A MEMBER OF THE GEORGIA BAR; FOR A RULE ABSOLUTE REQUIRING THE GEORGIA STATE BOARD OF BAR EXAMINERS(COMPOSED OF THESE RESPONDENTS) TO CERTIFY TO THE SUPERIOR COURTS OF GEORGIA UNDER THEIR OFFICIAL SEAL OF OFFICE THAT PETITIONER IS ENTITLED TO A LICENSE TO ENGAGE IN THE PRACTICE OF LAW IN THE STATE OF GEORGIA AS AN ATTORNEY-AT-LAW; AND A MEMBER OF THE GEORGIA BAR; AND FOR INJUNCTIVE RELIEF PENDING THIS SUIT.

TO THE HONORABLE MARVIN E. UNDERWOOD, AS JUDGE OF THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF THE UNITED STATES IN AND FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA, SITTING IN EQUITY.

Comes now the petitioner, George Elmer Ross, in propria persona, and by his undersigned attorneys, complaining of the Georgia State Board of Bar Examiners, alleges and shows to this Honorable Court, and for cause of action says:

1.

The petitioner is of African decent, a person of color, a Disabled World War Veteran, a citizen of the United States and resides in the City of Augusta, Richmond County, which City and County form a part of the Southern District of Georgia; and, in pursuance of Title 9, part 1 of the 1933 Georgia Code, which reads as follows, TO-WIT.:

9-109(4935) APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION TO THE BAR: CERTIFICATE AS TO MORAL CHARACTER.

Any person desiring to become a member of the bar shall make a written application to a judge of any superior court, accompanying the application with a certificate from two practicing members of the bar of this State as to his moral character, and those certifying to such character shall further state in said certificate that they have examined the applicant upon the various branches of the law and deem him qualified for admission to the practice of law. The certificate of character and qualification shall be sealed with the number assumed by the applicant, so that said name shall not be disclosed until after the grading of such examination, at all of the times hereinafter mentioned, namely, TO-WIT.: June 5, 1939; December 2, 1939; December 2, 1940; June 6, 1941; December 1, 1941; May 2, 1942; and December 7, 1942, was the only and still the only qualified Negro applicant seeking admission to the Georgia Bar by examination and to be licensed to engage in the practice of law in Georgia, with the view of opening and of maintaining law offices in the City of Augusta, Richmond County, which City and County form a part of the Augusta Judicial Circuit in Georgia.

The defendant, the Georgia State Board of Bar Examiners is a creature of the Acts of the General Assembly of Georgia, a body corporate, an administrative agency of the State, performing a quasi-judicial function for and on behalf of the State of Georgia, acting in its name, and appointed by the Justices of the Supreme Court of the State of Georgia to perform a purely governmental purpose not subject to review.

3.

The individual defendants, who compose said Board are now, and at all of the times material herein have been, members of the Georgia State Board of Bar Examiners, holding office by virtue of appointment by the Justices of the Supreme Court of Georgia as authorized by Title 9 paragraph 109, Georgia Code of 1933. That John M. Slaton, chairman of said Board, is a citizen residing in the City of Atlanta, Fulton County, Georgia, which City and County form a part of the Northern District of Georgia; Graham Wright, secretary of said Board, is a citizen residing in the City of Rome, Floyd County, Georgia, which City and County form a part of the Northern District of Georgia; and Elijah W. Maynard, a member of said Board, is a citizen residing in the City of Macon, Bibb County, Georgia, which City and County form a part of the Middle District of Georgia. The duties of these individual defendants as members of said Georgia State Board of Bar Examiners, were at all of the times mentioned herein, among other things, in fulfillment of their severally oath sworn to and subscribed to by them

First, To faithfully, carefully and impartially grade all of

the answers to examination questions(propounded by them) submitted by any and every qualified applicant or applicants who stand any and every such examination for admission to the Georgia Bar endeavoring to be licensed to engage in the practice of law in Georgia, and

Second, To return all and every such examination paper so graded by them to the judges of the respective superior courts, under whose supervision each and every applicant is so examined, so that said judges of said superior courts of Georgia shall have said examination paper to return, according to Rule 8 of the Supreme Court of Georgia, governing such examinations, Georgia Code of 1933, Title 9, part 123, which reads as follows, TO-WIT:

9-123.....DUTY OF JUDGES AFTER RECEIVING CERTIFICATE OF BOARD.-

The judge below, upon receiving a certificate, or certificates from said board, shall proceed to open the sealed envelopes left in his custody until he finds therein the number, or numbers, corresponding with that, or with those, appearing in such certificate, or certificates, and shall at once place again under seal all applications, etc., which he has removed from their covers and to which such certificate or certificates, do not relate, pursuing this course until all the applications presented to him shall have been disposed of in the following manner: the judge shall deliver to each applicant the certificate from the board of examiners referring to him by his number, and, together with the same, all papers therewith connected; and whenever a certificate is affirmative in character, shall also deliver to the applicant an order in the following form:
(emphasis supplied) (form omitted)

to each and every such applicant said examination papers together with the certificate from the board of bar exmminers, be said certificate affirmative or negative in character, which certificate shall certify every such applicant so examined by these defendants for a license to engage in the practice law in Georgia, who attain a grade of seventy(70%) per cent. or more thereon. All of the said individual defendants are sued in their representative capacity as

members of said Georgia State Board of Bar Examiners and not in their individual capacities.

4.

Further alleging, petitioner shows, that these defendants are by law charged with the duty of giving periodic examinations to all persons, lawfully qualified, to determine the eligibility of such persons for admission to the practice of law in the State of Georgia as licensed attorneys and counsellors-at-law; that the subjects of such examinations, the manner in which they are to be conducted, the methods of grading of such examinations, and the certification of the results thereof are prescribed by the laws of Georgia and/ or by the rules of the Supreme Court thereof; that certification by said defendantx board to the effect that such applicant has successfully completed such examination is a condition prerequisite to said admission to practice as an attorney and counsellor-at-law in the State of Georgia; and that in performing each and all of said acts, defendants are acting in a quasi-judicial capacity as agents and officers of the State of Georgia, and as an administrative board of said State performing a governmental function solely by virtue of the Constitution and laws of the State of Georgia.

5.

The petitioner is now, and has been, since the aforementioned dates, a qualified Negro applicant for admission to the practice of law as an attorney and counsellor-at-law, having properly and lawfully presented himself to the aforesaid defendants as a candidate for such admission to said practice as an attorney and coun-

sellor-at-law. That he has fully complied with all the requitements set forth by Article 1X, part 1, Chapter 9 of the Georgia Code prerequisite to such application. More particularily, petitioner, represents that he has fulfilled all the educational requirements, has submitted the necessary character references, made the necessary application for such admission to the presiding judge of the superior court of Richmond County, Georgia, paid the necessary fees, and in all other respects, had done any, all and every act or acts required of him to be done on each and every such date heretofore stated, in order to entitle him to take an examination for such admission to the practice of law as or has been required by the laws and Constitution of the State of Georgia or by the rules of the Supreme Court of said State. Further, petitioner says that on or about each of the dates aforementioned, he did take and successfully complete the examinations submitted to him by the defendants herein.

6.

That on each and every one of said examination dates aforesaid your petitioner believes, and therefor avers, that his grade upon the written examination exceeded the Passing Grade of 70 per cent. or more; that despite this fact the defendants failed and refused to certify petitioner to the superior court of Richmond County for admission to the bar as an attorney-at-law; that said failure and refusal was based solely upon the ground and for the reason that he is a Negro of African decent; that defendants have consistently and persistently refused to advise him of the grade he did make upon each and every of aforesaid examination dates;(copies of various letters from these defendants disclosing afore-

said consistent and persistent refusals concerning the grades he did make are here to the Court shown as Exhibits_____ _____respectively); that defendants pretend to have destroyed all of his examination papers so that a re-examination of the grades attained therein is rendered impossible; that said examination papers, being made under the authority of the rules of the Supreme Court and the laws of the State of Georgia, are the property of the State and that a destruction thereof, without authority from the State, deprives petitioner of a valuable right; that on one ocassion, to-wit.: the semi-annual examination held on December 16, 1942, defendants claimed on December 29, 1942, only thirteen days later, that petitioner's papers had already been destroyed, although petitioner had given defendants timely notice of his intention to appeal from the decision and ruling of defendant board, and to keep his examination papers solely for that purpose; that said notice was made by both petitioner in his own proper person and by the judge of the superior court of Richmond County;(Copy of aforesaid notice is here to the Court shown as Exhibit_____; petitioner further states that on the date of another examination, to-wit.: May 13, 1942, defendants, through their agents, wrongfully and illegally conducted a bar exmmination in which he was a contestant, in that they assisted all of the other contestants, all of whom are members of the white race, in preparing the answers to the questions and in permitting all contestants, except petitioner, if they so desired, to use more than the time allotted by the rules of the Supreme Court to answer the questions propounded,(a certified copy of testimony under oath given by Mrs. Catherine S. Wright, called on behalf of petitioner, who was one of the contestants during the May 13th examin-

ation, in Ex Parte Ross, #14595---196 Georgia, page 499, discloses this fact and is here to the Court shown as Exhibit_____); that on divers ocassions defendants certified numerous white applicants to the superior courts of the State for admission to practice as attorneys-at-law with grades lower than any grade obtained by himself, and lower than the minimum grade of 70 per cent. required by the rules of the Supreme Court of Georgia; that each and all of the above acts were done by the defendants with the intent and for the purpose of preventing petitioner from obtaining a license to practice in the State of Georgia solely because of his race and color, which was known by these defendants since 1939; and that each and all of said acts of the defendants, while acting as an administrative agency, exercising quasi-judicial powers, of the State of Georgia, constitute a denial to petitioner of the equal protection and due process of the laws guaranteed to him under the laws and under the Constitution of the State of Georgia, and under the laws and under the Constitution of the United States, particularly, Amendment XIV, Constitution of the United States.

7.

Petitioner further says that he has heretofore seasonably made complaint to the Courts of the State of Georgia for redress for the wrongs herein complained of; that in Ex Parte Ross, #14595, under date of September 9, 1943(reported in 196 Georgia page 499), and in Ex Parte Ross, #14766(reported in 197 Georgia page 257) under date of February 8, 1944, the Supreme Court of Georgia considered the matter herein set forth; the former a direct motion as at common law for admission to the practice of law and the latter a petition in mandamus, as was suggested by the said Supreme Court of Georgia.

Despite the Supreme Court's own suggestion, it ruled in opinion to which your petitioner must submit that mandamus would not lie to compel defendants to certify petitioner for admission to the bar of the State of Georgia; that on May 2, 1944 the said Supreme Court of Georgia denied petitioner's petition for a Special Rehearing Nunc Pro Tunc, and so the date of the final action in this matter is May 2, 1944; that unless this Honorable Court shall grant the prayers of this present petition, then petitioner is without a remedy for the grievous wrongs committed against him herein alleged and of which petitioner now stands ready, able and willing to make proof as to the truth whereof.

8.

That this Honorable Court has jurisdiction of the persons and of the subject matter,

(a) Because of continued careless, wilful, negligent and purposeful acts of discrimination, conspired, confederated and acquiesced in by officers acting under authority of the State of Georgia, all of which acts violate rights guaranteed under thelaws and Constitution of the United States, particularly Amendment XIV,

(b) Because of the enforcement of a non-discriminatory State statute in a discriminatory manner,

(c) Because of the denial of Due Process in Procedure and the denial of the Equal Protection of the laws as guaranteed to all citizens of the United States under the laws and under the Constitution of the United States.

9.

Inasmuch, therefore, as your petitioner has no adequate remedy in the Courts of Georgia for the grievances herein complained of,

and can have relief in this Honoarble Court,

WHEREFORE, petitioner prays,

1. That the quasi-judicial judgement entered and enrolled on the grading of the bar examination papers submitted by petitioner herein under dates of May 13, 1942 and December 16, 1942 may be vacated, set aside and declared null, void and of no effect.

2. That a rule nisi directed to these defendants to show cause, if they can, why petitioner is not entitled to certification to the superior court of Richmond County, Georgia, as an attorney-at-law and/or a counsellor-at-law an officer of the courts of Georgia and a member of the Georgia Bar.

3. That upon hearing the rule may be made absolute requiring these defendants to act in their representative capacity as members of the Georgia State Board of Bar Examiners, to certify George Elmer Ross, petitioner herein, to the superior court of Richmond County, Georgia, as an attorney-at-law and/or a counsellor-at-law, an officer of the courts of the State of Georgia and a member of the Georgia Bar.

4. That temporarily and pending this suit, an injunction may issue against the defendants named herein and against all persons who may be acting in their places and stead or through their instrumentality and all superior courts their clerks or deputies thereof, to restrain them from interfering with said George Elmer Ross in performing the duties evolving upon an attorney-at-law and/or counsellor-at-law in the State of Georgia.

5. That the defendants be required to answer all and singular the matters above stated.

6. That process may issue directed to the Georgia State Board of Bar Examiners, said members of said Georgia State Board of Bar Examiners being John M. Slaton, chairman, Atlanta, Fulton County, Georgia, Northern District of Georgia; Graham Wright, Secretary, Rome, Floyd County, Georgia, Northern District of Georgia; and, Elijah W. Maynard, a member, Macon, Bibb County, Georgia, Middle District of Georgia, defendants herein, thereby requiring them personally to appear on a certain day before the Court and then and there full, true, direct and perfect answer make to all and sing-

ular the premises, and further to perform and abide by such further order, direction or decree therefor, as to the Court shall seem meet.

7. That your petitioner have such further and other relief as the Court may deem proper and equitable.

And your petitioner will ever pray,

George Elmer Ross
IN PROPRIA PERSONA

OF COUNSEL

Leon A. Ransom
1512 Fairmont St N.W.
Washington D.C.

Thurgood Marshall
69 Fifth Ave
New York City

Clarence G. Smith
321-323 Security Bldg
Toledo, Ohio

Raymond Pace Alexander
18th + Chestnut Street
Philadelphia Pennsylvania

A. T. Walden
Herndon Bldg
Atlanta, Georgia

I. J. Henry
Herndon Bldg
Atlanta, Georgia

Rachel Pruden
Herndon Bldg
Atlanta, Georgia

will sign themselves

THE AUGUSTA CHRONICLE—THE SOUTH'S OLDEST NEWSPAPER—SATURDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 11, 1943

Appeal Rejected By Supreme Court

Decision of Franklin In Ross Case Upheld

The Georgia Supreme Court, Atlanta, has turned down an appeal by George Elmer Ross, Negro, in a case against the Georgia Board of Bar examiners which charged racial discrimination, according to dispatches from Atlanta yesterday.

The case originated in Augusta and was brought about when Ross claimed that the board refused to grant him a license to practice law in state courts.

The supreme court held in effect that proceedings originally brought by Ross in superior court here were improper.

Ross had requested the court here to issue him a license which he said had been denied him by the state board after six examinations.

Judge A. L. Franklin dismissed Ross' motion. The supreme court upheld the decision, ruling that courts are not authorized to issue licenses.

The opinion said no evidence had been offered to show that Ross had passed the examination with the required grade of 70 per cent.

Ross alleged in his petition that he had answered all questions but the state board advised him later his papers had been destroyed and grades were not made public.

Mrs. Harriett Turner

PHONES { RES 2-4767
OFFICE 2-6712

George Elmer Ross

1209½ Ninth Street

Augusta, Georgia.

SRC - Case Reports
Hawkinsville, Ga.

Confidential Report to Dr. Guy B. Johnson

SITUATION AT HAWKINSVILLE, GEORGIA

Following your conversation with Dr. Russell, I went to Hawkinsville, Georgia on March 16. 1946 This was a beautiful, clear, warm Saturday afternoon, and many people were moving about. The following information might provide some background for interpreting present and future happenings involving the two races at Hawkinsville.

The colored school has enrolled approximately 400 pupils for this academic year, 143 of whom are in the four high school grades. The school has a total of ten teachers, which, as is evident, is a pupil-teacher ratio of about 40 to 1. The attendance is poor at this time of the year because crops are being planted. The principal is a man whose age I guessed at 60. He has been principal of this school for three years, although he is a native of the community and owns considerable property.

The population of the town according to the 1940 Census is 3,000, of which 1,324 are Negroes. According to persons interviewed, the principal occupations of Negroes are agriculture, lumber, and domestic service. There are four Negro residential sections, Texas, Louisville, Devil Hill, and Dirty Spoon. The Texas community is the best; the Dirty Spoon, as its name implies, is a very undesirable area. It is situated on the northeast edge of Hawkinsville. It comprises one-third of a block of Negro businesses back of which there are about two blocks of small sub-standard dwellings which, according to the persons that I interviewed, constituted some years ago a district of open prostitution for both races. The third of a block of Negro business consists of a beer parlor, two or three cafes, a grocery store, a tailor shop, a barber shop, and an undertaking establishment. All of these are operated by Negroes but the grocery store. The Dirty Spoon is just one block from the main business street of the town.

On the police force, there are three officers. One, whose name is Bragg, has a legendary reputation although he is a comparatively young man according to reports. It is said that he beats and shoots Negroes at the slightest provocation. It was said that he had killed two and had run some out of town. Responsible citizens informed me that a Negro veteran had been taken off the bus while en route to Fitzgerald, 35 miles away, because he refused to move to the back of the bus. He had been beaten into insensibility by this officer in Hawkinsville and later thrown in jail. The next morning he received first aid at a barber shop run by a colored man named Smith. Then he was placed back on the bus and sent out of town. One person told me that the moral standards of the entire community were low. He said that the officers were tough on strange Negroes, that they had resolved to put returning Negro soldiers back in their places.

There was a large crowd of young Negroes milling about in this business section when I visited it. Many of them were drunk. They were playfully drunk, pushing each other about.

One block away I observed an officer standing at a filling station. He seemed to be thoroughly unaware of the situation.

The appearance of the crowd in the Dirty Spoon was typical of any community in which people are repressed and seek release on Saturday afternoon and Sunday by getting drunk and saying and doing the things to their friends that they would like to say and do to their employers on the work days of the week. Any person familiar with such a situation would recognize this at once. Now that the warm weather has come and more people will be moving about, this situation will become increasingly aggravated. It may create no trouble as long as it is confined to the Dirty Spoon. If a white person, however, were to go through this area at a time when it is congested, or if a Negro from this area were to get lost while drunk and go accidentally into the white area, it is possible that a

very tragic situation might develop.

This story is told which gives further light on the character of Officer Bragg. Not long ago it is said that white and Negro children going to school had some argument and an adolescent white girl said to a Negro girl, "Bragg is sick, but I am here." Officer Bragg's name is used to frighten little children and all Negroes.

I did not visit any white people for fear of putting them "on the spot." I did ask several colored people if they knew of white citizens in the community that they can go to in case of trouble and who might have sufficient moral courage to do something tangible about it. It must be recalled that in the recent difficulty in Columbia, Tennessee, one white minister was called but said that there was nothing he could do about it. If there were at least one influential white citizen who could be induced to form a local interracial committee, I feel that any trouble could be averted. There was a Rev. Mr. Grimes, the pastor of the white Methodist Episcopal Church, who was spoken of highly. There was also a Baptist minister, the Rev. E. V. Collins, who has their confidence. There is also a young white man who has just returned from the armed services. He is a Mr. R. H. Lawson. His father was Colonel H. F. Lawson and is now dead. It is said that he is strong and influential, and could be depended upon to take active steps in case of trouble.

This community, like many others, needs an interracial body that can be depended upon to take immediate action in case of community difficulties involving the two races. I feel quite certain that interracial disturbance may come to this community at any time. I am equally certain that it could be avoided if there are strong leaders of both races who could get together at once.

H. L. T.

SRC-Case Reports

COPY

FIRST METHODIST CHURCH

Edwin J. Grimes, Pastor
Hawkinsville, Georgia

March 13, 1946

Confidential

Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

My first impulse was to write you to send an investigator to Hawkinsville to get the facts in the racial situation here, but I am not sure that is the first move. It may be that you can tell us what we should do before you enter the matter with an investigation - it may be that under your guidance we can remedy the situation without outside interference.

Some two months ago I had occasion to visit the principal of the Negro school here, and we fell to talking about things. He felt he could trust me, it seems, and he began to tell me about happenings of a disturbing sort — of shooting of Negroes at the jail after arrest and before trial, of beatings at the hands of the police, of forcible entrance into homes without proper warrant and wanton destruction or removal of property. I had known nothing of it, and did not at the time see where I could do much about it. But as time has gone on, others have told me of such happenings and I have become convinced that one if not both the regular policemen of the community are sadists indulging in cruelty totally unwarranted by the behavior of their victims, and that while some white victims are known, for the most part it is the colored part of the population that has been victimized.

Last Saturday I saw a Negro soldier with his shirt bloody and his head bandaged (complete cap bandage) being put on a bus to go to Columbus (or so I was told). It seems (white version) that he was insistent in sitting in one of the front seats near the driver, that the driver asked the police here to remove him, that (one version) he drew a knife on the policeman, that the beating he got was richly deserved as he was obviously insolent and "out of his place." The version of a colored man who ministered to him is that he was in friendly conversation with a white soldier in the bus, that the bus driver interfered without provocation and promised him a report to the police, that he was taken unresisting from the bus, having been rendered defenseless by the use of a tear-gas cartridge fired at him, beaten over the head in the bus-station, and more severely beaten after removal to the jail, and that at the time he ministered to him the soldier was so weak and his head and face so bruised he could hardly talk at all and he did not press him for information. When I saw the soldier I remarked to a storekeeper near by, "It does seem to me the man could have been subdued without so terrible a beating." He answered, "Preacher, you just don't know these Negro soldiers. They go north, get airs, and it is the only way to keep them in their place, and make the others know

they had better stay in theirs."

It has been reported to me that the home of a restaurant keeper - a decent law abiding place - was invaded, his furniture wrecked, his clothing ripped to pieces, $700 in cash taken from him, and himself ordered out of town, with the threat, "If we ever find you in town again, we'll shoot first and ask questions afterwards." The man had never been in the hands of the law, so far as my informant knew, and was causing no trouble. The robbery was done by a policeman in uniform with a helper. The Negro left town, but after two days returned, was seen, but was gotten out of town again before the police caught him, and will stay away this time. Even his own mother does not know where he is, as an intensive search is being made to apprehend him, my informant believes in order to kill him and prevent an investigation of the robbery.

The Negro community lives in constant fear of just such lawless assaults at the hands of the officers of law, and the better class of them are leaving as rapidly as they can. One or two elements in the reports made to me would seem to indicate some sort of tie-up between a group of Negroes (informers) and the police against the others.

I have been here a little over a year, but have sensed an attitude on the part of the white population, especially in the Church, that has made me hesitate to consult with other white persons here. I have been afraid I might unwittingly expose my Negro friends to reprisal attacks for letting me know what is going on. It may be, and I hope there is, a large group of Christian public spirited people here who would rally to an effort to correct the flagrant interracial situation that exists. But I do not want to stir up bitterness and reprisal actions without some assurance that we can correct the situation.

Therefore, I am asking you to tell me what steps to take, and how to take them effectively without making bad matters worse. As the matter stands, I have no proof I could personally offer in court that would be admissible evidence that anything unlawful has transpired. But the commonly accepted reputation of the police officers, as reported to me by white men as well as Negro, and the evidence of that soldier's condition together with what I believe are credible statements by Negroes whose word I at least would trust as fully as any, lead me to think there is flagrant and almost daily injustice and criminal action being taken against the Negro population, or some parts of it.

There is in this no appeal for justice for persons legally arrested and handled by due process of law. It is an appeal against the arrest without warrant, and the entry of homes and removal of effects without legal process, and flagrant personal assault and threats to any person, be he law-abiding or obvious criminal.

I shall await your reply before taking any action or proceeding in any investigation on my own initiative, lest I inadvertently block proper action.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Edwin J. Grimes.

SPC-Case Reports
Columbus Incident

March 29, 1946

Mr. William Thomas
215 Fifth Street
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Mr. Thomas:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter of March 25 addressed to the Inspector General at Fort Benning. I had not heard of the Columbus incident until I received your letter, but I found a story in the Chicago Defender just after reading your letter.

It seems to have been an outrageous incident. Is the NAACP going to make any action? It seems to me that damage suits and charges of assault and battery could be brought against individual policemen. We shall be glad to help with legal expenses if some action is brought against the offenders.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

N.A.A.C.P
Columbus, Ga.

215 5th St.
Columbus, Ga.

March 25, 1946

RECEIVED
MAR 29 1946
Southern Regional Council

COPY

Inspector General
Fort Benning, Georgia

Dear Sir:

We are writing you with reference to the following incident which took place on March 18, 1946 at the Union Station, Columbus, Georgia at approximately 3:40 P.M.

About forty draftees after reaching Columbus, Georgia on the Number One Central of Georgia railroad, arriving at 3:40 P.M. were attacked and brutally beaten, by the city police who were heavily armed with machine guns, shot-guns and other weapons, under the eyes of the military police who stood by.

These police had been despatched to the station on orders from the conductor that these pre-inductees had "sauced" him. Negro MP's were stationed outside the train door. White MP's and city police invaded the train and immediately began their attack. The chief of police pulled off his coat and led the attack on the defenseless draftees.

The eye-witnesses looking through the windows could see the officers swinging blackjacks, raising knocked down individuals and beating them down again.

When the boys were finally taken from the car, blood was gushing from wounds inflicted by the police and their clothes drenched with blood.

Nine of the boys, seriously injured, were jailed. No charges were preferred against them and the following morning they were released to the military authorities.

According to the report it was stated that the car had been damaged, but immediate investigation revealed that no damage had been done, however, it was

found two days later that someone had entered the car and broken windows and cut the seats.

Committees have called on authorities at Fort Benning to ascertain the status of pre-inductees in order to decide who is responsible for their care en route to induction centers.

We are calling on you to exert all your influence in bringing about a speedy investigation of this matter.

Respectfully yours,

W. M. Thomas
President

Columbus Branch
N.A.A.C.P.

COPY

P. S. Copies are being sent to the following:

City Chamber of Commerce.
City Commissioners of Columbus, Ga.
Associated Press.
National Negro Press.
Dept. of Human Welfare.
Southern Regional Council.
Philip Randolph, President of Brotherhood of Pullman Porters.
Inspector General, Washington, D. C.
Attorney General

President of the Central of Georgia Railroad Company.
The White Ministers Alliance.
The Negro Ministers.
The N.A.A.C.P.

Commanding General of Fort Benning, Ga.

From Rev. S. F. Freeman, Jr.
Little Rock
4-8-46

Tee Davis case, Arkansas

My First Experience With the Arkansas Parole Board

What business has a busy minister before a State Parole Board when church administration is calling persistently at the point of need? Who gave him the right to go to a hearing specifically uninvited to plead for a colored man whom he did not know? A great Teacher many centuries ago contended for the second commandment like unto the first: "You must love your neighbor as you do yourself." Love of neighbor permitted this ~~permitted this~~ minister to allow himself to be re-elected President of the Little Rock Inter-racial Commission. Love of neighbor impelled him to appear alone at the last minute to a called session of the Arkansas Parole Board. Consider the story of Tee Davis, a Negro farmer as told by the Workers Defense League based on the official records of the State of Arkansas.

"Tee Davis is now serving a ten year sentence in an Arkansas Prison Camp for firing a shot-gun to frighten away an intruder who was breaking down the door of his home. When he asked who it was, a voice said, 'Weaver.' And when he asked what he wanted, through the splintering came the shout, 'Open the door, you God damn black son-of-a-bitch.' And so to protect his home and his family, Tee Davis aimed his shotgun at the bottom of the door and reluctantly pulled the grigger. Mr. Weaver, the white deputy, in his own words, testified that he never said he was an officer of the law..... Mr. Dixon, an officer, admitted that Davis was not wanted for anything, and that as soon as he said,'.....We are the law,' Davis immediately opened the door.....Weaver conceded that he had no search warrant, and that when Davis asked him two or three times who he was, he didn't answer.....Davis swore under oath that he didn't know why Weaver was breaking down the door, or what he wanted. All he knew was, '....that I hadn't done anything to anybody.'.....According to the law, Weaver definitely exceeded his rights. Arkansas law requires a search warrant. As a matter of fact, it even justified homicide if necessary to protect your home: But Tee Davis is a

Negro.....There is no question that Weaver was 'violent and riotous.' He refused to say who he was, and left Davis no alternative but to fire in self-defense.....Davis acted in 'good faith'. It was proved that he fired only to scare off the intruder---even at point blank range, Weaver was not hurt. But Davis is a Negro.....Investigation of this incident, showed that Davis had fired into the air to warn the incoming Negroes that they were being imported as strike-breakers. (This was in 1937, and Davis was a member of the S.T.F.U.) But the jury, being white planters and their friends were satisfied to overlook the circumstances. The previous governor also used this same reason for denying a pardon and continuing the unjust imprisonment of Tee Davis."

The above is the story which did not get a hearing before the Parole Board. An "investigator" had already made his report before citizens and an attorney were invited in. The Crittenden County sheriff and his deputy were already before the Board; and the prison camp official had made his report to the effect that Davis was not a good prisoner, not trustworthy. It seems he had opened mail when a mail carrier in the prison, and had thrown one letter away. Even before the hearing the press had reported that the governor and others were preparing an answer to be mailed to the hundreds across the country who were stimulated to write from the story of the Workers Defense League. Yes, the verdict of the board had been silently made before Attorney Williamson and the minister were invited in. The sheriff and his deputy called Davis a bad "Nigger", and stood against a very able plea for clemency, an Agricultural furlough, suggesting that the fact of outside legal council; and failure to establish motive for intent to kill justified reconsideration. It was the minister who came in the name of justice and mercy telling the story of the interest of Tee Davis to the Inter-racial Commission -- and how an able committee had after thorough

investigation sought to approach the governor with a view to persuading him to give a full pardon. Here he got the opportunity to admit before these men his kinship to that religious community which firmly believes that the Christian faith has a life-giving word in the economic, political, and social areas of daily living for the individual and all groups -- that this is our only hope for civilization.

Today the minister saw prejudice blind other-wise good and just men.. None of them were troubled about Tee Davis -- none of the Parole Board. They thought they were against a certain type of "politics". They felt they favored equal justice for all. Yes, prejudice blinds. It not only blinded a white sheriff and his deputy; but struck a deep sense of fear within. They evidently expect trouble, and much of it, in Crittenden County. They are afraid of Tee Davis and other insecure people whom he symbolizes. The Christian faith relieves blindness. It frees men. When will this world claim its high heritage of freedom?

SRC Case Rept. - Snipes Case

REPORT ON DEATH OF MARCUS SNIPES, JULY 20, 1946

AT BUTLER, GEORGIA.

(Aug 6, 1946)

The shooting occurred July 18 1946, day after election day in the late afternoon at the home of Marcus Snipes, ex-service man near Rupert, Ga.

He was the only Negro voting in his precinct.

Williamson, who shot him, was reared an orphan by a family of relatives, name Cooper. All of these relatives are strong Talmadgites and vote in the same precinct, living in the same community as Snipes.

The Negro had not had a job and gone to work since receiving a medical discharge.

Rev. C. L. Glenn, pastor of the Butler charge, knowing I was coming to make an investigation of this shooting, including both sides, had talked to people on the street, including MR. Harvey an eyewitness to the shooting.

As told to Rev. Glenn by Mr. Harvey-----

Mr Harvey is a sawmill man and hires negros as laborers. On Thursday afternoon July 18, 1946, Williamson asked Harvey if he would pay him $10.00 that Snipes owed him (Williamson) and hire Snipes to work it out. Harvey said that he had already lost $250.00 doing that but at Mr. Williamson's insistance got in Williamson's car and rode to Snipes house. Snipes and his Mother and an Aunt were eating supper. Williamson called to Snipes to come out. Snipes said "What do you want". Williamson said "Come on out here we can talk better". Snipes went out. Williamson got out of the car and asked him to pay him the $10.00. Snipes said he was not ready to pay. Williamson said "Mr. Harvey here will pay it for you and you can work it out for him". Snipes said "I dontvneed anybody to tend to my business I can do it myself". Williamson "When". Snipes-"When I get D-- ready" and pulled a knife and started toward Williamson Williamson drew a gun and Snipes ran dropping knife. Williamson fired twice and Harvey cranked up and drove off.
(Note--Williamson's car- Harvey driving)

Prof. George MCDougal, Negro undertaker and principal of colored school at Butler, story as told to Rev. and Mrs. Glenn and Mrs. A. A. Hardy. (This story told to McDougal by Snipes Mother)

Snipes, his Mother and Aunt were eating supper Thursday night July 18,1946. A car stopped in front of the house and a voice called "Come out here". Snipes went. After a few words a gun fired twice and Snipes ran in the house and fell in the floor. The car drove off. Mrs. Snipes ran to a white neighbors house nearly one half mile away to ask them to take Snipes to Doctor. Man was still in field but woman told Mrs. Snipes to get Marcus ready to go and her husband would come on over. Before woman could get her husband and he get car, Snipes had walked to their house. White man drove him to Dr. Montgomery's office.

Dr. Montgomery made examination and told Snipes that he had a bullet in intestines and he would have to operate and asked who would pay bill of $75.00. Snipes said he had some money in a bank. Dr. Momtgomery fixed check. Snipes signed it. Dr. Montgomery operated but Saturday morning Snipes died. He had two $10.00 bills in his pants pocket. Mrs. Snipes said she did not know her son had a knife and saw the one he allegedly started to use on Williamson at the inquest Snipes was a member of the Baptist church. Had no criminal record.

Inquest was duly held and verdict of justifiable homicide rendered and the case closed.

Mr. Cook, County coroner and Butler night policeman was interviewed by Rev and Mrs. Glenn and Mrs Hardy. see page 1.

Same story obtained as told by Harvey to Rev. Glenn with these exceptions..

Question--Was Williamson in car or on the ground?
Answer-- In car.
Q Where did he get the knife produced at inquest?
A Picked it up in Snipes yard.
Q Wasnt it strange he'd get out of car to pick up knife?
A Williamson said he picked it up when Snipes dropped it.
Q How many times did Williamson shoot?
A Gun had two shells, shot twice.
Q Did you or sheriff examine gun to see if it had more shell
A No.
Q You say Williamson did not know he hit Snipes?
A No. (Remember Williamson supposedly got out of car and picked up knife but did not know he hit Snipes.)
Q Did Williamson have license to carry gun?
A. He had it in pocket of car. (notice, evasion of ques.)
Q. When was sheriff notified?
A. After Snipes died.

Ques. Why would Snipes borrow money from Williamson, in first place? Were they good friends?
ans Don't know why.

North Georgia Conference
Woman's Society of Christian Service
MRS. ALVAH A. HARDY
SECRETARY OF
CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
AND LOCAL CHURCH ACTIVITIES

THOMASTON, GA.

Aug. 8, 1946.

My dear Dorothy

I hope this report is full enough. There are a number of things I will tell you about Mr Cook, the coroner, when I see you. They have nothing particularly to do with this case, but as an officer of the law, it is terrible.

The sheriff lives across the street from parsonage but we were not able to see him or the Dr. either. I was very anxious to go out to the comunity where the shooting occured but the Glenns did not think it wise because they thought all the white people were akin to MR. Williamson, who did the shooting, and Snipes mother and sister had gone to Macon. There were no Negro preachers to contact, and I dont think it would have been any different story. All told the same thing up to where the shooting occured, then the difference is about the knife; the friends of Snipes did not know he had it and it was produced at inquest by williamson.

Mr. Glenn is pastor on Butler Charge. Butler is a half Station. He serves four country churches also. Mrs. Glenn is President of wscs in Butler and DistrictC.S.R. sec. It is a shame for some people to have to do so much on so little. No wonder there are so many unchurched people/

I think I forgot to tell you why Mrs. Spivey didnt go. She said she was too busy todo another thing now.

North Georgia Conference
Woman's Society of Christian Service
MRS. ALVAH A. HARDY
SECRETARY OF
CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
AND LOCAL CHURCH ACTIVITIES

THOMASTON, GA.

Jerry and I plan to go to Paine. I have not heard from Mary so will plan to take it in myself.

I found my friend, Mrs. Worrill, very ill when I got home. I persauded her to have a Dr. and apparently she had had an attack of appendicitis and peritonitis hadbegun, so, believe me she has been a sick person. I have been nursing her at night and to-day she is much better. Iam glad for more reasons than one. To-night I have charge of the program and a m giving the Asembly Report for the Silvertown WSCS. To-morrow night I am to give the Commencment Address for the Negro Vacation Bible School. I am being so honored because I've been trying so long to get one. There are 80 children attending, and I am thrilled to death! Harvey is coming home for the weekend and Penny's cousin is paying us a visit.

I figure expenses for Butler trip 5.28, Eighty_four miles and $ I.50 for twolunches. Hope it is alright.

Much love,
Penelope.

6 - Card Rights - Case Reports (Croft - 1946)

STATEMENT OF ALBERT CRAFT, JR., AGE 12, ROUTE 4, BOX 76,
MT. OLIVE, MISSISSIPPI

I was out on the front steps when the truck came up Sunday night, August 18, 1946. Garfield, Maelene (Garfield's wife), W. O., Johnny, Luther Cooper, J. W. Cooper, were in the truck. They parked the truck just across the road from the house. Johnny and Garfield went in the house. Maelene got out of the truck and came over to the house and stood just outside. W.O. and the two Cooper boys stayed in the back of the truck. I walked on out to the truck. I was standing there listening to "Rube" (W.O.) talk to the Cooper boys. I don't remember what they were saying, but it wasn't about any trouble, guns or shooting. While we were standing there we saw the headlights of a car coming up the road. Johnny came to the door of the cabin and hollered to the boys in the truck to move it out of the road. Rube got out of the back of the truck and got in the driver's seat and moved the truck off the road toward the china trees. The Cooper boys stayed in the back. I walked off toward the house. I was on the bottom step in front of the house looking back toward the car that was coming up the road when the car came up. While the car was coming up Garfield called to his wife to come in the house and she did. The car drove a little past where the truck had been pulled off the road. The car stopped and some men jumped out. I couldn't see how many or who they were or what they looked like. Rube was standing beside the truck and the Cooper boys were still in the back. One of the men who jumped out of the car hollered halt and then they started shooting. They were flashing a light of some kind. I think it was a flashlight. The bullets were going into our house near where I was standing. They hit the side of the house and went through it. I thought they were shooting at me. I was scared. I ran around the house on the outside running past the chimney corner and ran out to the cotton patch back of the kitchen door. I passed the chimney corner just two feet or so from it and didn't see anyone there. I didn't look, but I think if there had been anyone in the chimney corner then I would have seen him. I went out to the cotton patch and lay down, hiding. After a little

while the shooting stopped and the car started up. I got up on my knees and watched. I could see the headlights of the car and I saw it drive on down the hill toward Mr. Harve Jack Sullivan's place. When the car got on down the road a piece it stopped and the shooting started again. The car was down between two hills when the second shooting started and they couldn't have been shooting at our house very well because the hill would have been in the way. I couldn't see the lights of the car while the second shooting was going on, because the lights were below the brow of the hill. But I could see the light flashing on the trees. I think I heard about 10 shots fired down in the hollow. Then the car turned and went back the way it came, but on another road which does not pass right by our house. When the car left I came back to the house and went in the kitchen door. When I came in all of them were in the house except the Cooper boys. The Cooper boys were standing out in the yard. Johnny and Garfield and Rube were all in the house. I didn't see any guns. They were all talking about who it was that had come there shooting like that. They didn't know who it was. In just a minute Mr. Harve come in and then Miss Myre and Jack came. Miss Myre is Mr. Harve's wife and Jack is his son. Mr. Harve came to the door and asked who was it came over here and did all that shooting. Johnny or Garfield, I don't remember which, said we didn't know who it was. While Mr. Harve and his folks were standing outside the house looking at the bullet holes, Mr. Oscar and Herbert came over. They also asked who was it did all that shooting and nobody knew. They all looked at the bullet holes. Nothing was said about anybody having shot back at the people who came in the car. Mr. Harve left first. Then the others left. About an hour after they left we saw the lights of a car up at Mr. Harve's house. The car had not passed our house, so it must have come from the other direction. We were all fixing to go to bed, but when we saw these car lights up at Mr. Harve's we thought it might be the same car coming back. We decided there was no use staying in the house and maybe getting killed, so we left the house and went out in the woods. We didn't all go together. Me and Garfield and Maelene and Exie and Mollie and Martha Mae went together. We were the first ones out.

First we went down in Miss Mollie Tillman's pasture. We lay down and stayed there awhile. That is, the others lay down. I just sat down and didn't try to go to sleep. We stayed in the pasture about an hour or two. Then the others thought they heard somebody talking and we left the pasture and went down to Mollie Tillman's corn field. We stayed there about an hour and again they thought they heard somebody. You know how you can hear anything when its dark and you're scared. We left the corn patch and went up to Miss Mollie's house. Miss Mollie is white. We went up on her porch and knocked. She was in bed. She didn't come to the door but talked to us through the window. We told her we wanted to stay at her place til morning. She told us to go out and sleep in the crib. She said she had heard all that shooting and wondered what it was. We went out to the crib and lay down. We had a quilt with us. I was still scared but I slept a little before morning. We stayed in the crib til morning. Then we went up to Miss Tillman's house. Garfield told me to go back to our house and see if Mama and them were there. I went back to the house by myself. Mama and them wer all there when I got there. Mama and Bill and L. T. Hubbard all went out to milk. L. T. hadn't been there the night before. When we got through milking I took the cows to Pasture. Then I went back to the house. Then Mama, my 17 year old brother R.C. and myself started toward Miss Tillman's house to get the others and bring them home. When we got to Miss Tillman's pasture, somebody started shooting at us. I ran back to our house. I ran in the house. I could see a car out front and Papa was in the car. There were white men standing by the car and some more white men up on the hill. Those at the car didn't pay any attention to me, but one of those on the hill shouted "Shoot that on that's in the house". There was nobody in the house but me. I ran out the back door and the men on the hill all started shooting at me. I ran over in the other cotton patch. I jumped over some cotton and fell. They must have thought they hit me because they stopped shooting. A man came over and got me. I think he was Mr. Hawkins. He asked me was I toting ammunition to the rest of the boys. I told him no. He asked me did I see any of them. I told him no. Then he took me over to where some white men were in the field. I do not know who

they were. One of them looked like a highway patrolman. They asked me how fast was I running. I told them I didn't run very fast. Sheriff Hawkins brought me on to the house, our house. When we got there, W.O. was there at the house with some white men who had caught him. They put W. O. and me in the back seat of a car. The man I think was Sheriff Hawkins and another white man were in the back seat with us. There were two more white men in the front seat. They drove toward Magee. As we rode toward Magee, the two white men in the back seat with us kept asking W. O. questions and hitting him. Both of them were hitting him with leather things on a handle. They were hitting him in the head. I don't know why they were hitting him. W. O. Wasn't talking sassy and he wasn't trying to get away. When we got to the Magee jail W. O. was bleeding from a place on his forehead. The blood was running down over his face. They locked us up in the Magee jail. We stayed there till sundown. Then some highway patrolmen put us in a patrol car and drove us to Jackson and put us in jail in Jackson. W.O. wasn't with us. I was in the back with three Cooper boys. I stayed in the jail in Jackson til Friday August 30th about 3:00 or 4:00 in the afternoon. My Daddy came with two white men and got me out. One of the white men was named Wyndham. I don't know the other. They drove us back down to Mt. Moriah in Roy McClung's car. Roy McClung was driving. The two white men didn't say anything to me on the way down. They drove us to T. J's. house. That is all I know about it.

Signed:_____

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI
COUNTY OF HINDS

Personally appeared before me the undersigned authority in and for the jurisdiction aforesaid, the within named Albert Craft Jr., who, first being by me duly sworn, and on oath states that all of the statements in the foregoing are true and correct as therein setforth.

_____

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED Before me this the 4th day of September, 1946.

_____
Notary Public

STATEMENT OF T. J. CRAFT, TAKEN SEPTEMBER 4th, 1946, ROUTE 4, BOX 22, MT. OLIVE, MISSISSIPPI

Mr. Ferral McAlpin, Brodus Sullivan, Drummond McAlpin, papa, and the two other men whose names I don't know left my house about 12:30 P.M. Monday August 19, 1946. Shortly after they left Mr. Red Mangum, and Mr. Bruce S ullivan came up to my house and they both asked me if I knew where my brothers were and also said that if I did know I'd better tell them so they could take them some place where the mob wouldn't get them. I told them that I did not know where my brothers were. Mr. Mangum said that the mob was going to kill every one of the boys they found. Then I asked him if they would kill me too and he said no, "Because you were not over there". Then Mr. Red and Mr. Bruce left. Shortly after they left my wife (Caroline) my sisters (Martha May, Exie May, Mollie May and Mary Ruth) and Garfields wife (Maelene) and I went to Frank Logans house. I stayed there Monday night. Tuesday morning I went back to my house and fed my hogs and chickens and went back to Frank Logans house and stayed there until late Tuesday afternoon when I left and went John McLaurins house, who is my wife's father, and stayed there Tuesday night.

Wednesday morning, August 21st, I left the McLaurin house and started to my own house to do the chores when Officer Hopkins of the highway patrol, Ferral McAlpin, Drummond McAlpin, and one other man whose name I don't know drove up and called me to the car. Officer Hopkins searched me without telling me why he was doing this. After searching me he told me to get into the car that we were going to my house to get the gun Johnny gave me. I told him there wasn't any gun at the house. Then Mr. Ferral McAlpin accused me of having the gun at the house and I told him the same thing. Then Officer Hopkins said that Johnny had told them the gun was in a box in the water-mellon patch, then I told them that Johnny had told me where the gun was on Monday afternoon and to move it. I then told them I had moved the gun and taken it to Fred Williams house. Then we went to Williams house and got the gun, after getting the gun we went into the woods and got Fred Williams and then they took us to the jail at Magee.

When I moved the gun from the watermelon patch to Fred Williams, I removed the clip and at this time I looked down the bore and saw that it was rusty and full of dirt and didn't look as though it had been fired for some time.

Signed:_____

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI
COUNTY OF HINDS

Personally appeared before me the undersigned authority in and for the jurisdiction aforesaid, the within named T. J. Craft, who, first being by me duly sworn, and on oath states that all of the statements in the foregoing are true and correct as therein setforth.

_____

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED before me this the 4th day of September, 1946.

_____
Notary Public

Interview with

Will Eaton, Sanatorium, Miss., Aug. 20, 1946.

Will Eaton is an uncle of Albert Craft and half-brother of Alec Craft. He lives in Sanatorium, Miss., right behind the Thames store. He has worked at the tuberculosis sanatorium for 29 years.

Will Eaton has no direct knowledge of the facts of the case. He confirmed previous reports on the character and reputation of McAlpin and his habit of jumping on Negroes, especially veterans, with little or no provocation. He is familiar with the incident of the veteran that McAlpin shot. He said the veteran's name was Homer Kemp and that the shooting took place "about six weeks ago". However, he had not heard that McAlpin threatened to kill Kemp if he returned to Magee.

He said the McAlpin involved was "Fal" McAlpin (this is the way he pronounced it, but it is possible the name is Farrell) and that he is the brother of the McAlpin who runs a store in Magee. "Fal" McAlpin is a farmer and has been serving recently as a special deputy. McAlpin became a deputy after he had acquired his reputation for intimidating Negroes by his activities as a private citizen.

Interview with

Rev. A. R. Patterson, Magee, Miss., Aug. 19, 1946.

Rev. Patterson is a Negro Baptist minister in Magee. His church and his home are on U. S. highway 49 about a mile north of the city, near the corporation limits. He looks to be about 60 years old.

Rev. Patterson stated that he knows the Craft family well, that they and their children are well thought of in the community, that, so far as he knew, neither Johnny Craft nor his brothers had ever been in any trouble before.

Rev. Patterson stated that he had no personal knowledge of the incidents. He said he was at Mendenhall for a revival on Sunday and, until he returned to Magee about Monday noon (Aug. 19) he had not known that any trouble was going on. However, he was in town in Magee most of Monday afternoon and heard many reports and rumors regarding it.

He was standing near the City Hall in Magee early on Monday afternoon when two Negro prisoners were brought in. One was a young boy who appeared to be unhurt. The other was an older boy who seemed to have been badly beaten and was bleeding profusely about the head and face.

He told me that late Monday afternoon the two young sons of a fellow minister, whose name he did not give, had left town and started home. They had been stopped by a group of armed whites, who appeared to be civilians, who held a gun on them and searched them for weapons. When no weapons were found, they were allowed to proceed unharmed.

Rev. Patterson stated that the atmosphere in the community was so tense that, though he had been known and respected there all his life, he was afraid to venture out after dark.

He gave me the following account as the story he picked up from Negro friends around the community on the origin of the trouble. That a man named McAlpin had had a fight with Johnny Craft in Magee Saturday night. He did not know what the fight was about, but stated that McAlpin was notorious in the community for his bullying of Negroes, had beaten up many and shot one. The story was that McAlpin had slapped Craft in the face two or three times. Craft had not hit him back but had said something sassy to him. Craft had walked away across the railroad track, but, a few minutes later had come back and tried to get McAlpin to go with him, apparently intending a man-to-man fist fight in some isolated spot. McAlpin had refused and Craft had gone off by himself again. On Sunday afternoon, McAlpin and a few white friends had tried to catch Craft on his way from church to give him a whipping. Craft had fired one shot at them, hitting no one, and had gotten away. Rev. Patterson told me this story reluctantly and appeared to be holding part of the story back. He emphasized that he could not personally vouch for its accuracy.

Interview with

Rachel Craft, Mt. Olive, Miss., Rt. 4, Aug. 22, 1946

Rachel Craft is the wife of Albert Craft, Sr. and the mother of the principle defendants. The Crafts are tenant farmers on what is still known as the Jack Sullivan place, though Jack Sullivan is now dead. The farm is now operated by Harve Jack Sullivan, the white man arrested in the case and released on $1,000 bond. The Craft family has been on the place since Jack Sullivan's time years ago. They were originally sharecroppers, but are now cash renters. Albert Craft, Sr. owns his own team of mules. The Craft family regard Harve Jack Sullivan as their friend and protector.

The Crafts have seven sons and three daughters. Mrs. Craft, the youngest son (age 7), and the three daughters are now staying with Mrs. Craft's sister, Mrs. Bryant McNair, in Mt. Moriah. Albert Craft, Sr. is in the Smith County jail in Raleigh and the six oldest sons are in Hinds County jail in Jackson.

Mrs. Craft says she did not know that her son Johnny had had a brush with McAlpin on Saturday night, nor did she know he had had any trouble on Highway 20 on Sunday afternoon. About 8:30 or 9:00 Sunday night, she and her husband, her three daughters, Johnny, Garfield, and Garfield's wife were in the house. It was quite dark, the moon having not yet risen. A car drove up outside and flashed a spotlight on the house. She heard a voice shout halt and then heard the sound of firing. She says the bullets were co ming into the house and that they were rifle bullets, not shotgun pellets. She and her daughters fell to the floor and tried to get under beds or behind other shelter. Johnny said it would be bad for them all to get killed in here and picked up his gun and went out the back door. She says no shots were fired from inside the house. She says some 12 or 13 shots had been fired outside before Johnny went out. She heard other shots fired after he went out. She says Harve Jack came over while the shooting was going on and fired at the "deputies". It was after Harve Jack fired that they retreated and she believes it was his shots which drove them away. After they went away Harve Jack told her he had come over to see what the trouble was and had fired at the men because he thought it was a bunch of hoodlums from the Hollow molesting his tenants.

Mrs. Craft says her home is in Smith county about three-quarters of a mile east of the Simpson County line.

Mrs. Craft says the men in the car gave no indication that they were officers nor for what purpose they had come.

Interview with

Rev. Logan, Magee, Miss., Aug. 20, 1946.

I was introduced to Rev. Logan by Rev. Patterson, who is a close personal friend.

Rev. Logan stated that he had, very cautiously and quietly, been making his own investigation of the incident. He said he had been doing this with the intention of later going to Jackson, or perhaps to some larger city, to try to get help for the men who had been arrested.

He told independently (unless Patterson had previously gotten it from him) the same story as Patterson about the incident Saturday night. He also mentioned the man McAlpin had shot some months ago. He could not remember his name, but said he was a veteran. He said the man had not been expected to live, but had recovered in a hospital. He said McAlpin had publicly stated that, if that man came back to Magee, he would kill him. He said the man had never been back.

Rev. Logan said that some time Saturday night, an hour or two after the fight in town, McAlpin and one other white man had caught up with Johnny Craft on the highway and had some kind of an argument with him, trying to pick a fight, but Craft got away.

He said that on Sunday afternoon, McAlpin and three or four other white men drove in a car out to Wade Canaday's store. This store he said is near where the side road to the church comes out on Highway 20. The men had hid behind the store and waited for Johnny to pass there on his way from church. Johnny came by in the truck, with several of his brothers and one friend. As the truck approached, one of the men stepped out from behind the store and flagged it. The others remained hidden. When the truck stopped, they jumped out from behind the store and tried to grab Johnny and drag him bodily from the truck. Johnny grabbed his gun and fired one hasty shot which hit nothing. However the white men fell back momentarily when the shot was fired and the truck started up and got away.

Rev. Logan stated he was not a participant or eye-witness in any of this. He said the source of his information was Jimmy Williamson, a friend of Johnny Craft's, who was with Johnny in town Saturday night and was in the truck when it was stopped at Wade Canaday's store. He said Jimmy Williamson was also a veteran. He said Williamson was not present when the shots were fired at the Craft cabin.

Rev. Logan begged me to try to get the Dept. of Justice to do something about McAlpin's repeated maltreatment of Negroes. He said if McAlpin kept on some colored man would eventually kill him and this might start a race riot in which many innocent persons who knew nothing about it might get killed.

PO Box 205

Civil Rept

February 19, 1947

Mrs. Aretha Brown
Summertown, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Brown:

Dr. Trigg and I have been working on your problem. It is my fault that this letter is so long in reaching you, but we have lately had much more than we can do.

I have gone over the matter with the Veterans Administration here in Atlanta but it looks as if there is not much that they can do about it. There are a couple of other things that we can try to do. They may take some time but we will keep trying. We want you to know that we are going to do all we possibly can to help you.

Sincerely yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:r

Emanuel County
10 sec. North of
Swainsboro, which is
County seat. nearly
100 miles N.W. of
Savannah.

Recd 2/18/47

Summertown, Ga.
P.O. Box 205
Feb 18. 1947

Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive director
Mr Trigg.
I have been looking to get a letter from you. but I have not as yet. I am still pending on you to do what you promist me when I was thair last. I am at a lost I dont know what to do untill I her from you, Please let me her from you at once, from Eretha Brown

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

SRC - Case Reports
Georgia
Brown

Brown

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

February 21, 1947

RECEIVED
FEB 24 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I have your letter of February 19, 1947, enclosing a statement of the facts known by you relative to the sale of certain property owned by George Brown of Emmanual County, Georgia.

The circumstances of the loss of this property as set out in your confidential memorandum will be given my most careful consideration to determine if there is any basis for Federal intervention in the matter. Thank you for bringing it to the Department's attention.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Turner L. Smith

Turner L. Smith, Chief
Civil Rights Section

Civil Rights

February 19, 1947

Mr. Turner L. Smith
Civil Rights Section
Room 2116
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Smith:

Enclosed is a memo concerning a case which has come to our attention. It possibly involves a question of civil rights, and I knew that you would like to have this information.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:r

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM ON A CASE
INVOLVING THE PROPERTY
RIGHTS OF GEORGE BROWN,
SWAINSBORO, GEORGIA.

--

This case concerns the sale of farm property, located in Emmanual County, Georgia, near Swainsboro, by a person who was very likely mentally incompetent.

The person who sold the property is George Brown, a Negro veteran of World War I, who owned farm property, including a house and other buildings and 136 acres of land, much of it in good timber. Our informant is Brown's wife, Mrs. Aretha Brown, whose present address is Box 205, Summertown, Georgia. Although the facts in this case may not be as our informant has stated them, it seems to us that there is undoubtedly enough basis to her story to warrant a careful investigation and a vigorous effort to protect whatever rights the Brown family has in the property.

Brown purchased the farm for $1500 some years ago when prices were low. Mrs. Brown says that he had kept up his payments regularly and owed about $700 when he sold the property.

Brown was gassed in France during World War I and had been in poor health for years. It is claimed that he would frequently become unbalanced and that at such times he was rather dangerous. His condition grew worse and he was sent to Tuskegee Veterans Hospital in April 1943. In August of the same year he was released, and in October, without his wife's knowledge, he signed over his farm to

a Mr. Bishop, a white man in Swainsboro. Mrs. Brown says that Mr. Bishop paid about $700 for the property. The property had increased greatly in value and the timber was in great demand.

Mrs. Brown consulted a lawyer, who told her that he was afraid that there was no way to undo the sale. Brown more or less went to pieces, drifting in and out, visiting with relatives in Chicago and Florida, and spending occasional periods in jail at Swainsboro. In July 1946 he went back to Tuskegee Hospital.

In the meantime, Mrs. Brown went to one lawyer after another. She gave bond and was allowed to occupy the farm house and one acre of land, but Mr. Bishop and his lawyers - Price & Spivey - took over the rest of the farm and sold a great deal of timber off of it. Among the attorneys who handled Mrs. Brown's case were Judge Harrington, Judge Hardeman, Mr. Jarrell, Mr. Woods, Williams & Smith, Mr. Osborne (of Dublin) and a Savannah lawyer. Altogether, she paid out approximately $1500 in lawyers' fees. Her last lawyer, Mr. Osborne, finally brought some kind of suit in October 1946.

This trial, according to Mrs. Brown, was a very informal affair which was held at night. She states that her attorney did not put up anybody to testify concerning the mental condition of her husband. The case went against her, costing her $355, and she was ordered to vacate the house within 30 days.

Mrs. Brown feels that none of the attorneys whom she retained made a real effort to undo the sale of the property on grounds of her husband's mental incompetence. She says that Col. Spivey and Mr. Bishop "run the county" and that no local lawyer wants to get into a real legal fight with them.

The Browns had two sons in World War II. One of them is now at home with his mother. Mrs. Brown and her sons feel that they were cheated out of a valuable piece of property and they are anxious to see someone get to the bottom of the affair.

We do not know the exact nature of the case which was tried in October 1946, whether any notice of appeal was given, or whether the time for entering an appeal has run out. As we have already said, there may be other facts in the case of which we are not aware. However, it seems to us that the question of George Brown's legal competence or incompetence is something on which expert medical evidence could be obtained and that the case warrants a careful investigation.

Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Guy B. Johnson
February 19, 1947

Civil Rights

February 19, 1947

Mr. C. L. Harper
N. A. A. C. P.
250 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Harper:

Enclosed is a memorandum concerning a case in Emmanual County, Georgia, which will be of interest to you. It was first brought to our attention several months ago and we tried to get some further information about it but were not successful. Just recently, Mrs. Brown visited us and gave some further information.

I have discussed this with the Veterans Administration and they think that it is something for the N.A.A.C.P. or the U. S. Department of Justice to handle. I am sending a copy of the memo to Mr. Turner L. Smith, Civil Rights Section, U. S. Department of Justice.

Mrs. Brown is anxious to do what she can to annul the sale and recover the property. If you can help her in any way, I hope you will get in touch with her at P.O. Box 205, Summertown, Georgia.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:r

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM ON A CASE
INVOLVING THE PROPERTY
RIGHTS OF GEORGE BROWN,
SWAINSBORO, GEORGIA.

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Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Guy B. Johnson
February 19, 1947

Yoy Bunn

October 11, 1946

Mrs. W. E. Vann
Swainsboro, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Vann:

Knowing your thoroughness, your lovliness, I am more than grateful that you are living at Swainsboro, for I have a job for you to do. Attached is a story that has come to me through the Southern Regional Council. It is a story that you as a Methodist Church woman can investigate and do something about.

You will see that suggestions are made to you as to what we feel can be done in the matter. I am sure you will do your best and I will await a letter from you. If it were not for the fact that I am tied up in a Committee tomorrow of the Jurisdiction Society, I would drive to Swainsboro and work with you on this proposition.

If there is any expense connected with you investigations, such as mileage on your car, etc., please let me know and I will see that you are reimbursed.

Sincerely grateful that Swainsboro happens to be your home and more than grateful that you are you in this emergency, I am

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M.E. Tilly

T:p
Enclosure

Memo from GUY B. JOHNSON

to 10-11-46

This case described to us by a friend who prefers to remain anonymous.

Through Mrs. Tilly this memo has been brought to the attention of a good Methodist friend of here, Mrs. Vann, at Swainsboro, Ga.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Southern Regional Council
October 11, 1946

MEMORANDUM ON THE CASE OF GEORGE BROWN, SWAINSBORO, GEORGIA

This case concerns a Negro veteran, George Brown, of Swainsboro, who was committed to Tuskegee Hospital as a mental case about May 12, 1943. In August of the same year he returned to Swainsboro, and on November 4, 1943, without his wife's knowledge he sold his farm to a Mr. Bishop, a white man in Swainsboro. It is alleged that Mr. Bishop paid $700 for the property, which includes 160 acres of land and a house. The point at issue is whether George Brown was mentally competent to enter into such a transaction.

Brown's wife has been trying to get the property back on the grounds that her husband was mentally incompetent when he sold it. Mrs. Brown has approached several lawyers who have accepted retainer fees and have decided not to press her case. She has now employed another lawyer, Mr. James Allsboro, of Dublin, Georgia, and he is supposed to represent her when the case comes up in court on Monday, October 14. The lawyers representing Mr. Bishop are Price and Spivey, of Swainsboro. According to our information, Mrs. Brown lives in the Summertown section in the northern part of the county. From the information we have it is not clear whether the case which comes up Monday is an action by Mrs. Brown to undo the sale of the property or an action by Mr. Bishop to clinch the sale and take possession of the property. In any case, however, the hearing on Monday will be very important.

We are afraid that there is a strong possibility that the attorney for the Negro woman will not press her case as vigorously as he might and that he might advise her it is not worth appealing if the decision is against him.

Of course the facts in this case may not be as our informant has stated them, but it seems to us that there is undoubtedly enough basis to the facts to warrant a careful investigation and a vigorous effort to protect whatever rights the Brown family has in the property. If it is true that the property was sold for only $700, this would seem almost on its face to indicate that the seller was not in his right mind.

Here are some things that might be done. First, the record showing the mental condition of George Brown at the time he was sent to Tuskegee Hospital should be investigated. It should be available at the Court House. If it shows that he was adjudged to be legally insane, then this point should certainly be brought out in the trial. Any other evidence indicating an abnormal mental condition at the time he sold the property would be important. If George Brown was examined by local physicians who certified that he was insane, their testimony would be very valuable. Second, it might be possible to get a statement of some sort from the Veterans' Hospital in Tuskegee, Alabama, concerning the mental condition of George Brown. Third, since it might take some time to look into these matters, it would be helpful to the Browns' case if the trial could be postponed. Fourth, it might help a little if the attorney for Mrs. Brown is aware of the fact that other people are interested to the extent of looking into the case carefully. Fifth, in case there is an adverse decision, the case should be appealed. If the present attorney is not interested in appealing, we believe that we can help to secure legal backing for an appeal.

Geo. Brown, of Sarrmentown, Ga.
Aretha Brown, wife P.O. Box 205
136 acres land.

Pd. $1500.
owed 700

~~Released from Judge Vet. Hosp.~~
Geo. Brown, Vet. W. War I.
Passed in France.

Her lawyer at first was
Judge Hardaway of Louisville
he dropped out &
Geo. Osborne, of Dublin, represented
Mrs. Brown at brief trial in Oct (15 or 16?)

B. went to Hosp. Apr. in 1943
Released, Aug. -'43

Sold place - Oct. '43. Then went to Chicago & Fla. In & out of jail. Was dangerous at times.
to white man, Bishop
Back to Hosp. July 1946

Mrs. Brown gave bond & stayed on place 30 days ~~until~~ after trial in Oct. 1946, (she was allowed to occupy house & 1 acre land. Buyers cut timber, etc.)

Mrs. Brown paid lawyer, Savannah $50
after trial lost, she paid $355
Osborne, Dublin, 100
Wms & Smith — 50
Judge Harrington — 130
" Hardaway — 200
~~Dublin~~ Jarrell — 175
Mr. Woods — 140

April 15, 1947

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mrs. M. E. Tilly

FROM: J. O. Slade

SUBJECT: DeKalb County Flogging, March 31, 1947.

The following information on the flogging of Aggie and Lottie Hendon was given by Mr. Fowlkes of the Atlanta Daily World. The last ~~interv~~ interview the informant had with the Decatur Chief of Police was on Friday, April 11.

"I have had many interviews with Chief Foster since the flogging in DeKalb County.

"The Chief suspects that a "real estate fight" is involved. There seems to be some ~~have~~ housing covenant agreement involved. Some of the people in the vicinity wanted the Negro victims to move, it seems.

"The Chief feels that the perpetrators were outsiders paid by somebody in the community to do the flogging, because the victims were well known and apparently well liked by a number of people. These outsiders probably, the Chief thinks, came from a nearby county. 'I personally knew them well and they were o.k.' the Chief stated.

"The Chief seems to be interested in the case but feels that even if they can find the perpetrators and place no more than a conspiracy charge against them this would be mighty weak in court."

NOTE: Mr. Fowlkes would like for you to call him later. (Tel. No. WA. 1459)

April 15, 1947

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mrs. M. E. Tilly

FROM: J. O. Slade

SUBJECT: DeKalb County Flogging, March 31, 1947.

The following information on the flogging of Aggie and Lottie Brandon was given by Mr. Fowlkes of the Atlanta Daily World. The last ~~interv~~ interview the informant had with the Decatur Chief of Police was on Friday, April 11.

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SBC - Case Reports
Camp Hill

RECEIVED
SEP 26 1947
Southern Regional Council

T. C.

c
o
p
y

P.O. Box #305
Tuskegee Institute,
Alabama

Honor J.H. Rogers, Mayor
Camp Hill,
Alabama

My dear Mr. Mayor:

I am writing you in the interest of the recent assault and murder cases in Camp Hill about which you know.

I am thinking of the good name and the honor of our little town where it has been my privilege to labor as a minister for eight years. I am advised that the man who murdered an innocent woman, a bystander who received the wild shot of reckless firing has been freed and allowed to go back among a peaceful society with the same disposition to kill and destroy, while his adversary, a man charged only with assault and intent to kill is lanquishing in jail, or perhaps now, out on bond due to the kindness of a friend.

I am far more interested and concerned with the welfare, honor and integrity of our city, than the conviction or freedom of the guilty and the innocent. But it just so happens that our city's welfare is involved in said freedom and convictions. I simply don't see how we as christian citizens can possibly escape our responsibility in this matter. How can we sit supinely by and see justice violated? In the language of the anncient prophet, Micah, "What doeth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, love mercy and to walk humbly with thou God." (Read) Micah 6:8 Can't something be done?

In the name of the Christian church of which we are all members, in the name of righteousness and peace which it is ours to sponsor and foster, let something be done. In the very name of our convictions and conciences with which we must live and constantly face, let something be done.

Finally, our people are afraid. They are intimidated, they don't know what may happen next. To calm their fears and to sustain their faith in their stronger white friends and neighbors let us do something about this matter. To make it hard for them to yield to their desires, to leave their homes and go to other areas where they feel

Will be larger freedom and protection, let us try to do something. To keep our own faith with ourselves and our profession of religion and righteousness, let us try to do something.

If there is anything which you feel I may do in this matter, please command me.

Very sincerely yours and His,

Charles W. Kelly

CHARLES W. KELLY

Ponder case
Talladega

November 24, '47

The Rev. Mr. R. F. Blackford
St. Peter's Church
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Mr. Blackford,

I am very grateful indeed for your letter of November 13. You did just what we hope persons interested in the Council will do.

It so happened that Mr. and Mrs. Tilly had business in Talladega last Wednesday, and they drove over. Mrs. Tilly talked with Mr. Beittel about the matter raised in your letter. It was only today that Mrs. Tilly and I had an opportunity to discuss the situation.

The conclusion she reached, I think, is that the situation was at points rather difficult, but that the town could be expected to handle it safely. Apparently there is no skipping of bail, and the young men were expected to be on hand for whtever action might follow the meeting of the Grand Jury today. The Ponders, I gather, are anxious to continue on such a course as will not alienate their trade. The fact of resistance to arrest certainly added to the difficulties, and the "outside" attitudes of one or more of the young men also made things tougher. I believe that the people at the College are themselves anxious to have the case handled locally, without interference from outside bodies, which would certainly be the wisest course provided it appears that justice is being done.

Mrs. Tilly tried to reach you during the day she was at Talladega, but concluded you must have been out of town. For which I am sorry.

Again, thank you for telling me of the trouble. And if we can take further action, please let me know.

Sincerely,

George S. MItchell
Executive Director

TRINITY CHURCH
ALPINE

ST. ANDREWS CHURCH
SYLACAUGA

ST. JAMES CHURCH
ALEXANDER CITY

ST. PETERS CHURCH
REV. R. F. BLACKFORD, RECTOR
TALLADEGA, ALA.

Nov 13th, 1947

My dear Dr Mitchell,

I little thought when I had the pleasure of meeting you that I would want to ask something of you so quickly. But there is a local situation that I do not like at all that I fear may develop into a most tense situation that might develop into bloodshed.

The natural reply that you should make to this is that we should see Dr Beitel, as the President of the Alabama Branch of the Southern Regional Conference. So I will state that I fear it is his action and that of his colleagues at the College that is causing the trouble. You may remember that I mentioned to you when I saw you at the Synod, that I felt the attitude at the College, Talladega College, with such an extreme sensitivity to hurts intended, or not intended had the makings of a lot of fiction for the future.

The situation is this. A couple of weeks ago Dr Stoudt, Professor of Religion and Morals at the College was in my office and mentioned that they were all very much upset about the Ponder Case at the College. As I had not heard of it I asked his side of it. He said that a few weeks ago four Negro boys had gone in to make a purchase at Mrs Ponder's Store. Three were in the back of the Store and one in the front. Suddenly Mrs Ponder saw that the one in the front, was handling some jewelry in the front of the store, while she was engaged waiting on the three in the back. She turned in a call for the police. The boy was arrested and resisted arrest. the other three were also arrested as accessories. Dr Stoudt said Dr Beitel had gone down to get the boys out of jail paying three hundred dollars bond. He now said that he was so anxious for Mrs Ponder to drop the case. as he felt that if she did not it would mean she would lose all of her Negro trade. He was also in my study yesterday and said that he thought

things were quieting down and that Mrs Ponder had about decided to drop the case, with the proviso that the main boy leave college, as they had found out that he had had trifling run ins with the police in New Youmk, before he came here.

The day after he first mentioned it to me I had gone to the police to get their idea of it. They told quite a different story. They said the four boys had witnesses to aver that they had waited until the store was almost deserted before going in. That the boy had put a number of things in his pocket, but when Mrs Ponder saw him he had put them back in the show case. They too told of the boy resisting arrest and cursing them.

Today I heard from another source Mr Ponder's story. It was that a Negro Doctor passing by had kept the boys from running out of the store.

Dr Stoudt told me the College was seething with excitement, and that Dr Beitel had told them not to call in the "Civil Liberties Union", and the "Society for the Protection of the Colored People" (I think that those are the proper names), until it came to the trial then to give it all the publicity possible.

I also heard today that Dr Beitel, within a half hour after the affair had occurred was on the streets collecting data for the defense of the boys. Also that the boy, or boys, I did not get straight which, had skipped out of town forfeiting bail.

Several people have advised Mrs Ponder, and Mr Ponder, to drop the case. I hope that they will do so. My reason, and that of many of these is to avoid racial friction. But his Pastor's advicec had been to drop it because of its effect on Mrs Ponder as the boy by his flight has practically confessed guilt. But Mr Ponder seems to be determined to push it

Where you have radicals on side of a question you are apt to have radicals on the other side also. Unfortunately this is decidedly so here in Talladega and I was told by a prominent citizen that they are much afraid that if the

College does as Dr Stoudt says it will, and brings in these radical organizations, that there will a decided disturbance. I understand that the grand jury meets about ~~February~~ December first. But it may be sooner I am hoping that the Ponder's will withdraw the charges. But from what I hear they are not going to do it.

Thus I am writing to ask if it would be possible for you to slip over here and see if anything can be done to calm the College. Especially Dr Beitel. He seems to me to be expecting so much ill treatment for his charges, that those under him reflect it. So far the White section of our population is not stirred up. But Civil Liberties Union etc is just a tiny bit less popular than the Nazi party is here. To bring it in, or even to mention it seems to make people red in the face.

I have been much worried over the situation and delayed this long, before writing to you, trying to think things through.

Very sincerely yours,

Randolph F. Blackford

Randolph F.Blackford

P.S.If you do come, as I hope you will My advice would be that it be as quietly as possible. But I do not suppose that it is necessary to say this to you.

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

TVQ:MWH:efr

72-20-14

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

file
Civil Rts
Case
Reports

April 20, 1948

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

This will acknowledge your recent letter to Mr. A. Abbot Rosen, Chief of the Civil Rights Section of the Department, concerning the Wrightsville, Georgia, Ku Klux Klan incident.

The Department is carefully and closely scrutinizing the activities of this organization in order to determine whether they violate any Federal law. Although I am sure you appreciate our difficulties, I want to assure you that, should it appear at any time that violations of Federal statutes are involved in the Klan's activities, appropriate action will be undertaken.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General

T. Vincent Quinn

T. VINCENT QUINN
Assistant Attorney General

Good Report - Case File

BIRMINGHAM REPORT

Based on Field Trip of June 21-22, 1948

Raid on Girl Scout Camp

On the night of June 10, 1948, a robed and hooded band estimated at 150, drove in 20 cars to Camp Pauline Bray Fletcher, located about 12 miles southeast of Bessemer, Alabama. Twelve of the men entered the tent of two white Girl Scout Instructors — Miss Katrine Nickel, of Birmingham, and Miss Elizabeth Ijams, of Knoxville, Tennessee — searched their belongings, and told them to vacate the camp within 24 hours. The two white women were conducting a leadership training course for 21 Negro women who are to serve as directors of Negro Girl Scout camps throughout the South. The camp was closed the following night.

Although the white women shared their meals with the Negro women, they were housed in tents approximately 100 years from the wooden barracks in which the Negro Women were housed. This was done, said Mrs. Paul Rittenhouse, National Girl Scout Director, "in accordance with Alabama statutes."

Local residents say that the Negro camp, which is supported by the Bessemer Community Chest, has long been resented in the community. As evidence of this, there has been great difficulty in getting local leaders for the Community Chest drive, because of the fact that some of the funds would be used to maintain the camp. White persons living near the camp resented it even more because of its location. Apparently bad feeling had been accumulating long before there was any interracial activity.

The mob action has been condemned by a number of groups in Birmingham, including the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Methodist Pastors Association, the Protestant Pastors Union, the Young Men's Business Club, and others. W. M. Beck speaker of Alabama's House of Representatives, condemned the action in a speech

to the VFW. Both major white newspapers — the News and the Age-Herald — have also urged a thorough investigation and prosecution of the participants.

The investigation so far has been quite unpromising. The FBI reportedly has declared that the case is outside its jurisdicition. Sheriff Holt A. McDowell and his Chief Deputy Clyde Morris are in charge of the investigation but do not appear to be very enthusiastic about it. [See Deputy's report, as printed in the Birmingham News, attached.] According to the Age-Herald, Sheriff McDowell has given "far more stress to the difficulty of obtaining evidence and in explaining how many laws there were that had not been violated than to emphasizing his disapproval of that kind of action and his determination to put a stop to it." Both McDowell and Morris are locally reputed to be members of the Klan.

Police Brutality

Since March 17, 1948, six or eight Negroes (the exact number is controversial) have been shot by Birmingham and Jefferson County law enforcement officers. The Coroner's verdict in each of the cases has been "justifiable homicide," although Negroes claim that there has not been an inquest in a single case. Negro leaders say that fear and intimidation is widespread in the colored community as a result, and that Negroes are justifiably afraid even to come near a policeman in Birmingham. To meet this situation, some 60 Negro civil organizations have formed the "Citizens Defense Committee," which has submitted a petitition to Gov. Folsom, Attorney General A. A. Carmichael, and other officials, urging full investigation of the six deaths and of police practices in general. The petitition also urged an inquiry into the bombing of Negro homes and blamed "the Ku Klux Klan and allied or similar organizations" for instigating violence. As in other Southern cities, it is commonly belived that many members of the Police Force are Klan members.

As of June 22, 1948, no official had responded to the petition of the Negro group. Commissioner of Public Safety Eugene "Bull" Conner is reported to have said that the petition was "straight Communist Party Line" and that, as one of the officials who received the petition, he did not intend to make any reply.

Much of the police brutality is believed to stem directly from the attitude of Conner, who is in charge of the police and fire departments of Jefferson County. According to informed persons who know Conner, he believes that the race issue and communism are sure vote-getters and bases his appeal for public support on them. Since Birmingham has a city-county government, there is a considerable rural vote, on which Conner relies heavily.

He recently told a delegation of churchwomen that (1) reports of police brutality are greatly exaggerated; (2) he has instructed his officers that it "is not their job to shoot people;" (3) he intends to enforce anti-segregation laws rigorously. When questioned about possible employment of Negro policemen, Conner declared that he had queried a number of cities using them and found that they "don't work out well." Of the cities questioned, he said, none actually advocated the employment of Negro policemen and two cities strongly condemned the practice. The chief complaint, said Conner, is that Negro policemen are not as effective with Negroes as white policemen. He further added that the only reason any Southern cities were using Negro officers was "to get the Negro vote."

Ku Klux Klan

The Klan was chartered in Alabama July 16, 1946, by the following people: R. S. Gulledge, Dr. E. P. Pruitt, and William H. Morris — all of Birmingham. Public statements have recently been made by Pruitt and Morris denying Klan activity. Excepting recent occurences, there has been little sign of an active Klan. But the idea that the Klan is trying to revitalize itself is supported

by the following classified advertisement run by the Klan in the Birmingham Age-Herald April 24- 26, 1948: "Wanted: White Protestant ministers for organizational work for God and Country." Pruitt denied that the Klan had anything to do with the Bessemer incident; William Morris denied an earlier incident and offered $100 for information about persons using Klan regalia without authority.

Abe Berkowitz, a local attorneyy of some reputation, has recently demanded of State Attorney General Carmichael that the Klan charter be revoked. The demand was widely publicized in the Birmingham papers, and there is some popular support for it. Carmichael — who aspires to the governorship and whose chief aim is to avoid alienating any large segment of voters — has been non-committal. Berkowitz says that if no official action is taken he will press for revocation of the Klan charter as a private citizen.

Ambulance Service

An unfortunate situation exists with respect to ambulance service in Birmingham. The city has no ambulance service of its own, but relies on contracts with the private ambulance companies — ten Negro and seven white. These companies take care of city calls on a daily rotation basis. The difficulty arises out of the fact that neither a white nor a Negro ambulance will pick up a member of the other race, no matter how serious the emergency. Since race is not specified in many of the calls, this obviously has serious consequences. Commissioner Conner was questioned about the set-up recently by a delegation of citizens. He stated that this practice was not prescribed by the city's segregation laws, but was the policy of the private companies. He further stated that the city can do nothing to alter the situation, since it cannot afford to establish an ambulance service of its own. (He said nothing about the possibility of requiring the companies, by contractual agreement, to

pick up anyone in an emergency.) It might be pointed out that the present system results in discrimination against Negroes; for whenever the race of the patient is unknown, a white ambulance is sent.

Race Relations

Relations between the races generally in Birmingham are very poor. Many white persons, who are, perhaps, not sympathetic to mob violence, a renot much interested in seeing conditions bettered in the Negro community. Some indication of this backwardness can be seen in a recent action by the city's Board of Education. The Board, in February, 1948, banned from the schools an issue of National Scholastic Week which urged better relations between whites and Negroes, in an article on Brotherhood Week. It is also significant that the Birmingham chapter of the National Council of Christians and Jews circulated a petition condemning the Bessemer incident but refused requests that a paragraph be included urging revocation of the Klan charter. The Executive Secretary of the NCCJ said the organization had already lost one prominent member because of the petition i in its present form and that any further statement on the "Negro question" would not be tolerated by the membership.

Owing to recent incidents and the political furore over the President's civil rights proposals, the situation appears to be one of unrest and uneasiness among both whites and Negroes. Some progressive Birminghamians express the opinion that the ordinary people of the city have had little part in creating these strained relations between the races; they maintain that bigoted officials have been largely responsible. In any case, fear, distrust, and resentment have been the results, whatever the cause.

Two interracial groups are currently being organized: the Interracial Council of the Protestant Pastors' Union and the Birmingham Urban League. Both are as yet in a formative stage, however, and are not likely to be able to do much in the near future.

FROM THE DESK OF

Alex Miller

7/15/48

TO George Mitchell

Attached will be of interest to you — I think —

Alex

RECEIVED
JUL 13 1948
Southern Regional Council

6-Civil Rights - Case Reports - (Mosely case)

Jewish Community Council of Detroit

803 Washington Boulevard Building

Detroit 26, Michigan

MEMORANDUM July 6, 1948

TO: Community Relations Council

FROM: Oscar Cohen

AEM

A few weeks ago there was every danger of a recurrence of race riots of the 1943 pattern in Detroit. The enclosed bulletin issued by the Michigan Committee on Civil Rights gives a partial account of what happened. I want to give you a few more details because you should be informed as to the background of the present tense situation which may yet erupt in violence.

On the day of the funeral of Leon Mosely, the Communist Party acting in conjunction with the Civil Rights Congress and Wallace Progressives endeavored to provoke a riot. The had first of all tried to secure the body of the boy for a march from the funeral home to the city hall. This action was forestalled. They issued inflamatory literature calling for vengenance, but more important, planned a demonstration and parade without even applying for a police permit, during the course of which every provocation to incite the police to violence was engaged in.

It was through the action of the Michigan Committee on Civil Rights that violence was averted and that evidence was given the Negro community that they could have confidence in the due process of law. It never has been more clearly demonstrated that it is a matter of fundamental and vital importance that community groups be banded together in a social action organization. The key organizations in the Michigan Committee on Civil Rights are the Detroit Council of Churches, Catholic Interracial Committee, Jewish Community Council, State CIO, UAW, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Americans for Democratic Action, and a number of other groups such as some AFL locals, individual unions, a few nationality groups, YWCA, etc. During the period of crisis representatives of these organizations were in constant contact and when necessary, upon an hour's notice, representatives of 10 to 20 organizations were on hand to meet with civic officials.

It is beyond question that certain civic officials wished to protect the police and to whitewash this case. If this had been permitted to happen serious repercussions would have ensued. It was gratifying and enlightening to note the impression made upon civic officials when faced by representatives of large and "respectable" organizations.

The action taken by civic officials was as follows:

1. The police did not interfere with the demonstration at the funeral of Leon Mosely and abided by instructions not to be provoked into violence under any circumstances.

2. The police reinvestigated the case after the first whitewashing report and the officers were suspended.

3. The police sent a request for a warrant for the arrest of the officers to the prosecuting attorney.

4. The prosecuting attorney called for an inquest. We protested this stati that the evidence was clear enough to call for warrants.

5. The coroner permitted us to submit a panel from which members of the jury were selected.

6. The jury brought in a verdict of unjustifiable homicide.

7. The prosecuting attorney issued a warrant for manslaughter for the officer who did the shooting.

8. We are now pressing for a warrant for one of the officers who apparently participated in the beating of the boy which preceded the shooting.

I thought you should have this background information in the event there are further repercussions. It should be noted that there has been remarkable teamwork throughout this incident between each of the organizations listed above and with the City of Detroit Interracial Committee.

O. C.

OC:ryk
Enc.

Bulletin

DETROIT CHAPTER

MICHIGAN COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

(formerly Michigan Council for Fair Employment Legislation)

HEADQUARTERS: 803 WASHINGTON BOULEVARD BUILDING, DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN, CHERRY 1657

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Honorary Chairman

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HELEN LOUNZIE
DR. JESSE A. McNEIL
EDWARD SWAN
HOBART TAYLOR
ELEANOR WOLF
MYRA WOLFGANG

June 24, 1948

Dear Co-Worker:

This is to advise you of action taken by our Detroit Chapter in connection with the shooting of a 15 year old Negro boy Leon Mosely by a police officer the night of June 4th.

We are convinced that the police officers involved exceeded their authority and the shooting and killing was entirely unwarranted. The officers involved state they were trying to apprehend this youth for speeding in a stolen car without lights and that he resisted arrest.

The boy's family requested the assistance of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Michigan Committee on Civil Rights offered full cooperation to the N.A.A.C.P. in working on this case and have worked jointly with them. Representatives of the N.A.A.C.P. took testimony from eye witnesses revealing that the boy was severely beaten by the officers and the shooting unwarranted.

Our first action was to arrange for representatives from M.C.C.R. to accompany Mr. Swan of N.A.A.C.P. to the editors of three Metropolitan dailies to lay before the editors the information we had obtained and to request complete coverage of the case.

On Friday morning, June 11th, we called an emergency meeting of representatives of cooperating organizations for the purpose of outlining strategy. Shortly before the meeting convened we received word that Police Commissioner Toy had returned to the city and would receive a delegation. A group of eighteen persons, representing sixteen community organizations, went immediately to Mr. Toy's office and requested:

1. That the officers involved be immediately suspended.

2. That warrants be issued for their arrest and trial in open court.

3. That police be instructed not to interfere with the mass

protest demonstration at the time of the funeral. This demonstration was sponsored by elements in the community whom we were convinced were trying to incite mob violence.

Mr. Toy in our presence assigned Sr. Inspector Lane to make a complete indopendent investigation of the case and return the report to Mr. Toy as speedily as possible. Mr. Toy also at that time ordered the officers relieved of duty pending the outcome of the investigation. Sr. Inspector Lane reported to Mr. Toy Saturday, June 12th, and the officers were suspended. The mass demonstration and protest parade at the funeral took place without interference by the police despite the fact that sponsors of the demonstration failed to comply with city ordinances for application and granting of permits for such activities.

Following the announcement by Prosecutor McNally that a coroner's inquest would be held, we organized another delegation to wait on Mr. McNally to protest this procedure. We took the position that a coroner's inquest was ineffective and previous cases involving police brutality referred to coroner's court had only resulted in a whitewash. It was pointed out to Mr. McNally and to Mr. Toy that community tension was very acute and community-police relationships were very precarious.

The interview with Mr. McNally was held June 15th. Four attorneys were with the delegation, all of whom urged Mr. McNally to issue warrants and cancel coroner's inquest. Mr. McNally stated his shoulders were broad and he would assume full responsibility for his decision to order the inquest and the request of the delegation for warrants for the officers was denied.

Our next step was a delegation to Dr. Lloyd K. Babcock, Coroner of Wayne County. At this interview we stated our objections to the hold of the Coroner's inquest and requested Dr. Babcock's consideration in the selection of a six man coroner's jury of lists that would be submitted by several of our cooperating organizations. Dr. Babcock agreed to consider these lists in his choice of jurors and two jurors were selected from the lists submitted.

Representatives from M.C.C.R. have attended all sessions of the inquest. We are now in process of devising legal strategy for necessary action following coroner's jury decision. We will keep you advised of further developments and necessary action. We are going to make every effort to secure justice in this case.

Sincerely,

Wm B Sperry

REV. WM. B. SPERRY
President

WBS:ryk

6- Civil Rights - Case Reports (Parson Jack)

SOUTHERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
12 1949
Southern Regional Council

COPY

April 12, 1949

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

You are familiar, of course, with the findings of the National Labor Relations Board which on March 26 ordered the Bibb Manufacturing Company of Macon, Ga., to desist from distributing 2000 copies weekly of Parson Jack Johnston's Trumpet. Attached please find a short document giving some background regarding Parson Jack. I think it extremely unfortunate that big business should subsidize a hate monger of the Johnston stripe. I thought big business had already learned that "you can't do business with Hitler."

The NLRB also found that the Bibb Company was responsible for the anti-union activities of Herman Lavender. Lavender has admitted being a cyclops of the Macon, Ga., KKK.

Any publicity you can give to these facts will be helpful.

Cordially,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:CD
encl.
cc: George Mitchell
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

WHO IS PARSON JACK?

Since 1937, E. G. "Parson Jack" Johnston has been peddling anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism, anti-unionism and almost every other kind of anti-ism from the pulpit of his Tabernacle in Columbus, Ga., and through the pages of his two publications, the Trumpet and the Tribune. Here is a short record of some of his activities:

Parson Jack and the Southern Baptist Convention

Parson Jack has been a consistent critic of the Southern Baptist Convention and its leaders, particularly the Rev. Louie D. Newton of Atlanta, Ga. For example, in the Tribune of August 22, 1946, in his column "Parson Jack's Personal Word" he writes: "I'll take on all the Stokes, McLemores, McGills, Newtons (Louie D.) for they are all members of the AAACP (American Association for the Advancement of the Colored People). All of these gentlemen may not have been to Russia lately but they should go and stay for they seem to like it very much." His paper is shot through with similar references to the Rev. Newton and the Southern Baptist Convention.

Parson Jack and Other Religious Denominations

Parson Jack has not confined his attacks to the Southern Baptist Convention but at one time or another has denounced the Federal Council, Churches of Christ, the Methodists, Presbyterians, the Catholics, the Jews and other groups.

Parson Jack and the Ku Klux Klan

On August 1, 1946, the Tribune published a strong defense of the KKK. "It is a well-known fact that there are four classes of people who oppose the Klan and they are the Jews, the Catholics, the Negroes and the whore-mongers. Now, if you put these four in a sack and shake them out, it would be hard to tell which would fall out first."

On October 24, 1947, Parson Jack declared to a reported from the Columbus Ledger that more than 100 persons have joined the Columbus chapter of the Ku Klux Klan of which "I am as much the head as anyone else." This is in contrast to a statement that he had made to the same reporter on August 15 of 1947 when he stated that he regarded the policies of the Columbians more to his liking than the KKK. Parson Jack liked the Columbians because "there is nothing secret about the organization and because they don't wear robes and they go about doing things normally."

On June 30, 1948, a new Klan splinter group, the Original Southern Klans, Inc., was granted a charter in Muscogee County Court, Columbus, Ga., by Judge T. Hicks Fort. Grand Dragon Samuel Green of the Association of Georgia Klans - when he heard about this new group called them "bolshevik Klans which pulled out because they couldn't run things themselves."

Dr. Green charged that Parson Jack Johnston was the guiding spirit behind this new organization. Dr. Green's statement has never been refuted.

Parson Jack and the Columbians

We all remember the meteoric rise of the Columbians, Inc., during the spring and summer of 1947. This was a small terroristic organization of fanatics who were determined to visit on the United States the same type of tyranny and dictatorship used by Hitler and the nazis in Germany, Mussolini and the fascists in Italy and Stalin and the communists in Russia. During the summer of 1947 Parson Jack Johnston through his newspapers acted as a spokesman for the Columbians, defending their principles, advocating their policies and praising their leaders. At the same time he used his paper to attack bitterly the Georgia State and Atlanta police who had arrested leaders of the Columbians while engaged in their terroristic and unlawful acts. Parson Jack only deserted the Columbians following the conviction of their leaders and their subsequent loss of funds.

Parson Jack and the National Patrick Henry Association

Parson Jack is a charter member of the National Patrick Henry Association of Columbus, Ga., and was so identified in a charter granted to that organization on January 12, 1948. It is a hate group and its president Mrs. J. W. Jenkins has maintained a close tie with people like Gerald L. K. Smith. The organization has been classified as violently anti-Semitic and anti-Negro. The stationery of the organization bears the fantastic slogan "Zionists are potential murderers. B'nai B'rith is reputedly their secret police." Other literature distributed by this organization advocates the immediate expulsion of all Jews. Hitler's ghost is still on the loose!

Parson Jack and the Hatelers

Over the years Parson Jack's sheets have carried the writings of Marilyn R. Allen of Salt Lake City and Pearl Bussy Phinney of New York. Both of these females have been prolific pamphleteers of the "hate 'em all" school. Parson Jack has also boosted in his columns such undercover organizations as J. B. Stoner's Anti-Jewish Party, Agnes Waters' strange Blue Star Mothers and Ed. Smythe's war veterans racket.

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JPS

6 - Civil Rights: (Case Reports)
(CIO & Alexander City, Ala)

RECEIVED
APR 21 1949
Southern Regional Council

CIO ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
Public Relations Department
79½ Poplar St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga.
April 20, 1949

For Immediate Release

ATLANTA. -- The Chief of Police and two members of the force of Alexander City, Alabama, were found guilty of unfair labor practices along with the Russell Manufacturing Company, the Roberta Mills, Incorporated, and the Bettie Francis Cotton Mills, all of that city, in a ruling by the National Labor Relations Board, signed by Chairman Paul Herzog, and Members John M. Houston and Abe Murdock.

Discussing the findings of the Board, Van A. Bittner, Director of CIO's Southern Organizing Campaign, declared:

"This is a most significant case, and it will go far in aiding the cause of the CIO and all organized labor in the South.

"In this instance, the chief of police and two officers were actually employees of an incorporated town. In the case of the police force of Porterdale, Georgia, the men involved were actually Bibb Manufacturing Company employees. Russell Mills, and its fellow defendants, went even further than Bibb for they were using a municipal police force as their tool against the Textile Workers Union of America-CIO."

It was in Alexander City that the National Labor Relations Board examiners were forced to fly the American Flag and post notices that the building was being used by the United States Government in order that the hearing could be held. Mayor Russell, who is also a vice president of the Russell Mills, refused the Board the use of the City Hall, and then made it impossible for other quarters to be rented to the Government.

The Board found:

(MORE)

1. The companies interfered with, restrained and coerced employees in their attempts to join or remain members of the Textile Workers Union of America-CIO;

2. Dominated and interfered with the organization and administration of The Committee;

3. Discharged four employees, demoted two others and refused to hire another because of their activities in the CIO union; and

4. Aided, abetted and approved physical assaults and threats of violence by their employees against the union organizers and other employees to discourage membership in the CIO union.

The companies were ordered to cease and desist in interference; rehire those discharged; promote those demoted; offer work to the one refused a job; and to pay for all financial losses suffered.

In the case of Police Chief Mack Horton, and policemen Alfred Lann and Alphonso Alford, the Board ordered:

"That the individuals cease and desist from interference and post notices in company plants and publish notices in a local newspaper that they will cease such illegal acts."

- - - - - - 30 - - - - - -

84 Am. Music
Smith, Kenneth C.

October 21, 1949

Mr. Kenneth C. Smith
203 East Duval Street
Live Oak, Florida

Dear Ken:

That was kind and right of you to write the other day. You will by this time have heard from Mrs. Tilly on how she handled it.

You ought to come along and join our Council. Here is something about it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gam/t

203 E. Duval St.
Live Oak, Florida.

Oct. 19, 1949.

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell;

A few days ago, I wrote Mr. Paul Maris asking your address and the name of your organization. Mr. Maris kindly responded and informed me that he had sent my letter on to you in Atlanta.

I do not know that you will be able to perform any service in connection with the situation here, but at the moment an unusual opportunity is presented for some fact finding in connection with racial injustices.

Usually, in the case of any police or court action here, the colored people can expect little justice. However, at the moment many white people have lost some of their intolerance. Of course an element of white people are still potential trouble makers in the present situation. The man allegedly guilty of raping an eight year old child is still in jail, and as long as he remains there, probably we will have no violence. However, if he is released under bond, we can expect real trouble.

If you can find it possible to drop by here within the next few days, or if you can send someone interested in these matters, I am sure that you will find an unusual opportunity to learn facts at least. Neither this incident nor many previous ones of gross injustice have been reported nor published in any form.

My interest in writing you is simply an effort to bring these matters to the attention of somone who may be able to help remedy a very bad situation.

Please let me know whether or not you can visit Live Oak.

Sincerely,
Kenneth C. Smith
Kenneth C Smith

RECEIVED
OCT 21 1949
Southern Regional Council

6 - Civil Rights: Case Reports (Live Oak, Fla.)

October 19, 1949

AIR MAIL

Mr. K. C. Smith
203 East Duval Street
Live Oak, Florida

Dear Mr. Smith:

Mr. Paul Maris has referred your communication to us at the Southern Regional Council office.

We called a connection we have in Florida and from him went a call to the Judge of the County Court of Suwannee County. We suppose, though, that the tension has abated as the days have passed and nothing has happened.

We would appreciate a full story of the incident.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

dt/t

George

Can you do something and at the same time respect Kenneth's desire for anonymity.

Paul.

203 E. Duval St.
Live Oak, Florida.

Oct. 13, 1949

Mr. Paul V. Maris
3166 18 St. N.
Arlington, Virginia.

Dear Mr. Maris:

Could you find out from anyone there the address of Dr. George S. Mitchell. I know that Dr. Mitchell is in Atlanta, Georgia, and that he is an official in some organization interested in the welfare of Negroes, and that the organization is interested in promoting good relations between the races.

Last Saturday, here, we had a terrible thing happen that is very likely to lead to serious trouble unless steps are taken immedeately. I would like to write Dr. Mitchell and request competent assistance if his organization has such a service.

As a result of a white man raping an eight year old colored child, there are threats and counter threats being made here. I'm afraid the feeling is reaching such a pitch that violence will result. If Dr. Mitchell could come here or send someone, perhaps the situation can be kept under control. We can expect no justice through local officialdom nor through local courts, and of course up to this point there seems to be no Federal jurisdiction.

I will appreciate it very much if you can send me the name of Dr. Mitchell's organization and the address, or if you know the organization and they have a Washington office, and I'm sure they do, ask such office to investigate this matter,

Whatever action is taken must be taken at once, and I am in no position to do much alone.

Sincerely

Kenneth

K.C. Smith

P.S. Any Actoin taken in this matter must be confidential, insofar as I am concerned, for the present.

6- Civil Rights — Case Reports

November 17, 1949

Mr. C. A. Gore
P. O. Box 312
Newnan, Georgia

Dear Albert:

That was most thoughtful and helpful of you to write me.

People from the Georgia Interracial Commission promptly called friends in Newnan. It is believed in the sheriff's office that the town of Newnan does not have a Klan, but that the cross-burning and so on represents individual and not organized action. The letter which the man received had an Alabama postmark.

There is no doubt that the man has been most unjustly dealt with, but we are told that he is now tolerably well fixed.

I also understand that the sheriff is making an honest investigation of the whole matter.

I don't know when I will be in Newnan, but when I am, I will come to see you and Mrs. Gore. And always come to see us when you are in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

P.O. Box 312
Newnan Ga.
Nov. 10 - 49

Dr. George S Mitchell
Atlanta Ga.

Dear Friend.

A thing hapened here which to me is a tradgety.

Some years ago a Negro bought some land at a public sale in the suburbs of town and built a home and moved in.

Later white people built around him and demanded that he move.

Some weeks ago he received a letter demanding that he move and it was signed K.K.K.

A week ago last night a fiery cross was burned in front of the house.

Last night the house and contents burned down.

He had a "For Sale" sign on the front of the place and had another house under construction and was within 10 days of completion and he was going to move soon as the new building would house his furniture.

He and his family had been staying elsewhere at night since the burning of the cross a week ago.

The poor man was doing his best to comply with the unjust demands and those who sought to wrong him took advantage of his fears of masked men and used the cover of darkness to to shield their unjust deed from the eyes the public including the owner

The skunks should have offered to buy the property at a fair value, it would have at least had more resemblance to the act of a gentleman.

My landlord told me the story and adds that nothing can be done about it.

If such things can happen and nothing can be done about it, Well it just means that all law and order is broken down and we are living ~~under~~ at the pleasure of an overall boss and his gang who are afraid to show their identity.

The above may be of interest to you in your work.

Hope you and your family are all in perfect health and happy.

We are O.K. I have a good job as foreman on a power house but we are laid off for a week.

Sincerally Yours

C. F. Gore

Over

Feb. 1132J

P.S. In case you are down this way and have a few minutes to spare, look us up. We live one mile South of town on U.S. 29 on the right at the Red Wigler Ranch owned by Mr. Sam Miller. Anyone in town knows him.

We have a furnished house rented from him right beside him.

The tel. no. on the other side is Mr. Millers number.

C.F.G.

Charge to the account of Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM	X	ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1206

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

Attorney-General Tom Clark
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

As a registered voter of Atlanta, Georgia I was denied right to vote in today's municipal election because of my color. Chairman of precinct 3, W. R. Owens, at ten o'clock this morning in front of attesting witness advised me that this was quote a white primary unquote stop He refused to look at voters registration list to ascertain whether or not my name was listed thereon; would not permit me to sign voter's declaration; and, would not give me a ballot. As this is the third time that I have been refused the chance to exercise my franchise rights in Georgia, I request the Attorney General to enforce such sanctions in this situation as are consonant with justice and the law.

Ira De A. Reid

SK C-Case Reports
Peg Gilbert

PEG GILBERT CASE

Henry ("Peg") Gilbert, Negro, landowner and resident of Troup County, Georgia, was arrested on May 20, 1947 by Harris County officers for allegedly harboring in Troup County a Negro, Gus Davidson, who had killed a white man--also in Troup County. Henry Gilbert was a respected citizen; he was chairman of the Board of Deacons and Treasurer of the Baptist Church; he was also worshipful Master of the Negro Masonic Lodge of the Community.

The sheriffof Troup County, hearing a rumor that Gilbert was hiding Davidson, investigated and found the rumor groundless. He even located the man who had started the rumor, who admitted he had no cause to start such a rumor.

Feeling was mounting in the community because the slayer had not been found. Some two weeks after the murder the men who wanted to capture Davidson decided to arrest Gilbert. At approximately 3 a.m. Tuesday morning, May 20th, Luke Sturdivant, on whose place Davidson's father, mother, brothers and sisters lived, called the sheriff of Troup County and told him that the Chief of Police of Harris County was at his store and had a warrant for Henry Gilbert, issued by a Justice of the Peace of Harris County, Georgia, accusing Gilbert of harboring a criminal, and that he wanted him--Sheriff Hillyer of Troup--to come and serve the warrant. (It should be noted that the crime was committed in Troup County, Ga., that Henry Gilbert lived in Troup County, and that he would have had to harbor Davidson in Troup County, that the Superior Court of Troup County had jurisdiction over the offense and the offenders.) Sheriff Hillyer served the warrant on Gilbert, and delivered him to the Chief of Police of Harris County. There is no record that Henry Gilbert was ever carried before a Committing Magistrate to determine whether probable cause existed for the warrant. Gilbert was first lodged in the Harris County jail at Hamilton, Ga., and then carried to Muskogee County, Ga., and confined in the jail at Columbus; later he was returned to Harris County jail. Four or five days after his arrest, Gilbert's family was notified that he had been killed while he was incarcerated

as a result of an alleged assault Gilbert made upon the Chief of Police who came to his cell. The pictures of Gilbert's body disclose that he had been severely beaten in the head and that the left sideof his chest had been crushed and he had been shot five times. His left leg was broken and he had been otherwise beaten. The undertaker who cared for the body said that Gilbert was evidently severely beaten before he was shot.

Two days prior to the arrest of Henry Gilbert, Lovett Davidson, father of Gus, was arrested by Harris County officers and placed in the Harris County jail. Immediately after his arrest his wife and two small ~~children~~ daughters were arrested and placed in he Harris County jail; an older son was arrested by Harris County officers and placed in the Muskogee County jail, where he is reported to have been severely beaten. Mrs. Davidson was released in a few days on a physician's orders, but the husband, son, and two little girls were incarcerated for at least a month. Some reports say that two teen-age sons of Davidson's were released with the Mother at the request of Sturdivant (on whose place the Davidson's lived) in order to milk his 100 cows. Evidence points almost conclusively to the fact that Lovett Davidson was in the Harris County jail at the time that Henry Gilbert was killed there.

May Gilbert, wife of Henry Gilbert, was arrested about three weeks after the murder of her husband, for allegedly helping to harbor Gus Davidson. The only evidence against her was produced by Lovett Davidson , who, obviously coached in what he should say, testitied that some four or five days prior to the gime ~~Gil~~ Henry Gilbert was arrested he had gone to the Gilbert's home and talked with Gus in the presence of May and Henry Gilbert. ~~Gilbe~~ Mrs. Gilbert and her daughters swore this was not so. At the time of Lovett Davidson's testimony he was in custody of Harris County officers, whom he knew had killed Henry Gilbert; in fact, they were standing within 10 feet of him while he was testifying. He also knew that other members of his family were in jail.

Luke Sturdivant (on whose place the Davidsons' lived) testified that he had told Sheriff Hillyer of Troup County that Gus Davidson was hiding at the Gilberts. Sheriff Hillyer testified that Lturdivant had never intimated such a thing to him, and that his investigation showed no evidence that Gus Davidson had been harbored by the Gilberts.

It is very apparent that after Gilbert was killed in jail it became necessary to produce some evidence to show that htere was some grounds for incarcerating Gilbert. On the basis of Davidson's testimony, the Committing Magistrate bound Mrs. Gilbert over to the grand jury.

COPY

Chattanooga, Tennessee
731½ Miss. Ave
Jan. 5, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Exec. Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I was upset when I got your Jan. 4 letter today stating that you had not heard from King Bryant's brother and could not find records of King's fingerprinting, etc..

The name is Bryant, however, instead of Bryan, so this may be the reason for the letter coming back unclaimed from W. J. Bryant, 1315 South Parkway, Chicago.

Your letter was a surprise too, because meantime, since you wrote me Oct. 15, these things have happened:

1) A Negro came to Chattanooga from the Council and talked with Bryant at the Brock Candy Co. calling first to see Miss Mary Blansit as I had suggested to you and as you had written Oct. 15 that "a discreet Negro" has been sent.
2) King Bryant talked with S. M. Smith in Atlanta, Monday, Nov. 22.
He also talked with T. H. Robinson, James Howard and Oscar Fuller.
3) W. J. Bryant, King's brother got a letter at the Chicago address: 1315 South Parkway, and met King in Atlanta at this time - He, W. J. Bryant, was in Atlanta about a week and while he was there brought two men of the Council, Howard and Fuller, to Chattanooga. These three spent the night, Friday night, Nov. 19, at King's house returned to Atlanta Saturday Morning, Nov. 20. They had told King that the Council would put up $300 if he would put up $100. He went to Atlanta Sat. night and on Mon. morning paid $100 to S. M. Smith at the Council Office and has a receipt for the $100 signed by Mr. Smith.
4) The lawyer, James Graves or James Grays (King is not sure of the name) to whom W. J. Bryant had paid the $1300 in two separate checks: $800 and $500, offered to settle for $800 cash. Mr. Smith advised King not to accept it so the lawyer promised to pay the full amount by Dec. 18..
5) King heard from Mr. Smith recently saying that he would let King know soon as to a day to come to Atlanta again.

When I got your letter I had Miss Blansit call King. She went for him, brought him to her house and I have talked to him just this evening to be sure I had all the facts straight. Besides these above listed

2) COPY

points, he told me these things about earlier developments:

1) King was in the Big Rock Jail on Decatur St. for approximately three weeks in Sept.
2) After the trial, he was sentenced for 20 years----- After a week though, his brother paid $800 which cut his term to 12 years and later paid ~~$500~~ $500 more and King was released.
3) The date of his arrest was Sept. 4.
4) King says that he was fingerprinted twice--- at the prison before and after the trial- and he signed both these fingerprint cards. They took his picture also. The Federal Penitentiary to which he was taken after the trial, he says, is out Highway 42 and is across the Street from the Chevrolet place (factory, I suppose).

After jotting down all these facts as King told them to me, I suggested that he write W. J., the brother in Chicago, to send him the cancelled checks as further evidence and also to be sure of the name of the lawyer to whom the $1300 was paid. I told King as I left that I would write to you immediately too. We felt that the name Bryan instead of Bryant is the cause of the apparent contradiction,

I was afraid when I first read your Jan. 4 letter, that all these other contacts King and W. J. had made were phonies.

Please let me hear from you as soon as you can. I particularly am interested in knowing if these names: S. M. Smith, T. H. Robinson and James Howard are bone fide members of the Council. King is sure, however, that 63 Auburn Ave --- "a office in a Church"--- is where he went to pay the $100.

I had a feeling in the beginning that the arrest and trial were a fake-- that some racket had framed up ----- so I am anxious to unravel the story and to unearth whatever illegal practice might be connected with it, as well as to help King get his money back-- if that is possible.
These three men: Mr. Howard, Mr. Robinson and Mr. Smith, led him to believe it would be done i.e. that the money would be returned to him.

Thank you. I really appreciate the work the Council is doing.

Sincerely,

Josephine Hamilton

P.S. The fingerprints were signed:
King Solomon Bryant

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
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HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 4, 1948

Mr. W. J. Bryan
1315 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Bryan:

A couple of weeks ago our Council received a communication which raised a question as to whether your brother, Mr. King Bryan, had not been dealt with unjustly by legal authorities in Atlanta.

We sent a discreet individual to Chattanooga and he interviewed your brother.

It had been implied to us that an inheritance had had to be used in order to release your brother from the Fulton County Jail, and that the whole charge against your brother might have been brought merely in order to obtain funds from him.

Our interviewer who talked with your brother in Chattanooga the other day reports that your brother said no inheritance was involved, but that it had been necessary for you to pay a lawyer here some sum around $1,300 to obtain his release.

We are at a loss to understand why, if the original incident of twenty-five years ago occurred at Unadilla, your brother was tried here in Atlanta, and why, if he was sentenced for a prison term here in Atlanta later, he was so convicted when he had been exonerated at Unadilla.

Our only interest in the matter is as a part of our general effort to

see that justice rules. So far as we can learn, your brother considers the whole case closed and has no interest in seeing it reopened.

As originally presented to us, the matter seemed to have implications of bribe-taking by law enforcement officers.

In order that we may have the truth on it, I would be most grateful for a letter from you setting out the facts. I assure you that the Council would take no steps in the matter without approval from you and your brother.

As to what the Southern Regional Council is, I enclose a leaflet. As to me, I refer you to Mr. Horace Cayton of Chicago, who has known me for years.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Southern Regional Council

THE Southern Regional Council was organized in February, 1944, to determine the facts about the many problems of the South and to mobilize the people of the South to solve those problems. It is a non-profit, non-denominational, non-political organization.

The Council is based firmly on the belief that the problems of the Southern Region may best be attacked by Southerners of both races who are willing to admit the South's shortcomings and join together in a cooperative effort to overcome them. There is no room for narrow sectionalism in such a program. The Council welcomes support and understanding from all sincere individuals and organizations, wherever they may be found.

The South as a whole lags far behind the rest of the nation in wealth, education, health, and political democracy. Yet the South has an abundance of land and people—enough to make it one of the most prosperous regions in the country. The Council is devoted to the task of closing up this gap between the actual and the potential South. If the roots of the social and economic evils that have burdened the South with poverty, ignorance, and prejudice can be exposed —and destroyed—not only will the South benefit, but the entire nation and the cause of democracy as well.

Of fundamental importance in achieving this goal is the enjoyment of full citizenship by all our people. The South cannot move far forward until all its people take part in the democratic process and share both the rights and responsibilities of productive members of society. Most Negroes and many impoverished white Southerners have not had this opportunity; the result has been an exploited and underdeveloped South. The Council has been a bi-racial organization from the start, and its staff is made up of people of both races. It has thus been able to draw on deep resources of interracial understanding in coping with the problems that are shared by white and Negro Southerners alike.

The Council is not exclusively a "race-relations" organization. It believes that it is a mistake to regard the problems of the South purely

in terms of race. Friction between the races can best be combated by bringing the entire population of the South abreast of modern standards in health, education, employment, farming, and culture. To work toward the goal of a higher standard of well-being for all the South's citizens is to work for equal opportunity for members of all races.

How Did the Southern Regional Council Start?

IN THE troubled days following World War I, race conflict and the lawlessness of terror organizations reached such proportions that the need for new techniques of restoring harmony could not be ignored. To meet this need, interracial committees were formed in cities and towns throughout the South. It was found that by bringing together influential members of both races grievances could be aired, mutual problems discussed, and a meeting of minds effected. This method had such beneficial results that interracial committees became an established part of the life of the South in the early 'twenties. Their influence became Southwide through the formation of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a central organization with headquarters in Atlanta.

The Commission helped organize, extend, and guide the work of State and local interracial committees. It assisted them in making their influence felt by newspapers, civil authorities, churches, school officials, police administrators, and health officers. It gave much attention to factual analysis of the problem of lynching and other forms of interracial violence. Its auxiliary, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, did much to educate public opinion in the causes and possible remedies for such violence.

From these early activities, the Commission built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset through the years. The traditional barrier between the races was broken down to allow an interchange of ideas and mutual trust. The notion of cooperative action by people of good will, both white and Negro, took root and has continued to grow. In its twenty-five years of operation, the Commission made the meeting of white and Negro citizens for the discussion of common problems an accepted practice almost everywhere in the South. It marshalled thousands of Southern churchwomen in opposition to lynching and other injustices, brought new light to bear on race relations, issued two million copies of pamphlets and leaflets, and symbolized the faith of the Southern white people and Negro people in the processes of mutual agreement and cooperation.

In 1939 the leaders of the Commission began to explore the possibility of expanding the activities of the organization to permit a broader attack on the problems of the South. In October, 1940, the Commission instructed its executive committee to "take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the formation of a council on Southern regional development," which would include in its program "the work of the Commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South."

Meanwhile the efforts of other progressive Southerners were leading them to a similar purpose. The first movement in that direction took place when a group of Southern Negro leaders met in Durham, North Carolina, on October 20, 1942, to set forth "just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the post-war South and nation," and to enlist the aid of interested white Southerners. The result of this historic conference was a comprehensive statement covering the following areas: Political and Civil Rights, Industry and Labor, Service Occupations, Education, Agriculture, Military Service, and Social Welfare and Health.

Many social thinkers regarded the Durham statement as the most hopeful pronouncement on race relations that had come out of the South in the last 75 years.

In April, 1943, a group of Southern white leaders met in Atlanta to consider the statement of the Durham conference. These white leaders found the statement "so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum," and so demonstrative of good will, that they gladly pledged their cooperation. "The need," they concluded, "is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation, and mutual respect."

Representatives of both the Durham and Atlanta conferences met in Richmond in June, 1943, to work out further details. The Durham statement was adopted as a general guide to action, and a continuing committee was appointed to devise practical means of approach. As a result of these efforts, the Southern Regional Council was chartered as a corporation by the State of Georgia in January, 1944. At the charter meeting, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met and formally merged its program and assets with those of the Council. A strong and democratic Council had been established "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region."

How Is the Southern Regional Council Organized?

THE Southern Regional Council belongs to its members. The members meet annually to elect officers and plan the program and policies of the Council for the coming year. At present there are some 2,400 members. Any person may become a member if he believes in the purposes of the Council, if he resides in the Council area, and if his membership is confirmed by the members or Board of Directors. The Council area, as defined in the by-laws, includes the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Voting members must be residents of this area. Persons who live elsewhere may become associate (non-voting) members. Associates, as well as regular members, receive all publications and reports of the Council.

Financial support for the Council comes from many different individuals and organizations. Some of the organizations are: the Julius Rosenwald Fund, General Education Board, Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Catholic Committee of the South, Board of Education of the Methodist Church, Ashby Jones Memorial Fund, Committee on Woman's Work of the Presbyterian Church of the U. S., and the Protestant Episcopal Church Province of Sewanee. Individuals support the Council through contributions, legacies, and payment of membership dues.

The membership of the Council includes all sorts and conditions of men, all faiths, all races. Its officers, executive committee, and board of directors are drawn from church leaders of many denominations, businessmen, educators, labor leaders, outstanding men and women in the professions. It is hoped that as membership grows the Council will draw most of its support from active members who join and pay their dues because they believe in the South and in the work the Council has set itself to do.

Members of the Board of Directors are elected by the members of the Council for a term of four years. The Board at present consists of 80 members, rep-

resenting both races and all of the thirteen States within the Council area. Officers are elected annually, and, with the exception of the administrative staff, serve without pay.

What Does the Southern Regional Council Do?

THE Council's present functions may be summarized as follows: (1) Clearing-house and coordinating work with numerous agencies working on Southern problems; (2) research and survey to determine the facts and the state of public opinion as a basis for sound social action; (3) educational activities through a monthly bulletin, the *New South,* and through pamphlets, press, radio, conferences, and personal contacts; (4) consultative services to private and official agencies; (5) promotion of specific programs of action through the Council staff and membership.

The Council unites in programs of study and action persons of widely differing backgrounds. It helps to bridge the gaps between rural and town people, Negroes and whites, men and women, residents of mill villages and of adjoining towns, and persons of different faiths and denominations.

Since its formation in 1944, the Council has maintained close touch with the State Interracial Committees, five of which—those in Kentucky, Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, and Alabama—have become full Divisions of the Council. Through them the Council has been able to secure valuable information about all the thirteen States, and to implement a truly South-wide program. The Council offers state and local groups guidance in making social studies and undertaking sound community action. Surveys and informal studies not only yield useful data, but also help create the attitudes necessary for social change.

Also of great value in keeping intimate touch with local conditions throughout the South have been the Honorary Fellows of the Council. These Fellows, drawn from the ranks of young Southerners in all the Southern States who show promise of progressive leadership, perform important volunteer services as observers, correspondents, and special inquirers.

The *New South,* the Council's monthly publication, serves to bring the members and friends of the Council timely information about Southern problems and Southern progress. Leaders in Southern life have written articles for the *New South* on such subjects as suffrage, education, agriculture, health, law enforcement, and race relations. The quarterly numbers of the paper are usually devoted to detailed study of some phase of Southern development. In 1946 these special issues were: "Machines in the Cotton Fields," by Arthur Raper; "Wanted: A Healthy South," by Dorothy Dickins; "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation," by Rupert B. Vance; and a full account of the annual meeting in November. In addition to the *New South,* the Council issues simple illustrated leaflets and pamphlets which present the facts gathered by careful study and research in Southern problems.

To mention a few of the other activities, the Council has helped individuals secure their legal rights; has made its files available to the press and public and private agencies; has aided Southern veterans, white and Negro, in readjusting to civilian life and obtaining the benefits to which they are entitled; and has made public the results of careful investigations of incidents involving mob violence. In short, the activities of the Council have been as many and varied as the available staff and resources would permit.

The immediate aims of the Council are designed to assure the civic rights of all the people of the South. A primary objective is law enforcement that will provide fair treatment to minority groups and will prevent the outbreak of violence. As one means to equitable law enforcement, the Council is urging the general use of Negro policemen in Southern communities. The need for extension of the vote on a broad democratic base is also receiving urgent attention. The Council is presently engaged in the task of presenting to the Southern people the facts about suffrage in the South, in order to counteract the misinformation that has been circulated about the Negro vote.

To accomplish these and similar objectives, the Council needs the help of every person who believes in the South and would like to help in the work for a better future. Southerners are known everywhere for their pride in their region. In the past, this pride has too often been wasted in resentment of "outside criticism" and in efforts to rationalize the Region's problems. Resentment and recrimination serve no useful purpose, for the problems *do* exist. The time has long since come when we must prove our loyalty to the South, not by words, but by constructive action. The extent of what may be accomplished is no greater and no less than the willingness of Southerners to work together in the building of a better South in a better nation.

In this belief, the Southern Regional Council devotes itself to doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

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*Ex Officio Member.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia

Believing in the principles and aims of the Southern Regional Council, I would like to become: (check appropriate square)

☐ **A Member.** (Has full membership rights and receives all publications and reports issued by SRC.) Dues $2.00.

☐ **A Member jointly with husband or wife.** (Both have full membership rights and jointly receive a copy of all publications and reports issued by SRC.) Joint dues $3.00.

(NOTE: Persons living outside the South are enrolled as Associate [non-voting] Members.)

☐ **A Subscriber** to monthly publication *New South.* Subscription $1.00

☐ **A Contributor** to SRC's operation funds.

Dues for one year are enclosed ..... $_____

Contribution is enclosed in the amount of ..... $_____

Subscription to *New South* as non-member ..... $_____

Total Enclosed ..... $_____

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... State .....

Occupation .....

Please send information about the Southern Regional Council to the following:

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... State .....

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... State .....

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... State .....

COPY

731½ Miss. Ave.
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

A case of maltreatment of a Negro has come to my attention and I hope that the Council can do something about it. This man works for the Brock Candy Company here and is reliable and honest -- at least some friends of mine who know him think so definitely. His name is King Bryan, I think.

It seems that some time ago he inherited some property in Chicago which his father had acquired. As a child playing with a gun, some 25 years ago, he killed a playmate. The courts of Georgia disposed of the case then. Now some one of that community heard of his property. A detective or policeman of that community came up to Chattanooga, took him to the Georgia local jail -- I don't remember the community -- and told him (and, I think, without a court hearing) that he would have to serve 20 years or pay $1300. He slipped out a letter to his brother, who paid the $1300.

The procedure seems illegal on 2 or 3 counts: 1st, the time lapse, 2nd, a second trial for the same offense, 3rd, the Georgia officer came into Tennessee and picked him up without a warrant -- this part, I think, is true -- 4th, the failure to give him a court hearing with legal defense. And it is my impression that the $1300 was taken by the officials as private money.

The whole thing makes me furious. It is shocking. I have heard of this sort of thing before in a general way, but I think it is the most high-handed affair that's ever come my way. I have not told anyone my intention of writing you. Perhaps he would not want anything done about it. I do not know, but I am hoping that some member of the Council can make an investigation and find out more accurately the details and, if King does not object, go so far as to actually prosecute the officers involved in the case.

Please consider this letter confidential. I think, perhaps, if you do come to Chattanooga to talk with him, that he, nor any one else, should not know how the case came to your attention.

I have been very negligent of late in sending clippings to the Council. I hope to get around to sending them.

Miss Mary Blansit, head bookkeeper at Brock's, can probably tell you more of this case than anybody else. I do hope that you can do something -- if no more than expose the case.

Sincerely,

(signed) Josephine Hamilton

November 4, 1948

Miss Josephine Hamilton
731½ Mississippi Avenue
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Miss Hamilton:

I sent a discreet person to Chattanooga October 22 to get in touch with King Bryan.

The head bookkeeper at Brock Candy Company gave some account of the matter and, after much hesitancy, arranged for our interviewer to talk with Bryan.

Bryan said he came to Chattanooga from Unadilla about twenty-five years ago. At Unadilla he had accidentally killed a playmate, but was freed by the law before going to Chattanooga. On September 4, 1948, two detectives from Atlanta accosted and arrested him as he was leaving a meat market on 29th Street in Chattanooga. He readily admitted his identity to them and confessed to the accidental slaying. He was brought to Atlanta and placed in the "big rock" jail, where he was confined for about three weeks. He said he was given a trial and sentenced to serve twenty years.

Meanwhile his brother from Chicago had come to Atlanta and hired a lawyer. Lawyer's name not recalled. The lawyer and his brother arranged the details of getting King Bryan out of jail. King Bryan does not know much about the details, but believes that the brother did pay the lawyer about $1,300. King Bryan denies having inherited any money. He had none when arrested, and has none now. He seemed to have no

further interest in the case. He said the detectives had treated him well. He told our inquirer that his brother was the right one to see for any details about his release and the money transaction involved.

A number of discrepancies remain:

1. If Bryan committed the crime in Unadilla, why was he tried in Atlanta?

2. If he was lawfully tried at Atlanta, why was he convicted at the second trial when he was acquitted in the first trial?

3. If he was sentenced to serve twenty years, how did the lawyer manage to get him freed?

I have written to King Bryan's brother in Chicago to ask for more details. He may or may not be willing to give them.

We could also get details on the case from the court records here in Atlanta, and I am prepared to do that, providing Bryan's brother is willing for us to inquire further into the case.

On such information as I have, I am inclined to discount the view that the money was paid directly to the arresting officials.

I thank you for letting us know about the matter, and if it develops further I will write you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Copy

731½ Miss. Ave.
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for writing me about the interview with King Bryan. I showed your letter to Mary Blansit and she read it to King. She will talk with King's brother when he comes to town.

As to King's denial of having inherited money - maybe he meant that it was property that he inherited - for it was all invested in houses for rent, or maybe he was frightened. If the latter, maybe you can assure him and his brother to gain his confidence.

Another discrepancy in the case, it seems to me, is -- <u>if it was a bona fide trial</u> -- why was he not allowed counsel?

Anyway I hope that the case can be followed through.

I have just this minute interrupted this letter to talk to Miss Blansit and she says King's brother has gone to Atlanta to see you, so I'm hoping still more that something can be done. The cancelled check will be of some help.

As to Miss Blansit's hesitancy when your representative came, I apologize for not having told her ahead of time, but her brother-in-law was in the hospital very ill at the time I wrote you and I neglected telling her. Her first reaction was that King was in trouble again or someone else was trying to take advantage of him. Your representative soon cleared that up.

Mr. Mynders reports a good meeting of the Council last week. I am glad. I am sorry that I was too buried in school work to come.

Thank you for your interest in this case and for all the Council is doing for our South. I am delighted that no more than 4 states fell for the Dixiecrat ballyhoo. It could have set us back another generation. We in Tennessee sent Roy Acuff back to his fiddlin' too.

Very sincerely,

(signed) Josephine Hamilton

Can you discover whether those making the King Bryan arrest were officers or not, whether or not they had a warrant or had permission to come into another state? Could it be a kidnapping case and thus Federal offense, if the procedure was illegal?

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

November 23, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In reference to the case of King Bryan, the address which I gave you of W. J. Bryan is the one that King Bryan gave me. I suspect that W. J. Bryan belongs to the group in Chicago that moves rather frequently. It might be that the best way to go about this case and get dependable information is to interview Solicitor General Webb and then make a check at Unadilla, Georgia, King Bryan's home.

Cordially yours,

Chivers

Walter R. Chivers

WRC:B

November 15, 1948

Mr. Walter Chivers
Department of Sociology
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Chivers:

Our letter to Mr. W. J. Bryan of November 4, addressed to 1315 South Parkway, Chicago, came back marked "misdirected, no such number on South Parkway, directory service has been given," et cetera, et cetera.

On the off chance that in some way your note on his address got erroneously transcribed, would you check your notes again?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosure

January 4, 1949

Miss Josephine Hamilton
731½ Mississippi Avenue
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Miss Hamilton:

Our annual meeting in November and the follow-up work on it has kept us mighty busy, and I have only begun in the last few days to pick up the threads about King Bryan.

We never heard anything from his brother. Our letter to him, addressed to Mr. W. J. Bryan, 1315 South Parkway, Chicago, Illois, came back unopened, marked: "Unclaimed, directory service has been given, no such number," and so on. Neither have I had any visit from Mr. King Bryan's brother.

The other day we caused search to be made by lawyers of the Fulton County Court and of the Fulton County Jail. The name King Bryan does not appear in either case during the last three years. No search was made for that name earlier than that. Neither do the Atlanta fingerprint files contain fingerprints indexed under the name King Bryan.

I assume from that that either (a) King Bryan is an alias for the name under which he went at the time of the original involvement with the law twenty-five years ago, or (b) whoever arrested King Bryan contrived remarkably to keep the record of the arrest out of the places where it should have been.

I will appreciate advice from you as to what we should do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

January 19, 1949

Miss Josephine Hamilton
731½ Mississippi Avenue
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Miss Hamilton:

Since I have been keeping up with the correspondence in the King Bryant affair, Mrs. McKoy has asked me to answer your letter of yesterday.

We have made some efforts to locate "S. M. Smith" and his companions, but with no luck. It seems to me quite possible that they are aliases.

As for King's proposed meeting with these men on Saturday, it would be best, I think, if you could persuade him not to come. In our present state of confusion, confronting the men would only serve to warn them that someone is on to their game. When they are confronted, steps should have been taken to have them arrested on suspicion, if the facts appear to warrant it.

One of the difficulties in this whole business has been the fact that neither King Bryant nor his brother has ever appeared at the Council; nor has either of them, so far as I know, even telephoned. That is odd. It would be interesting to know, too, how King first came in contact with the self-styled Council members.

As a further complication, there is no Baptist church -- in fact, no church of any denomination -- at 5 Auburn Avenue, although there are three Negro Baptist churches considerably further out Auburn Avenue.

I agree with you that our chances of clearing up this mystery would be greatly increased if you and Miss Blansit could bring King to the Council's office, at whatever date that is possible. We could learn the location of the meeting place and, perhaps, find some clues to the identity of the men. Then we could take whatever action is indicated.

Dr. Mitchell will be here in the office Monday and Tuesday of next week, and the entire week following. I shall call your letter to his attention the first thing Monday, and you may expect to hear from him promptly.

I hope you will be able to impress on King the fact that Smith, Fuller, et al., are evidently crooks and that it would not be wise for him to meet them here Saturday.

We appreciate your keeping us informed.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Chattanooga Tennessee
731½ Miss ave
Jan 18, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 19 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mrs Agnes Mitchell, Sec. Treas
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn ave, N.E.
Atlanta, georgia

Dear Mrs. Mitchell

Since Dr Mitchell is out of town & since King Bryant is to come to Atlanta again Sat. Jan 22, I am writing you, hoping that perhaps the Southern Regional Council can place someone at the address where King is to meet this S.M. Smith who goes to him as a Southern Regional Council representative.

I am taking for granted that you have copies of my letters to Dr Mitchell & his to me regarding the King Bryant case.

This evening, after getting Dr Mitchell's Jan 13 letter, I talked with Miss Blanton & she called King by telephone. He says the address is which he has been going is 3 Auburn Ave., N.E. He says too that it is an office in a Baptist church.

I had felt all along that he was not going to the Southern Regional Council but he was so sure that these men were S.R. Council men. I feel now that this group must be the same

crowd that instigated the arrest -

Besides the Dr Smith (White) J. H. Robinson (Negro) James Howard (Negro) Oscar Fuller (Negro) whom he had seen earlier trips, this last Sat., Jan (3), a man named Brown does that Dr Smith & these 2 told him to come again this Sat., Jan 22. I don't know whether Brown is White or Negro. They seem to be having him come down, each time promising that the next time they will have his money for him.

The mystery to me is how this gang got onto the King Bryant case in the first place unless they are the original gang who "pulled" the arrest, trial & imprisonment last Sept., or are in some way connected with them. And now they seem to be posing as Southern Regional Council men - perhaps under fictitious names - and make when King asked them if they were from the Council, that gave them their cue. He too, asked Dr. Smith if he knew me & Smith said "yes" I could not remember the name but of course do not remember all the Council people whom I met at the meetings - so didn't put too much weight on that.

It all sounds like a real & far reaching racket & I wonder - as I did in the beginning - if the trial & imprisonment last Sept there was fake too, although King insists that he had a real trial, with a judge & a jury & that he has fingerprinted - all the "appearances" of a trial - yet he has not allowed defense (or is

Defense not allowed in georgia)? Do King insists that he has tried in a Federal Court & sent to a Federal prison but murder is a state offense, isn't it? - even in georgia?

My interest in this case now is even more than an effort to help King recover his money - if that is possible - but to discover what kind of a racket is involved. This may not be unusual to those of you there who deal with rackets taking advantage of negroes, but it certainly is a mystery to me to begin to sense the extent to which such hocus pocus is being perpetrated.

When Miss Blansit called King Bryant a while ago, she told him that the address, 33 S.E. Auburn, was wrong - i.e. not the SRC address & that your address was 63 ~~N.E.~~ Auburn, N.E. & that he should go to your office first. He is to meet them at 9 o'clock ~~sat.~~ morning. You probably do not open your office until 9. I do not know what he will do. She told, miss Blansit od, wish that he could drive down to Atlanta & bring King with us to talk with you - to be sure that he got to you. Perhaps later he can.

Should you advise him not to come to Atlanta Sat. Jan. 22 or to go on as if he still thought these men were SRC. men? Would it help you to discover who they are? or shall I advise

him to wait & to come to see you at a later date? Could you advise me by return mail?

Sincerely
Josephine Hamilton

P.S. Tue. Morn. After sleeping on the matter I talked with Miss Blewit this morning & we feel that, unless you advise us otherwise by Friday, she will advise King not to go to Atlanta Sat. Jan 22 but to wait for something from you.

February 21, 19[illegible]

Miss Josephine Hamilton
751½ Mississippi Avenue
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Miss Hamilton:

Please forgive this long delay in answering your letter of January 25 regarding the King Bryant affair. I have been ill and on my return to the office was so pushed with work that it was impossible for me to plan to come to Chattanooga.

Tomorrow I must go to Montgomery for the annual meeting of the Alabama Division, but immediately on my return I will undertake to arrange some effective action to get to the bottom of the mystery.

Let me apologize again for this apparent neglect of the matter, but our small staff is a severe handicap.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

731½ Miss Ave
Chattanooga Tennessee
Jan 28, 1948

Rev. Harold C Fleming
South. Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Rev. Fleming

After receiving your letter I advised King Bryant not to go to Atlanta last Sat. but to wait until I could work out something with you. After thinking out possible ways of getting King with some of your group I decided to talk with a member, the sec. in fact, of the local Interracial Committee here. I briefly told him the story this afternoon asking him if a member could drive to Atlanta taking King with them & ~~going~~ go to the council

office with him. We will check with members of the committee to see if any one might be driving to Atlanta in the next few days so he will call me.

As I was leaving though, he suggested that perhaps one of your Council members might drive to Chattanooga & talk with him here & make take him back to Atlanta with you. I feel that perhaps you need to locate the place where he has been but somehow I should feel better if I knew that he was with someone who could take him to the council office.

The matter has become so

complicated that I think you will need secret police said.

Would it be possible for someone of the Council to come here & to take King back to Atlanta? He want to be sure that when he goes to Atlanta again that he is in Council hands.

Sincerely
Josephine Hamilton

March 14, 1949

Miss Josephine Hamilton
731½ Mississippi Avenue
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Miss Hamilton:

Since I wrote you last, I have discussed the King Bryant case, in confidence, with several lawyers experienced in civil liberties cases. Here, in summary form, is what they told me:

(1) The events could not have happened as reported by King Bryant. Even under the primitive conditions of administration of justice which exist in Georgia, such legal inconsistencies would be impossible.

(2) No help could be expected from civil liberties organization -- such as NAACP or the American Civil Liberties Union -- unless evidence more coherent and tangible were produced. The same is true of the FBI.

(3) Any effective action would depend on the cooperation of local law enforcement officers. Whether or not they would interest themselves, it is difficult to say. But my Negro adviser -- the most seasoned Negro lawyer in Georgia -- advises strongly against laying the case before them. Out of his experience with similar cases, he has the feeling that King may be more deeply involved than we know. If that is true, involving the legal authorities might cause him serious difficulty.

In view of this advice, I hardly know what we can do -- except, perhaps, try to get a more plausible story out of King Bryant. I intend to come to Chattanooga as soon as it is humanly possible for me to make the trip, so that I may discuss the matter personally with you and perhaps talk to King. I shall write you in advance of my coming.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Inf...

April 27, 1949

Miss Josephine Hamilton
731½ Mississippi Avenue
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Miss Hamilton:

Thank you for your letter of April 23.

I certainly agree that we should not simply wash our hands of the King Bryant case. My own feeling about it is one of bad conscience more than anything else. As you have probably noticed, our New South schedule is about a month behind, and I have had no chance at all to give the time that this complicated matter requires.

I still firmly intend to come to Chattanooga. First, however, I think it would be useful to have the records of the federal penitentiary searched for any evidence of Bryant's confinement there. This I will undertake to do. Meanwhile, if you are able to uncover any concrete evidence (such as the cancelled check for $1,500), that would be helpful.

Please accept my thanks and those of the Council for the clippings which you were kind enough to send. These are a substantial help to our clipping file.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

731½ Miss Ave
Chattanooga Tennessee
April 23, 1925

Dr Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta Ga

Southern Regional Council
APR 26 1949

Dear Dr. Fleming

I intended to write at once after your last letter.

Rather than thinking King Bryant's story is too fantastic to believe, I am inclined to think it is too fantastic not to believe. Somehow I feel that the "court" which he described is a part of ~~the~~ a racket - that it was not a real court - maybe I am

wrong but somehow my hunch is that the gang who "arrested" & "tried" him was an illegal crowd. I do not think that he knew enough about legal procedure to make up the story with all the details. If I am right they simply put him through the procedure with their own fictitious court, judge, jury & jail. If so, of course it is a big organization.

At any rate the thing is a real puzzle.

I do hope that the Council does not drop the case, at least not until you can talk with King. I do hope that you can come to Chattanooga. I know that you are busy but this case seems too important to drop. There are too many implications in it.

Sincerely
Josephine Hamilton

REPORT ON BRYAN CASE

Investigation for Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Submitted by Walter R. Chivers

~~Results of Investigation:~~ Miss Mary Blansit, head bookkeeper at Brock Candy Company, was interviewed. She seemed not to be at all interested in the employee or the case. She said that all she knew was that Bryan told her he was leaving a meat market enroute home, when two detectives from Atlanta accosted and arrested him. She said further that after being released, Bryan returned to the Brock Candy Company and asked for his job back. He was reemployed. After much hesitancy, Miss Blansit arranged for the interviewer to talk with Bryan.

INTERVIEW WITH KING BRYAN

He is now 43 years of age. He took up residence in Chattanooga approximately 25 years ago. He migrated from Unadilla when he was about 18 years old. He said he accidentally killed a playmate. He was freed by the law before going to Chattanooga. On September 4, 1948 two detectives from Atlanta accosted and arrested him as he was leaving a meat market on E. Ninth Street in Chattanooga. He readily admitted his identity to them and confessed to the accidental slaying. He was brought to Atlanta and placed in the "Big Rock" where he was confined for about three weeks. It is assumed that the "Big Rock" referred to is the county jail. He was given a trial and sentenced to serve 20 years in the penitentiary. In the meantime, his brother, W. J. Bryan (his address is 1315 So. Parkway, Chicago, Illinois) had come to Atlanta and hired a lawyer. Bryan does not remember the name of the lawyer. He says that the brother and the lawyer arranged the details of getting him out of

jail. He is ignorant of the details involved in his release, but he believes that the brother did pay the lawyer about $1300. He denies having inherited any money. He did not have any at the time of his arrest and he does not have any now. Bryan referred the investigator to his brother for details in reference to his release and the money transaction involved. He seems to have no further interest in the case. Bryan expressed ignorance as to how the Atlanta authorities located him. He credits the detectives with having treated him well. Bryan is apparently illiterate or nearly so. He is a typical common laborer and talked very freely.

Discrepancies in the case as seen by the investigator:

1) If Bryan committed the crime in Unadilla, why was he tried in Atlanta?
2) Even if some legal technicality ~~prevented~~ permitted his being tried in Atlanta, why was he convicted at the second trial when he was exonerated at the first trial?
3) If he was sentenced to serve 20 years, how did the lawyer manage to get him freed later?

If there is interest in following through with this case, Solicitor General Webb of Fulton County would be a good source for the information.

Address of Interviewee:

829 Douglass Street
Chattanooga 29, Tennessee

October 22, 1945

Mr. Girt Hill
Route 1
Conyers, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hill:

At last we have found an attorney who will take your case against Mr. Upshaw. If you are still interested in pushing this, we will be glad to proceed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

DRT:m

Robson Smith

MA 3366

22 Marietta Sq.

Hathcock, Milam + Smith

Retainer $100.00

Bird Hill

NAACP pay $50.

Called

C. L. Harper

7-19-46 10:30 a.m.

NAACP Ex. Committee meets tonight. Sure of approval.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . INEZ B. TILLISON . .

Note for file Girt Hill

Gordon Smith - Hathcock, Milam and Smith
22 Marietta Street, Main 3366 interested in
case.

Nov. 1946.

Civil Rts. - Case Reports
Girt Hill Case

Memo

TO Hathcock

Erin Ave
Westend
Raymond

Judge Hathcock

Call soon 1948

June 15, 48 Rear of 286 Decatur St Atlanta. Betw. Bell, Gilmore, Moore & Decatur St.

TO G.S.M.

FROM A.MCK

RE GIRT HILL

Mr. C. M. Clayton, Negro lawyer of Decatur, called after you left. He asked me to report that he had driven all the way to Tucker, Ga., but had been unable to locate Girt Hill.

He said that he would next contact the Postal route man, either this afternoon or in the morning, to see whether he ever delivered any mail to him, and try to get in touch with him in that way.

Elmwood Rd 2 mean.

his dr is Estella Hill works in Bocarts 1740 Cor on Decatur St

G 7046 NAACP

but listed in name of Clara Mae Dougherty has phone

Sister (next door) Maggie Howard

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

ATLANTA, GA.

Col. Doughman says C.R. Vaughn, attorney at Conyers, is willing to handle Gint Hill case at Covington. Knows what he can do. Has a reputation for dealing with his tenants. Wants retainer fee of $100 sent before taking case up.

Mrs. Tilly wrote Hill & told him we ~~[illegible]~~ a lawyer.

Telephone Memorandum

To Dr. Johnson

Date Oct. 18 Time 11:30

File: Gint Hill case

WHILE YOU WERE OUT YOU WERE CALLED BY

Name Mr. Doughman

of

Phone Wa 1128 Extension

Message Please call him

Gint Hill
Route #1
Conyers, Ga.

Gint Hill came in to see us 10/26. Says he does not have faith that Vaughn will do anything to help him. Had already approached him earlier, and V- said "You've waited too late. Can't do anything."

JBJ

213T

Memo from GUY B. JOHNSON

to Mrs. Tilly

Col. Doughman says:

C.R. Vaughn, attorney
Conyers, Ga.

Will handle Gint Hill case at Covington ~~[illegible]~~

Wants retainers fee of $100.

Can Ga. Committee put up part of this?

Civil Rts. Report -
Case Reports -
Girt Hill Case

June 15, 1948

Mr. Girt Hill
Rear 286 Decatur Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hill:

After our conversation this morning, I went over and talked with Judge Hathcock at length. I was shown the answer to your suit, as filed by your former landlord.

It seemed to me pretty clear, after reading the answer to the suit, that you would have a very hard time in collecting at the present time from a jury in that county. It also seems that any profit you made from your crop in Rockdale County that year would be taken away from whatever you might possible obtain from your first landlord in a court suit. This would make your gain in money quite small, if anything.

While I myself was impressed with the rightness of your claim to a settlement, I must say it seemed to me practically hopeless to get anything now in a court trial.

On this account, I did nothing to urge the firm of lawyers to press the suit. They will allow it to expire unless you ask them to push it.

It would be well if you would, at your next easy chance, stop in and talk to Mr. Harper about the case.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb
Copy To Mr C L Harper

LAW OFFICES
HATHCOCK, MILAM AND SMITH
1109 THE 22 MARIETTA STREET BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

T. O. HATHCOCK
ALTON T. MILAM
GORDON A. SMITH

August 16, 1946

RECEIVED
AUG 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

Girt Hill
Route #1
Conyers, Georgia

Dear Girt:

We have not heard from you since you were in our office some three weeks ago. It is necessary for you to sign this petition before we can file it in your damage case. We understood that you were to come back the next day after you were in our office.

Please advise us immediately when we can expect to see you again at our office. I talked with Miss Clay with the Southern Regional Council, Inc. and she is very anxious for you to go ahead with this suit.

Very truly yours,

GAS/lm For HATHCOCK, MILAM & SMITH

CC: Miss Clay
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

November 27, 1945

Mr. Girt Hill
Route 1
Conyers, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hill:

We were late in the week getting to Atlanta, but apparently you were either unable to come in or did not get our letter. It so happens that I will be in Atlanta pretty steadily for the next week or so. I do want to talk with you very seriously about the possibility of your gathering our turnip crop. The turnips are still good despite the cold, but gathering will have to begin within about a week's time. We have arrangements made for the truck.

Although I do not know what the current price for such work is, if you agree to do this it will certainly be at the level of prevailing wages for harvesting perishable crops, which is normally much higher than wages paid for ordinary crops. We can arrange sleeping quarters and, of course, would be able to feed you from our house.

Regardless of any possibility of our making a permanent trade for farming down there, it is my hope that you will gather the turnips and during this time see what you think about the other. We do have assurance that we can get a loan to rebuild our rock house in order to make the one we are living in available for a good tenant.

I hope you can come in as I would like to talk to you during the next day or two.

Cordially yours,

A. Clyde Robinson

ACR:m

Jobbg + acr

7/20/46 Copy to Gordon Smith of Hallcock, Milsom + Smith — both cla for $100 as retainer

CASE OF GIRT HILL
Route 1, Conyers, Georgia
as reported by him on June 4, 1945

Girt Hall, a Negro farmer who says he is 65 years old, lived on Will Watson's place at Lithonia until it was sold. Then, he "traded with Mr. Claud Upshaw, who runs a milk dairy in Covington to farm on another piece of property about three miles from his dairy." Girt says that he told Mr. Upshaw that he was able to finance himself except for fertilizer, and Mr. Upshaw agreed to provide that. Girt wanted to pay rent for the property, but Mr. Upshaw said that he preferred to get "a third and a fourth," as that would mean more to him. The agreement was concluded and Girt, with his wife, several children (the oldest a girl 16 years of age), and some live stock, moved on the property on January 8. He stayed on it until May 16, when he was put out, after his crops were started.

On May 14 Mr. Upshaw came to the farm and told Girt that he would have to move from the big house, in which he was living, to a small one on the property, as he had arranged to rent to a man who wanted to have a dairy farm there. Girt told him that the small house was not adequate for his family, and reminded Mr. Upshaw that he had agreed to let him occupy the big house. Mr. Upshaw then said that it would be two weeks before the man would be ready for the house, and that in the meantime he would have an addition to the small house built.

On May 15 Mr. Upshaw notified Girt that he wanted him to move. He got the sheriff of the County to come out on Monday to see Girt, but the sheriff did not put him off the property.

On May 16 Girt went to Covington, where he talked with a lawyer. He was not certain, but thought the lawyer's name was "Mr. Metters." He is in an office over the Bank of Covington. Girt told his story, and Mr. Metters told him to go on home and go to work -- that Mr. Upshaw could not put him off the land after he had finished his planting and before he had gathered his crops.

Girt started walking home, but before he reached there he was overtaken by Mr. Upshaw and another white man. Girt said, "He cursed me, drawed a pistol on me, and said, "Nigger, if you don't get out of there I am going to kill you.'" After more abusive and threatening language, he told Girt to get in the car with him and the other white man, but Girt said, "No, Mr. Upshaw, I ain't goin' to get in your car." He said that Mr. Upshaw then noticed that some white people at a nearby house were listening and he "looked like he was ashamed" and drove on off.

(Girt said here, as he did earlier in the story, that he and Mr.Upshaw had had no unfriendly words from the time he moved on the property on January 8 until this time. Girt had planted 15 acres in cotton, 9 to 10 acres in corn, 500 slips of potatoes, and a vegetable garden. He also had his own live stock, as stated above.)

After this roadside conversation with Mr. Upshaw, Girt went on home and told his wife that they would have to move. Then he went to try to find another place. He went to Mr. Cleve Morrison's place - a big farm in Rockdale Co. near Smyrna Camp Ground - and saw the foreman. He asked the foreman whether they had a place to which he could move his family and get work on the farm. The foreman said he thought he could find him a place, and Girt went back to get ready to move.

Fearing that some harm might come to his live stock, he decided to move it before moving his furniture. When he returned to his household belongings he found that "everything had just been throwed out," and family pictures, his stove, and other

things had been broken.

Girt said he talked to a lawyer in Covington about getting some recourse from Mr. Upshaw, but that the lawyer said he was a friend of Mr. Upshaw and would prefer not to take the case. I called Mr. Haas and explained a little about the case. He said to send Girt over and he would have one of the men in the office talk to him. Girt went, but returned shortly thereafter, saying that the man with whom he talked said that since Girt lived in another county there was nothing that he could do to help him. He offered to give him the names of lawyers in Covington, but Girt said that he would not be able to get a local lawyer to take the case.

Someone suggested that Girt make a case against Mr. Upshaw, but he said that he preferred to take a laborer's lien, for if he made a case Mr. Upshaw could make bond, the case might be delayed indefinitely, and he would get nothing. A laborer's lien would at least provide some remuneration for the work he had done and the expense he had incurred in planting his crop.

Girt has not been back to Mr. Upshaw's place, but some of his friends have told him that the new tenant has not started a dairy farm at all, but is just working Girt's crop.

I told Girt that the men in the office were out of the city, but that as soon as possible one of them would look into the case -- that it might be several weeks, however, before he would hear anything from us. He said that was all right -- that he would just leave it with us and if we couldn't help him to get justice then nothing could be done.

He said that he would be glad to give us references as to his character and dependability. From 1900 to 1915 he lived on the property of Mr. Homer Patrick, now deceased, who had a big farm near Covington, I think he said. Mr. Patrick's two sons, who know Girt well, are Harvey and Clifford Patrick, who now run the gin house, he said. Girt was one of Mr. Homer Patrick's hands.

Girt's wife has not been well for some time, but his children are good workers and have good reputations, he said. He assured me that he had never had any trouble about his farming, or anything else, before; that he had been renting and farming on his own since he left Mr. Patrick's property in 1915.

EMILY H. CLAY

June 25, 1945

July 20, 1954

MEMORANDUM

To: Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

From: George S, Mitchell

The purpose of this memorandum is to bring you up to date on the present conditions and plans of the Southern Regional Council. We need your earnest cooperation as we strive to meet the challenge of our large opportunities.

In early April the Ford Fund for the Republic made a grant to support the work of the Council for the following eighteen months. $158,000. was specifically designated to assist the development of the program in our twelve Southern states. As a firm condition of the grant, $21,000. must be raised by the state units during this period ($1800. by each state). $74,700. was allocated for the work of the central office of the Southern Regional Council, which must raise an additional $40,000. during the eighteen months.

The letter of grant from the Fund for the Republic carried the following: "While the . . . grant is not made on a matching basis, it is felt that the future financial health of the Council and the state organizations might be seriously impaired if they are not to find substantial Southern support. We believe that increased financial support from individuals, religious bodies, trade unions, businesses and industries in the South is of vital importance to assure the continued success of the Council and to the continuation of its expanded program . . . We are confident that the officers of the Council and the members of the various boards and committees will give generously of their time and energy in order to insure that the expanded program of the Council is established on a firm basis."

STATE PROGRAMS

Our hope, and that of the Fund for the Republic, is that state units may become in time well established, self-sustaining human relations agencies with competent professional staff to assist the development of their program. The need for service of this kind faces us immediately as the states and the communities within them prepare for the adjustment required by the Supreme Court's decision on public schools. The situation, the needs, and the problems vary from state to state - and these differences must be taken into account as plans are made to meet the problems and possibilities of each state.

We believe, however, that a first objective in each state should be the establishment or strengthening of a thoroughly representative Executive or Steering Committee. This group should become the planning and policy-making body for the new future operations. Among its first responsibilities should be consideration of the state organization's financial base, its plans for program development, and the employment of professional staff.

CENTRAL OFFICE OF SRC

We are doing only what seems absolutely necessary to expand the staff in the Central Office to enable proper assistance to the states in getting organized. But we can continue to do, on a slightly firmer basis, what we have been doing all along in public information and education.

When the state programs are firmly organized, the main part of the job in the Central Office will be coordinating their work.

GSM
7/20/54

6 - Civil Rights - Case Reports (Mallard)

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

LONGACRE 3-6890

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Director of Public Relations

December 9, 1948

RECEIVED
DEC 13 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks a million for your memorandum on the Robert Mallard case. It has been very helpful to us, and we want you to know how much we appreciate your making this investigation and obtaining for us this first-hand information.

Some of it was used Tuesday night in a telecast program by Mr. Walter White. It is anticipated that our conference of Georgia NAACP branches, meeting this weekend in Cordele, will take some positive action in this case.

Again, many thanks.

Ever sincerely,

Henry Lee Moon

Henry Lee Moon
Director, Public Relations

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

HLM:RJW

-6- Civil Rights -
Case Reports: Mallard

1.

December 2, 1948

Mr. Henry Lee Moon
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Moon:

Here is a copy of my memorandum on the Mallard lynching.

I have written to the Attorney General suggesting that the case be made one for federal prosecution.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

See file under "6-Civil Rights - US Govt Corresp."

GSM:t
enclosure

MALLARD

This is a statement of information obtained about the events in the vicinity of Vidalia, Georgia, November 20, 1948. My information was had from an individual who was in that vicinity on the 25, 26 & 27 of November. This individual had opportunity to talk on the 27th of November with a person who had been for years closely associated with Roy Mallard's widow, and who visited Mrs. Mallard on the morning after the murder of her husband. And therefore, had opportunity to obtain at first hand, Mrs. Mallard's account of what happened. I will begin by saying what was told me about Mallard himself.

He has for some years had a business in mail order clothing, taking orders from local citizens in the neighborhood of Vidalia - white and Negro. They pay him and then the suits come back. There have been a number of complaints that ~~the~~ suits that came back did not fit, and those who ordered the suits have tried to get their money back from Roy Mallard, or to get the company to send the money through Mallard. And it is said that Mallard has not exercised himself to get money for anybody and that therefore, he had a large number of people of both races around in the neighborhood who were angry with him on that account. In addition I was told that Mallard had lived with, perhaps, had been married to at least two other women in other parts of that general area of Georgia in previous years, and had had children by those women. He is now lawfully married (he was lawfully married to) Mrs. Mallard, but the implication is that his moral standing was not high. It was also explained that he drove a big car and gave other evidences of means and self-esteem. This information about Mallard was not obtained from his widow's Sunday morning visitor, but was obtained generally around in the community.

The Mallards lived in the neighborhood of Johnson's Corner which is a rural settlement on the eastern tip of ~~the~~ triangle between Vidalia and Lyons, Ga. Mrs. Mallard is a teacher at the country Negro school in the vicinity of Johnson's Corner. There had been a social gathering at that school on Saturday night, November 20th to raise money for some school purpose. Mallard was to carry his family home. I am not informed whether Mallard attended the social, or not. In any case, he left the neighborhood of the gathering in his car with the following people in the car: hiw wife on the front seat beside him - his wife's two cousins, a boy of 18 year of age, and a girl 13 or 14 years of age, and Mrs. Mallard's baby on the back seat of the car. They were proceeding up the big road when they noticed that a car was following them and occassionally blinking its lights. They thought little about this because it was Saturday night and people are accustommed to a certain amount of queer behavior on Saturday night in that neighborhood. When the Mallard car turned off the big road onto a dirt road heading generally toward Mallard's house, the car behind them followed them more closely and blinked its lights more frequently. When the Mallard car subsequently turned off the dirt road onto a little trail or lane leading into the Mallard home the car which had been following them followed still more closely and blinked its lights much more frequently. Mallard said, "I wonder who that is?" but, had not proceeded much farther before the headlights of the Mallard car showed a block across the trail or lane leading to Mallard's home. This consisted of a car one directly across the trail, and two cars exactly at the head and tail end of the car directly across the road - drawn up in such a way as to make a semi-circle across the road. This stopped Mallard's car. He had no sooner stopped than a number of men appeared and a large number of shots occurred. After the fusillade of shots it appeared that the Mallard car had not been struck. At this point, three men were seen to approach the Mallard

car from in front of it. They came very close to the front of the car, and one of the men--the one in the middle, who was seen to be a very short man--threw back the hood over his head, took aim, and shot Mallard through the windshield. Mallard was struck in his left shoulder. His wife said to him, "Did they get you, Roy?" He said "Yes" and rolled out of the car through the door at his left. Mrs. Mallard then occupied herself in trying to get her husband back into the car, but he is an unusually heavy man and she could not manage that. At this point, there appeared a white farmer (I believe a tenant farmer) who lived very close to the Mallard home. My impression is that he lived in a house just across the trail or lane from the Mallard home. This white man helped Mrs. Mallard carry her husband to his home. Mrs. Mallard believes her husband was dead before she got him to the house. Going back to those who did the shooting...they disappeared as soon as a single shot had been fired. Mrs. Mallard does not (did not) recognize the individual who did the shooting, but she got a good look at him, because the headlights were directly on him. Mrs. He was a white man

The 18-year-old boy in the back seat recognized the three cars that were drawn across the road in front. That is to say, he knows to whom those cars belong. Nobody got a look at the car which followed the Mallard car.

That is the end of the information that I have as to the events of that night. Now then, comes an interesting sequel on Sunday morning.

Mrs. Mallard's friends decided on Sunday morning to drive on Sunday from Vidalia to the Mallard home to see if her help were needed, and to try to make arrangements to get Mrs. Mallard to a place of safety. When the friend approached the Mallard home by the trail or lane, her car was followed. But she proceeded anyway to the Mallard home, went in and talked with Mrs. Mallard. At the Mallard home at the time of the friend's arrival there were two other persons--Mrs. Mallard's brother, a tenant farmer, in that vicinity, and a friend of that brother. Mrs. Mallard's friend persuaded Mrs. Mallard to get ready to accompany the friend to a place of safety. Mrs. Mallard left her house by the back door and went down to the home of some cousins of hers to explain to them that she would be away. After returning to her house, she got into the friend's car to leave. When they got to the approximate point of the murder of the night before, they saw that the road was blocked by a single car across the road. The friend who was driving the car whipped around the parked car and ran with great speed to Vidalia.

Just after these events, or it may have been in the interval while Mrs. Mallard had gone to the house behind hers to talk with her cousins (I'm uncertain which) the brother of Mrs. Mallard was standing on the porch, and was approached by his white bossman (that is to say, by the landlord of the tenant farm which Mrs. Mallard's brother worked). The boss man asked Mrs. Mallard's brother what he was doing there. He replied he had come down to see if he could help his sister, on account of all the trouble on the night before. The bossman said that Mrs. Mallard's brother ought to be back at work, and Mrs. Mallard's brother said that he was up with his work, and that it was Sunday morning. The bossman then said, "If you hang around here, the police will pick you up." To which the man replied that he was not afraid of the police because he had done nothing wrong. Whereupon, the white man said, "You stay around here, and you'll get the same thing that Mallard got." That is all that has been given me about the matter.

My informant inquired in the neighborhood as to whether it was local opinion that voting had been a possible motive for the murder. My informant concluded from his inquiry that this had not been the case. Hundreds of Negro citizens had voted in the county in the November 2 election without any special difficulty.

George Whitfield

..... Court case: Mc Gee case

Laurel. Miss
June 18. 1949

Dear Mr Patterson

I am the wife of Willie Mc Gee who is behind bars since 1945 I am a poor colored woman and I need my husband with these four kids I was so glad to hear the news that you all had saved Willies life. I have been very quiet until this last time when it looked so bad. now he is saved again for a little while I want to thank you for all of us and I want to know will he be saved for good or will he go to the chair when the time is up so soon. I feel deep down in

my heart that he is inocent
there are many other crimes
did and their life wasnt
taken even in this same
county of Jones I live in
some one but not my
race did crime on a 5 year
old colored child his life
was not taken. I pray
there is another chance
in life for Willie please
save him for me I dont
have any money I will work
to help him save his life
please let me hear from
you all at once.

Respectfully and thankful

Rosalee McGee

P.S. my 3 girls and 1 son

they saw Willie only once since he been in jail They would not allow me to see him unless a statment from the sheriff.

CANADA LEE

July 15, 1949

Dear Mr. Miller:

Willie McGee, 34 year old Negro ex-G.I., has faced death four times on a phony rape charge because the lynchers in Mississippi refuse to surrender a single black man's life.

The last time he faced death he came within two hours of the electric chair. The Civil Rights Congress burned up the wires, arguing with the Governor of Mississippi, judges, lawyers, prison warden, ministers and many others before a stay of execution was wrung from the authorities.

Now, the Civil Rights Congress, which has been fighting for three years for this man's life, is going to the Supreme Court of the United States to appeal these convictions by Mississippi lynch juries.

Think what it means to face the chair four times. It means to die four times!

Read the few heartbreaking lines from Willie McGee's wife, and help the Civil Rights Congress get "another chance in life for Willie".

I urge you to contribute generously.

Sincerely yours,

Canada Lee

PS - Checks may be made payable to Raymond C. Ingersoll, Treasurer, and sent to me at Suite ~~1613,~~ 205 East 42nd Street, New York, New York.

....."Willie McGee Must Not Be Murdered....His Story Must Be Told...."

October 22, 1949

FACT SHEET ON WILLIE McGEE CASE

On June 2, 1949, three hours before he was scheduled to be electrocuted by the State of Mississippi, attorneys for the Civil Rights Congress won a last-minute stay of execution for Willie McGee.

The stay was granted by the Mississippi Supreme Court to permit a motion for a review of the conviction to be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Willie McGee had three times been convicted and three times sentenced to death for the alleged rape of a middle-aged white woman. The Civil Rights Congress had three times taken an appeal to the Mississippi Supreme Court.

On October 10, 1949, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to consider the motion.

The Civil Rights Congress has since filed another writ asking the Supreme Court to reconsider its refusal to review.

* * * * * * *

Willie McGee is a Negro, 34 years old, ex-GI, from Laurel, Miss., father of four children, the eldest,ten. He worked as a truck driver for the Laurel Wholesale Co. at the time of his arrest.

On November 3, 1945, a middle-aged white woman in Laurel, Mrs. Troy Hawkins, claimed that she had been raped by a man with kinky hair who wore a T shirt. She gave no other identification.

The so-called rape allegedly took place at four o'clock in the morning while a sick child slept in her bed and her husband husband and two children were asleep in two adjoining rooms.

A reign of terror against the Negro community was launched immediately.

Ignoring the fact that he could not possibly have been at the scene of the alleged crime, three police officers picked up Mr. McGee, beat him brutally and threatened to turn him over to a lynch mob if he did not sign a "confession".

FIRST TRIAL -- McGee was carried speechless and helpless into court under an escort of state militia on December 6, 1945. The militia remained on guard in the court house, which was surrounded by a huge crowd threatening to lynch McGee.

McGee was defended by court-appointed attorneys. They were unable to confer with him because of his state of shock and gave him no real defense. The jury found him guilty after being out just two minutes, and he was sentenced to be electrocuted.

The National Federation For Constitutional Liberties, since merged with the Civil Rights Congress, then entered the case and appealed it to the Mississippi Supreme Court which, on June 10, 1946, ordered a new trial on the grounds that there should have been a change of venue.

SECOND TRIAL -- The second trial started on October 7, 1946 with a refusal to grant a change of venue, but one was finally granted after the trial judge refused "to try a case behind the guns of soldiers." The second trial took a new start on November 4th in Hattiesburg, and McGee again was found guilty and sentenced to death.

The Civil Rights Congress appealed to the Supreme Court which, on February 9, 1947, again threw out the conviction and ordered a third trial on the grounds that Negroes had been excluded from the grand and pettit juries.

In the meantime, a new district attorney had been elected in Jones County, in which Laurel is situated. His main campaign slogan was a promise to rush McGee to the chair. McGee was reindicted and a new trial ordered on March 3, 1948.

THIRD TRIAL -- Again, Negroes were excluded from the jury and a lynch mob atmosphere permeated the courtroom. The local defense counsel, advised that they were in danger of mob violence, asked the judge for protection, but he refused to grant it. They were forced to leave the courtroom, escorted by deputy sheriffs, without summing up the defense case and before the case went to the jury. McGee was again found guilty and was again sentenced to die. The Civil Rights Congress again appealed to the Mississippi Supreme Court, which this time upheld the conviction of the trial court.

While awaiting a second U.S. Supreme Court decision, THE CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS IS ASKING MEMBERS OF TRADE UNIONS, CHURCH GROUPS, NEGRO PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS AND ALL AMERICANS TO WRITE AND WIRE GOV. FIELDING WRIGHT, JACKSON, MISS., ASKING EXECUTIVE CLEMENCY FOR WILLIE McGEE.

uopwa 16-47

METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION - 150 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11.

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Executive Secretary
Rev. Jack R. McMichael

Oct. 27, 1949

*Act Now to Save
A Life.*

Dear Friend:

If the life of Willie McGee of Mississippi is to be saved, Gov. Fielding Wright, Jackson, Miss., must be persuaded to use his executive clemency, commute the sentence, and thus stay the execution which otherwise might come on or after Nov. 4. Gov. Wright is a Methodist. You, our friends in Mississippi and the South, are most likely to persuade the governor to do this. Will you, therefore, read the enclosed fact sheet and act on it by writing or wiring or visiting Gov. Wright? We have discussed this in our Administrative Committee and with two of our Mississippi friends and leaders, as well as with the NAACP. So far as we know, this fact sheet is a reliable statement of the situation. We are eager for any additional information. Please send it to us if you have it. We would welcome also a financial contribution to help us finance this and similar efforts.

Sincerely,

Jack R. McMichael

Jack R. McMichael
Executive Secretary

P.S. We enclose a prepaid envelope for your convenience in reply.

THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION

150 FIFTH AVENUE (UNOFFICIAL) NEW YORK 11, N. Y.
Tel. WAtkins 9-7530

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Nov. 2, 1949

Executive Secretary and Editor, Social Questions Bulletin
JACK RICHARD McMICHAEL

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Rte. 432
63 Auburn Ave, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Our mutual good friend, Mrs. Ratliff from Mississippi, has been talking to us about the Willie McGee case. Enclosed is a fact sheet sent us by the Civil Rights Congress. So far as we have been able to ascertain, the facts are as stated.

We have suggested appeal to Gov. Wright for clemency, espedially to those who will be most persuasive with the governor.

Dr. Schaeffer of Jackson was suggested. Mrs. Ratliff felt that the Southern Regional Council should help a great deal on this. What can you do to reach people about this case and to push for executive clemency, so as to save Willie McGee's life? What additional information do you have about this case? We are most interested. And we greatly appreciate whatever you can do.

Sincerely,

Jack R. McMichael

Jack R. McMichael

jrm/ew

RECEIVED
NOV 4 1949
Southern Regional Council

Cases - McGee

November 21, 1949

Rev. H. B. Schaeffer
1525 Robinson Street
Jackson 26, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

We have recently had an inquiry about the Willie McGee case from the Methodist Federation for Social Action. They tell us that they have discussed the case with Mrs. Ratliff, who felt that the Council could help in obtaining clemency for McGee from Governor Wright.

At this distance, we know very little about the case as it now stands. The only information we have, except for some old clippings, is the fact sheet issued by the Civil Rights Congress in October. We would like very much to have whatever information you could send us about the case, and would also appreciate any suggestions you might have about what could be done. Has the Mississippi Division — or any other group in Mississippi — taken any action to persuade Governor Wright to stay McGee's execution? We will appreciate greatly whatever you can tell us.

One other request, if you will bear with us: the next New South is to contain a story on the Jefferson College incident. We were wondering if you had anything you could suggest or give us for that?

Many thanks for all your help.

Sincerely,

Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

Civil Rights:
~~A case~~

McGee
case

December 28, 1949

Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer
1525 Robinson Street
Jackson 26, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which has come to our attention. Since it has evidently been distributed in printed form, perhaps you have already seen it.

We have never heard of the Southern Leadership Institute -- which apparently feels qualified to speak for "intelligent southern Negroes" -- nor of W. H. Lewis, the signer. Do you have any information about the group? If not, would it be possible for one of the SRC members in Meridian to find out something about it for us? We should be most grateful.

I suppose the Willie McGee case, about which we wrote you previously, is old business now. But we would still appreciate any information about it you might pass on to us, so that we can close the file.

All of us here were pleased to see the good write-up of your activities in the Lutheran of November 16. You have our admiration and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enclosure

Phone 8832

C
O
P
Y

SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP INSTITUTE
Seventeenth Avenue, Along Nineteenth St.
P. O. Lock Drawer 1031
Meridian, Mississippi

"THE PROBLEMS OF THE SOUTH MUST BE SOLVED BY THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH"

My Dear Senator:

Hope the adjournment of Congress will allow you a little rest from the hard mental strain of tackling those highly controversial issues that harass the security of the nation. I know you should not be disturbed with unnecessary correspondence from clients, or ordinary citizens like myself, but recent information on matters that have priority on the congressional agenda for the next session provokes this letter.

If there's anything we can do to help prevent the prolonged wrangle over domestic issues, that our next Congress might evolve a strong foreign policy, thus defeating Moscow, and defending world democracy, PLEASE FEEL FREE TO CALL ON US.

President Truman, as well as every other red-blooded American knows ALL men resent pressure. The South is doing, and will do more toward a just and human solution of its domestic problems of interracial relationships if left to its own sense of education, fair play, and Christian discrimination, than we could ever hope to get done through pressure and legislation.

Seventy-five percent of the Negro population of the United States is still concentrated in the South (and that of choice), and it is the opinion of an increasing number of Negroes that too much interference by "outsiders" who know very little of the situation down here can only serve to retard the achievement of better human relationships. Frankly, intelligent Southern Negroes would like to have our Congress get down to the business of tackling high taxes, bureaucracy, ideological penetration, stabilizing our national economy, and defending our country from foreign aggressors. We know that what affects the South, affects the people of the South -- White and Negro.

For your information I am enclosing a copy of my recent letter to Mr. Truman.

Most humbly yours,

W. H. Lewis, President
Southern Leadership Institute

WHL/m

An Open Letter To Justice Black

Dear Judge Black: The A. P. carries the news that you will hear a petition today asking for a stay of execution for Willie McGee—Laurel man convicted three times of raping a woman. McGee is slated to die in the electric chair March 20th.

Regardless of your decision, there is a definite feeling running around that Willie McGee is guilty, and instead of any armed violence among the citizenry, I'd say there is a disgusted apathy. There is a law in Mississippi that says rape is a capital offence, despite the fact that the learned anthropologist from Columbia, who came down to plead for Willie's life last year, says, "Rape," and she licked her lips, "is no sin". But the law has found McGee guilty, white, black, yellow or mongrel. He is guilty of violating a law which is punishable by death in Mississippi, whether condoned in other states or not.

There have been over 5,000 cards mailed out by the Civil Rights Congress, a communist front organization, to our Governor, our Supreme Court Judges and "Mrs. Tillie's" contacts in Mississippi—which a current magazine tells me she was everywhere.

The Mississippi Courts have found Mr. McGee guilty three times, and in five years appealing to the U. S. Supreme Court have upheld the decision. Judith Coplan is walking around free, and she's been proven guilty. What say? The communist really "tote a mean razor", and I'm the gal that cried because Al Smith wasn't elected, feeling that justice wasn't done. And Sacco and Vanzetti! I felt that every one with a foreign name didn't get a chance with the lady with the blindfold because she peeped. Is Willie to be saved because he is a Negro? Pardon me, hand over the cocoa. It's silly to be white.

L. C. Smith.

Hope the SRC is not mixed up in this mess!

Black Asserts Telegrams Not To Influence Case

WASHINGTON —(UP)— Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black Thursday warned attorneys for Willie McGee, Mississippi Negro facing execution on Tuesday, that the case will not be decided "by pressure."

Following a 90-minute hearing, Black and Justice Harold H. Burton took under adviseent a plea to stay McGee's execution until the Supreme Court can examine his case again. A previous appeal was turned down last January.

McGee was convicted three times of raping a white woman in Laurel, Miss. His case has been in state and federal courts for about five years.

After hearing three attorneys present McGee's latest plea, Black sent for a five-inch stack of telegrams, and letters which he had received on the case.

"There seems to be growing up a practice of sending telegrams to judges in order to have cases decided by pressure," Black said.

"Counsel in this case have assured me they were not responsible for these telegrams. I am not compelled to read them and have not and will not. It is a very bad practice. There is no defense for it except ignorance on the part of the people who did it.

"This seems to be an appropriate time time to mention it. As far as I'm concerned, I don't want them. I hope you realize that courts of the United States are not the kind of instruments of justice that can be influenced by such pressures."

Black declined to make the telegrams public but it was understood most of them came from New York.

In the event a stay is granted

FRAGMENT

Recy Taylor, a 25 year old Negro woman, was abducted and raped on September 3, 1944 by six white youths of Abbeville, Alabama. She was forcibly taken by the point of a gun and knives while she was walking home from church with Fannie Daniels, 61 years old and West Daniels, 18 years old, between the hours of 11:00 p.m. and 12:00 p.m.

The car in which the boys rode passed several times going back and forth. When they caught the Negroes between vacant spaces with no houses the boys got out with a gun and knives and said, "Halt!" Fannie Daniels immediately said, "Halt, for what?" She was answered by one of the boys who stated that "This girl is wanted by Sherrif Gamble for cutting a white boy in Clopton this evening. Sheriff Gamble doesn't know her but we do by the clothes she is wearing and Sheriff Gamble has us out looking for her. You are the one and we must take you in dead or alive."

They asked West Daniels, "Is this your wife?" He said, "No, this is Willie Guy Taylor's wife. Fannie Daniels said, "You are making a mistake, this girl was at my house all day and I know she can't be the one." The one with the gun clicked the gun and asked, "Are you going?" Recy Taylor attempted to run but was commanded to stop or else be shot. She stopped and asked Fannie Daniels and West Daniels to go back to the Sherrif's office with her but they did not go. After the boys forced Recy Taylor into the car they started back toward town but were seen turning at Three Points going toward the Old Columbia Highway.

Fannie Daniels turns back and goes to Mr. Cook's home (white) and wakes him up and tells him what had happened. He asked her to stay with his wife who was ill while he, and Bennie Corbitt, Recy Taylor's father goes for the High Sheriff, Mr. George Gamble. After several attempts to get him had failed, they were successful in getting the Deputy, Mr. Lewie Corbitt, who started the hunt for the boys.

Recy Taylor says that she was taken about one and one-half (1½) miles out on the Old Columbia Highway by Hugo Wilson, Penuto Hasting, Skipper Reeves, and two or three others. While on the way, she said that she begged and pleaded with them not to kill her for the sake of her husband and baby, Willie Guy Taylor, husband and Joy Lee Taylor, two years old. They forced her to pull off all her clothing except stockings and shoes and at the point of the gun each one attacked her. She was then blindfolded and brought back to town and put out at a place known as Charlie Norton's Corner and told not to take off the blindfold until they were gone. After they were gone she staggered toward home where she was found by her father and Sheriff Lewie Corbitt.

She described the car to them and then Sheriff Corbitt found the car with Hugo Wilson, the driver and put him in jail. After questioning him, he named the others that were with him. The next day Sheriff George Gamble, Lewis Corbitt and the solicitor took Recy Taylor in a car and she carried them back to the place where the crime was committed. All evidence proved that Recy Taylor had told the truth and that the crime had been committed.

When the Grand Jury was called October 9, 1944, Recy Taylor was summoned to attend and was questioned about the attacks and Fannie Daniels and West Daniels were questioned after which all were dismissed.

A Mr. Marion White talked with Will Guy Taylor, Recy Taylor's husband and asked him if he would take $100.00 a piece from the attackers. At first he said, "No." Later he said, "Come back in a few days and I will tell you. When he came back he said, "Yes," but no one came back to pay or say anything.

Note: Fannie Daniels and West Daniels are not related to Recy Taylor. West Daniels is Fannie Daniels' Son.

This report was given direct by two witnesses and the victim of the crime to the investigator on October 28 and 29, 1944

Assaults - White v. Negro

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December 14, 1944

Dr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Enclosed is a report concerning the assault case in Abbeville, Alabama. This report is the result of an investigation made by one Mr. Nelson, Negro manager of a federal housing project in Montgomery, Alabama. Mr. Nelson went to Abbeville and talked to the victim of the assault and two witnesses, at the suggestion of Reverend Dan Whitsett, white Methodist minister, recently of Montgomery. Reverend Whitsett, happened to be in Abbeville at the time the crime was committed. Unfortunately, he has since been transferred from his Montgomery charge to a church in Marianna, Florida.

I might add that, though this report may be used as the basis for further investigation, or action, or public statement on the part of the Council, Mr. Nelson wishes that his connection with the matter be regarded as confidential, and not the subject of public comment or discussion.

There is one other lead that may be of some use. Miss Martha Craddock, a student at Booker T. Washington High School in Atlanta, is a native of Abbeville, Alabama. She has known personally some of the youths accused of the crime, and their families. I think she has been to Abbeville recently. She lives in the house next door to 561 Tatnall Street, Atlanta. A neighbor of hers, Mrs. Ruth Gamble, who lives at the 561 address will have accurate information concerning Miss Craddock's house and apartment number.

I hope that this information may facilitate the action of the Council in executing the motion of Mr. Forrester B. Washington which called for an investigation and appropriate action in the case.

Sincerely Yours,

Louis E. Burnham

Louis E. Burnham

LEB/gf
Enclosure

December 20, 1944

Mr. Louis E. Burnham
Southern Negro Youth Congress
526-28 Masonic Temple Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Burnham:

We are very grateful for your letter of December 14 and the accompanying report on the assault case in Abbeville, Alabama. We are about ready to begin our investigation of the case, and the material which you sent is going to be very helpful. We shall observe your caution concerning the confidential nature of Mr. Nelson's connection with the investigation. Thanks again for your cooperation.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

COMMITTEE FOR EQUAL JUSTICE FOR MRS. RECY TAYLOR

(Cooperating with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare)

Room 204 • 112 East 19th Street • New York 3, N. Y.

January 10, 1945

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Mr. W. W. Alexander
Rosenwald Foundation
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Alexander:

"I hope and trust God something will be done about it. I can't do anything about it," said Mrs. Recy Taylor on November 20.

In Abbeville, Alabama, on September 3rd, Mrs. Taylor was on her way home from church with friends, when she was kidnapped by armed hoodlums. They carried her out of town. They stripped her. Each one raped her. Early in the morning they dumped her, naked and blindfolded, on a street corner. The attackers were identified. One confessed. But local authorities refused to prosecute the criminals. Why? Mrs. Taylor is a Negro. Her assailants are white. Abbeville is typical of those parts of the South where "No Negro has any rights a white man is bound to respect."

On December 8, in response to demands from individuals and organizations all over the country, the Governor of Alabama belatedly promised an "investigation", but has not made any further announcement.

Mrs. Taylor's case is not merely one of an individual crying out for justice. Fascist attacks like these are blows against our national unity. The breach they threaten is insufferable. We must demand equal justice and the prosecution of the Abbeville rapists.

On behalf of the Committee, I invite you to join with responsible individuals and leaders of civic, fraternal, business, church and labor organizations (some of whom are listed) in sponsoring the Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor. Please let me know of your acceptance by wire collect as quickly as possible.

Sincerely yours,
Henrietta Buckmaster
Henrietta Buckmaster
Co-Chairman

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From Abbeville, Alabama...

"I Hope and Trust God Something Will Be Done About It . . ."

A PLEA for EQUAL JUSTICE

Committee for

EQUAL JUSTICE FOR MRS. RECY TAYLOR

112 East 19th Street • Room 204 • New York 3, N. Y.

"I CAN'T DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT..."

THAT cry for help came from Mrs. Recy Taylor, of Abbeville, Alabama, who was kidnapped, stripped of her clothing and raped by six men more than four months ago.

On September 3rd, between 11 and 12 p.m., Mrs. Taylor was on her way home from church with Mrs. Fannie Daniels, 61, and West Daniels, 18. A car passed them several times. Finally, when Mrs. Taylor and her friends had reached a deserted spot, the car stopped. Six men got out and demanded that Mrs. Taylor come with them. When she refused they drew knives and guns, and forced her into the car.

Mrs. Daniels and her son went to the home of a Mr. Cook and awakened him, asking his help. Mr. Cook and Mrs. Taylor's father went in search of the sheriff. Unable to find him, they were successful in getting the Deputy, who started the hunt for the kidnappers. They found Mrs. Taylor staggering toward her home. She had been taken about one and a half miles out of town, blindfolded, undressed, and raped by each of the hoodlums.

Mrs. Taylor described the car to the deputy sheriff, who then found the driver, Hugo Wilson, and put him in jail. After questioning, it was reported Wilson confessed, naming the others who were with him.

Yet Hugo Wilson was released the next day. And when the Grand Jury met on October 9th, although they heard the testimony of Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Daniels and West Daniels, they did not indict.

WHY?

MRS. RECY TAYLOR *is a Negro.*
Her assailants are white.

The ANSWER

THIS is not merely a case of an individual crying out for justice. All over the world Americans are fighting to wipe out fascism. We have a nation united behind that fight. We must not allow fascist acts in America to breach our unity in the world fight for democracy.

There is a new South in birth. We saw it at the time of the elections: whites and Negroes working together to defeat anti-democratic elements. We see it now in the growing unity of whites and Negroes in unions and organizations in the South.

Cooperating with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, this Committee is at work to make the facts and issues in the case of Mrs. Recy Taylor known throughout the country. We are mobilizing public opinion to insure that an "investigation" promised belatedly by the Governor of Alabama results in effective and vigorous prosecution of Mrs. Taylor's confessed assailants.

They must be punished according to Alabama law —for unity, for American womanhood, for equal justice.

YOU CAN HELP!

1 Send letters, telegrams, resolutions, to Governor Chauncey M. Sparks, State Capitol, Montgomery, Alabama, urging the application of equal justice in the case Mrs. Recy Taylor.

2 Write the Committee. Send copies of letters, telegrams or resolutions.

3 Urge your organization to initiate community or membership meetings around the case.

4 Send financial contributions to Hulan Jack, Treasurer, Room 204, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

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COMMITTEE FOR EQUAL JUSTICE FOR MRS. RECY TAYLOR

(Cooperating with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare)

Room 204 • 112 East 19th Street • New York 3, N. Y.

air mail

	ERE	15 January 11, 1945		
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(Committee continued on reverse side)

Mr. Edwin R. Embree
4901 Ellis Ave.
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Embree:

Some days ago we wrote you inviting you to join with responsible individuals and leaders of civic, fraternal, business, church and labor organizations (some of whom are listed) in sponsoring the Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor. Our letter may not have reached you due to the press of holiday mail, so we would like to again call this case to your attention.

In Abbeville, Alabama, on September 3rd, Mrs. Taylor was on her way home from church with friends, when she was kidnapped by armed hoodlums. They carried her out of town. They stripped her. Each one raped her. Early in the mornir they dumped her, naked and blindfolded, on a street corner. The attackers were identified. One confessed. But local authorities refused to prosecute the criminals. Why? Mrs. Taylor is a Negro. Her assailants are white. Abbeville is typical of those parts of the South where "No Negro has any rights a white man is bound to respect."

Mrs. Taylor wrote on November 20, "I hope and trust God something will be done about it. I can't do anything about it." In response to the demand of individuals and organizations all over the country the Governor of Alabama, on December 8th, belatedly promised an "investigation". He has refused to discuss it since that day.

This is not simply the case of an individual crying out for justice. Fascist attacks such as these are blows against our national unity. The breach they threaten is insufferable. We must continue to demand equal justice and the prosecution of the Abbeville rapists.

Won't you let us know of your acceptance of sponsorship by wire collect as quickly as possible?

Sincerely ~~yours~~,

Henrietta Buckmaster

Henrietta Buckmaster
Co-Chairman

ucpwa
82-1

Recy Taylor Case

COMMITTEE FOR EQUAL JUSTICE FOR MRS. RECY TAYLOR

(Cooperating with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare)

Room 204 • 112 East 19th Street • New York 3, N. Y.

January 17, 1945

MISS HENRIETTA BUCKMASTER
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C. C. DEJOIE

(Committee continued on reverse side)

Dr. Reid will represent Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Ex. Dir., Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

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Sincerely yours,

Henrietta Buckmaster

Henrietta Buckmaster
Co-Chairman

uopwa
1-83

January 22, 1945

Miss Henrietta Buckmaster
Committee for Equal Justice for
Mrs. Recy Taylor
Room 204, 112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Buckmaster:

Your letter of January 17 has arrived while Dr. Johnson is out of the city. In his absence, I have referred your letter to our Associate Executive Director, Dr. Ira De A. Reid. Dr. Reid tells me that he is already listed on your Committee of Sponsors, and that he will represent the Southern Regional Council on the Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Johnson

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

February 7, 1945

Dear Guy: Am herewith enclosing some correspondence which came to us at the Fund from the Committee For Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor. In view of the facts as alleged, is there anything the Southern Regional Council can do about it?

Sincerely yours,

Will W. Alexander

WWA:SO
Encs. 2

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ACTION

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February 12, 1945

LETTER

Subject: INCREASED NATIONAL SUPPORT NEEDED ON MRS. RECY TAYLOR CASE

BACKGROUND: On September 3, 1944, in Abbeville, Ala., a young Negro mother, returning as usual from Sunday evening church service, was forced by six white men into a car, taken to a remote place, raped repeatedly, returned naked to the vicinity of her home.

Although the driver of the car was found, after a search by Mrs. Taylor's father and the Deputy Sheriff of the area, and put in jail, questioned and named the others involved, he was released the next day. The Grand Jury met on October 9, heard the testimony of Mrs. Taylor, but did not indict the men involved.

UNEQUAL JUSTICE: Whereas many Negro men, particularly in Southern states, have been jailed for long terms and some even "railroaded" to a quick death simply on rumors of "raping a white woman", the crime against Mrs. Taylor was permitted for weeks to go unchallenged. No serious investigation was made by the proper authorities, and an atmosphere of subtle terror in the area kept persons from even giving medical assistance.

Finally, thinking church, civic and union leaders in Alabama, assisted by such organizations as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (with headquarters in Nashville, Tenn.) set on foot a move to bring Mrs. Taylor's attackers to justice. They pointed out that anything less than thorough investigation and proper punishment for such a crime would be unequal justice, and a dangerous perversion of America's basic ideals. They were joined by outstanding individuals throughout the nation, many of whom have formed a special Committee for Equal Justice For Mrs. Recy Taylor, of which Miss Henrietta Buckmaster and the Rev. B.C. Robeson are co-chairmen.

SOME STEPS FORWARD: In response to mounting demands for action and equal justice, from Ala. citizens and organizations, supported by a growing number in other states, Gov. Chauncey M. Sparks of Ala. promised a fair and thorough investigation. However, six months after the attack, with the attackers known to all in the vicinity, there are no positive results from the Governor's office; this is not in line with usual policy in a Southern state when a white woman is reported raped.

A C T I O N: The enclosed leaflet gives further details about the case, lists many of the sponsors, and outlines specific action needed. Please take the necessary action today. You will help secure equal justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, and help guarantee that un-American double standards of justice, and pro-fascist actions wherever they occur in our country, are ended.

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Recy Taylor Case

February 14, 1945

Dr. Will W. Alexander
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. Alexander:

I'll be seeing you here soon, but for your records I am making this reply to your letter of February 7 concerning the Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor.

You will recall that at the annual meeting of the Council we were instructed to make some investigation of the case of Mrs. Recy Taylor. We were about to send a special investigator when we learned of the Governor's statement to the effect that he had asked for a thorough investigation. We discussed the matter with the Atlanta members of our Executive Committee and were advised to hold off until we could see what results came from the Governor's announcement. In the meantime, we have obtained two confidential statements by people who were in a position to know something about the case.

Our latest information is that the grand jury has made an investigation but has not been able to get conclusive evidence against the white boys. One of our informants talked to the prosecuting attorney not long ago. He was apparently sympathetic, but stated that he could not discuss the case very much because he did not consider the investigation closed. Our information is that most of the boys involved are from good families in the community, and this fact makes it more difficult to get them indicted. There is also some suspicion that Mrs. Taylor has been given some money by one or more of the families of the boys involved, and that she is not as certain in her identification of her attackers as she was immedidately after the attack.

I am sorry to say that I do not see how the Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor can do any good in this case. The Abbeville officials have already developed something of a defensive attitude, and such pressure as the Committee exerts might muddy the waters to the point that the grand jury will be determined to make no indictments. It seems to me that the most effective pressure in this type of situation is pressure from local citizens whose opinions are respected in the community. Such influence is being exerted by a number of people who live at Abbeville and other cities in Alabama.

We wrote Governor Sparks some time ago telling him of our interest in the case and informing him that in view of his statement we would take no further action until the grand jury had made its investigation. I might add that we recently had a little conference of 20 leading Southern church women and that this case was discussed. Several of these women are taking a direct interest in the case, and I believe that if anybody can get justice done, they can. If you have any suggestions as to what else we might do, we certainly want them.

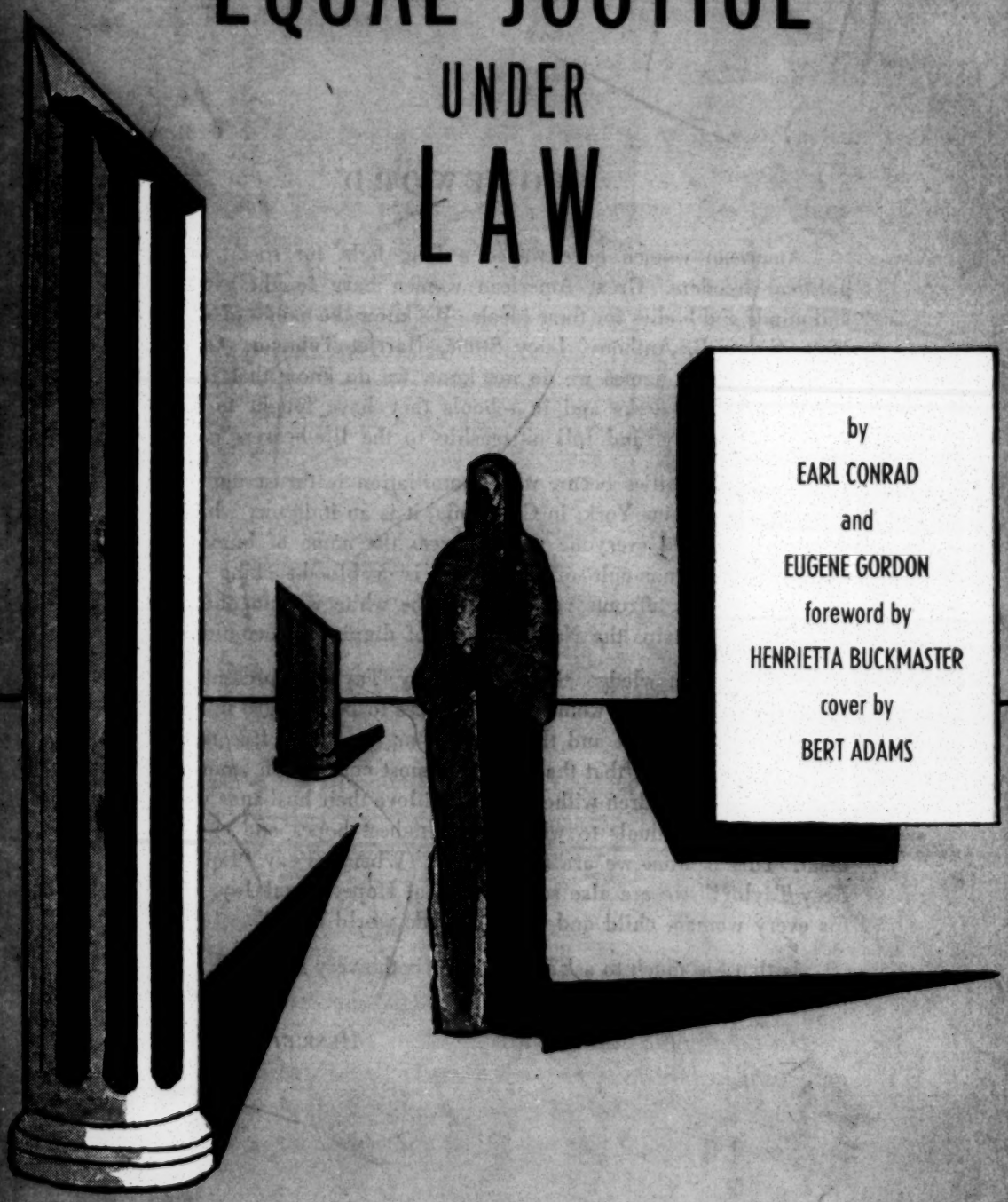
Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

6-Civil Rights: Case Reports—
Recy Taylor Case

EQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW



by
EARL CONRAD
and
EUGENE GORDON
foreword by
HENRIETTA BUCKMASTER
cover by
BERT ADAMS

COMMITTEE FOR EQUAL JUSTICE FOR MRS. RECY TAYLOR
Room 204 · 112 East 19th Street · New York 3, N. Y.

FOREWORD

American women have waged a long fight for social, economic and political freedom. Great American women have fought with their hearts and minds and bodies for these ideals. We know the names of some—Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, Harriet Tubman. Of hundreds of thousands whose names we do not know we do know that in kitchens and marketplaces, at desks and in schools they have fought to bring dignity, equal opportunity, and full citizenship to the life-bearers of our country.

When indignities occur, when humiliation is thrust upon any woman, in Alabama, in New York, in California, it is an indignity which must strike the nervecenter of everyone who deserves the name of human being. The sacred white-woman-cult of the South is a blood-sucking disease which affronts me as it affronts you. It robs the white woman of hope and self-respect, and it strips the Negro woman of dignity and confidence.

Let us acknowledge then what Recy Taylor represents to us. She represents more than a woman who chances to be a Negro in Alabama. She represents all the past and the future—our hope of a free new world, our passionate conviction that the day has almost come when women everywhere may raise their children without fear, and love their husbands with assurance, and be the individuals to which their highest hopes and capacities entitle them. This is what we are fighting for. When we say "Equal Justice for Recy Taylor!" we are also saying, "Equal Hope, Equal Joy, Equal Dignity for every woman, child and man the wide world over!"

Is that too much to ask? Why, that is the very meaning of life itself!

HENRIETTA BUCKMASTER

THE PEOPLE'S CASE . . .

By EARL CONRAD

On the night of September 3rd, 1944, a Methodist revival meeting was on in the small town of Abbeville, Alabama. That place, with about 2,000 people, black and white, lies in Henry County, in the heart of a great peanut plantation country only a few miles north of Florida, only a few miles west of Georgia. It was a warm night; a rich, full moon was rising, and the atmosphere inside the church was languid. The town, too, lay quiet. At about nine o'clock the church meeting broke up. A young man of seventeen took up a collection, turned it in to the pastor, then went out to meet his gang.

Mrs. Recy Taylor

The group of seven, aged 14 to 19, piled into a green, rattlebang automobile owned by a farmer lad, and they set out, as a white townsman later put it, "to see what they could find." They looked over the white girls who strolled along Abbeville's short main street, and then they rode out into the country.

They passed the Rock Hill Holiness Church where the Negroes were meeting and they noticed a crowd inside. They slowed down, peered inside the one-story wooden house of worship, and then turned back toward town. They halted idly for awhile, started up again, went back toward the Negro church.

It was eleven o'clock by now, perhaps eleven thirty, and the Negro church had let out. The people were going home in twos and threes. They strolled along, light of heart, in the moonlight, passing the orchards of pecan trees, passing the green-covered peanut plantations. The boys in the sputtering green car moved along the road, and in the full night light they could see the church people going homeward.

In one long stretch of the road a party of three moved leisurely ahead. The auto slowed down, and the boys looked over Mrs. Fanny Daniels, 61, her son, West Daniels, 17, and the shapely young woman in the center, Mrs. Recy Taylor, 24, the mother of a two-year-old daughter.

The car snorted as it passed the walkers, went beyond a hundred yards or so, returned hesitantly and glided past the group again. The young men were debating an approach. And Mrs. Taylor was remarking nervously that the occupants seemed intent on them.

Suddenly the green auto swept up close to them, stopped abruptly, and the young men leaped out.

"Halt!" cried one.

"What for?" answered Mrs. Daniels.

The youths closed in on the churchgoers, one packing a rifle, others flashing knives, and the leader approached Mrs. Taylor, saying, "We want you . . . you in the middle . . . for a cutting in Clopton."

Mrs. Daniels protested that they couldn't want Mrs. Taylor: she had been at the Daniels home all day.

Now the young white men surrounded the party, the rifle pointed at the young matron.

"The sheriff wants to see you," they lied. "If you aren't the one, we'll bring you home."

Mrs. Daniels kept protesting; Mrs. Taylor thought of fleeing, and the gang spokesman now threatened to shoot. Then the boys clutched her, pulled her into the auto, fled off down the road.

The car headed for Abbeville, and, so Mrs. Taylor thought, toward the sheriff's. But the party turned off on a road that led away from the sheriff's office. Mrs. Taylor tried to leap out, but someone grabbed her wrist, held her tightly, as the car raced down the Old Columbia Highway.

Now, she thought, they're going to lynch me for something I didn't do.

"Don't kill me," she pleaded. "I got a little baby. Don't kill me!"

They told her to shut up; someone threatened to kill her then and there; another, shamming solicitousness, remonstrated, "Don't kill the girl."

The car sped for a mile until she heard someone direct, "Turn at the first fork in the road."

The car turned, then it moved over a cowpath a few yards and came to a halt.

The boys jumped out, and one threw a raincoat on the ground.

At gunpoint they forced Mrs. Taylor to get out, and pushed her over across the patch of ground . . . and now she knew what it was they wanted.

Her pleas for her child and for herself brought only curses and threats of death.

When the young men were finished with her, they told her to get her dress on, thrust her into the car, took her back toward Abbeville, dropped her blindfolded at the outskirts of the town and said to her, "If you tell, we'll lynch you sure."

Meantime the Danielses had hurried on home and aroused Mrs. Taylor's father, Mr. Benny Corbett. Then they awakened a nearby white neighbor, and at once they started to hunt for the sheriff. They succeeded in finding Deputy Sheriff Louis Corbett, and now the whole party went on a hunt for the kidnappers.

They drove around nearby roads; they sought but they did not find the young gang.

One other thing happened: the parents of the young men, wondering what kept them out so late, went into the center of the town to find them. There in the town main street, in the bright moonlight, the two searching parties met.

In the middle of the night Recy Taylor staggered into her home. The deputy sheriff was there at the time.

Deputy Sheriff Corbett vowed he would find the attackers—

and he did, the next morning. He wasn't long in hauling in the driver of the car, and that young man named his accomplices. But the driver remained in jail only one day. The others never saw the inside of the place.

A significant thing happened on the day after the attack. Mrs. Taylor guided the authorities, including High Sheriff George Gamble, to the scene of the crime, and officials reportedly admitted seeing evidence of the attack.

Knowledge of the attack swept through the small community. Black and white received a shock. A pall hung over the Methodist revival which continued through the week. Mrs. Taylor was known as a woman of excellent character. She worked at various white homes. Even the parents of the attackers, we are told on unimpeachable authority, knew her as a devoted mother, as a working woman who minded her own affairs, who went straight home from work. Mrs. Taylor, who spent the first fifteen years of her life on a plantation, has three brothers and sisters. Her husband worked in Abbeville at a sawmill and as a peanut threasher.

On October 9th a Grand Jury met in Henry County. Mrs. Taylor and the Danielses were questioned. The Danielses described the kidnapping. Mrs. Taylor told of the attack. But the jury split, returned a "no bill," meaning the youths were not indicted.

The failure to indict the Abbeville gang for the crime against Mrs. Taylor was serious enough without the need of any relief background to limit its horror. But there was, in the South, at the very time of the attack on her, a parallel situation whose handling by the authorities brought into contrasting focus the injustice of the "no bill" against the attackers. In Quincy, Florida, three young Negro men, accused of raping a white woman, were arrested, indicted, tried, convicted, and *electrocuted* in two short months!

The consequences in that case, and the callous indifference in the Recy Taylor case, sent a quiver of horror through right-minded whites in Alabama. They met quietly and talked it over. They drew Negroes into their conversations. The idea of making a fight

for equal justice for Mrs. Taylor spread across the Alabama border, into other southern states, then northward. Now it is a national movement.

A few months ago, Mrs. Taylor wrote a letter to Eugene Gordon, a Negro newspaperman, who, like hundreds of others, had become interested in this case. She said:

"Afterward nobody in the town came to see me and nobody offered to provide a doctor . . . I hope and trust God something will be done about it . . . I can do nothing."

And now I want to turn you over to Mr. Gordon, who will describe how the people have been answering Mrs. Taylor's appeal. He'll discuss the pattern that made possible this crime and tell you of its political significance in this crucial war year.

. . . FOR EQUAL JUSTICE

By Eugene Gordon

Of course, the raping of Mrs. Recy Taylor was a vicious crime. It was a fascist-like, brutal violation of her personal rights as a woman and as a citizen of a democracy.

The State of Alabama, with a highly efficient legal apparatus for punishing rapists, acts slowly, with deep reluctance. Its machinery, as smooth as oil in prosecuting the innocent Scottsboro boys, creaks and hesitates. Indeed, certain persons in Alabama are suspected of being ready to resort to almost any tricks to absolve the criminals.

But there is more to this than the raping of a Negro wife and mother in a feudal-minded Alabama town.

Negro women have been raped in the South for more than three hundred years. And the rapists got away with it. When I was there on the Taylor case last December I heard of a number of cases.

There is the case of a little girl in Montgomery. Unspeakably bestial, it was just ordinary for some parts of the South. Little

Amanda Baker had been picked up in a car, carried outside the town, raped and killed. The murderer poured hydrochloric acid down her throat. He was white. He has never been arrested. Apparently neither Montgomery nor state police have interested themselves in trying to find him. She was just a little Negro girl.

I learned, when I was in Birmingham, about the Simpson case: white man took possession of a black man's wife when she moved into a little Alabama town ahead of her husband to prepare their new home; husband was waylaid and nearly killed by white men to scare him away from his own wife; she, helpless; the law, indifferent.

In Decatur, Georgia, three white youths admitted to police officers that they had severely beaten 20-year-old Walter Berry, Jr., a Negro, stolen Berry's car and forced his 17-year-old girl companion, also Negro, into a deserted cabin six miles away, where they criminally assaulted her in bestial fashion. The criminals were given their freedom under a total of $6,000 in bail. Both rape and sodomy are capital offenses in Georgia and the customary procedure is not to allow bail.

Horror stories whispered to me in Abbeville showed that town's treatment of Mrs. Taylor to be part of a pattern:

Fred Ward, Negro, 16, had recently been chased out of town for defending two young girl acquaintances from a group of white bullies.

Lee Ward, Negro, 17, was beaten by a mob. He had been accused of stealing five dollars.

Peter Johnson, Negro soldier, home in Abbeville after two years overseas, was beaten by a mob.

Robert Fagor, Negro youth, was threatened with lynching because, according to gossip, he had "insulted" a white woman. The "insulted" woman, it was later learned, had been friendly with the youth.

Wesley Johnson, Negro, jailed for "insulting" a white woman.

was taken out and lynched. Bibb Graves, Governor of Alabama at that time, sought to impeach the High Sheriff—J. L. Corbitt. The first Grand Jury in session when this impeachment case was reported to them stayed deadlocked—11 to 7 in favor of indictment.

Yes, there is more to Mrs. Taylor's case than her having been raped. Mrs. Taylor is not the first Negro woman to be outraged, but it is our intention to make her the last. "White-supremacy" imitators of Hitler's storm troopers shrink under the glare of the nation's spotlight. They know that so long as that spotlight exposes them to the gaze of Americans they can neither escape responsibility for old crimes nor commit new ones.

Focusing national attention on the case, in support of Alabamans who are determined to wipe the blot of unequal justice from the South, the Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor brought powerful national support to Governor Chauncey M. Sparks of Alabama, who promised to investigate the case. As a result of the investigation, the case was presented once more to a Grand Jury, specially called to consider it, on February 14, 1945. But again—"no bill"—the boys went free again. Temporarily.

You, who read these words: think what this case means to you.

We are united in a war against fascism. We must not allow fascist-like acts to breach that unity. The boys lined up against Hitlerism must know that their wives, their sweethearts, their sisters, their mothers can not be mistreated with impunity as was Mrs. Taylor. They must know that those they love are secure and safe in a democratic America, where laws apply equally to all citizens.

Sixty million jobs—such a post-war program demands our strength and our unity to a greater degree than ever before. We can strengthen our unity. We can do it, together, by proving to all of the peoples of the United States that our democracy is growing.

The attack on Mrs. Taylor was an attack on all women. Mrs. Taylor is Negro. But the only reason a black woman was singled out was that owing to economic, social and political inequality established during and held over from slavery, she was unprotected, and, there-

fore, easy prey. A part of her helplessness came from the fact that the criminals believed they wouldn't be punished. The black woman, and not the white, is generally the object of debasement, but only because the black woman is less well protected economically and socially. The white woman is safe only to a degree above the safety of the black woman. No woman is safe or free until all women are free. A fight to free all women is a fight for widespread and complete democracy in the United States.

All sorts of benefits have come to the Negro people—and, consequently, to the whole country—as a result of our fighting fascist tendencies at home while fighting armed fascism on the battlefield. There are Negroes in every branch of the armed services; Negroes in every branch of industry; Negroes integrated in the trade union movement, North and South; preparations under way to preserve the Negro's war gains for peacetime; Negroes elected to office by black and white voters; increasing numbers of white citizens in the South joining the fight for Negro rights in the South on a basis of equality rather than on a basis of paternalism.

But there are still the Fred Wards, the Lee Wards, the Peter Johnsons, the Robert Fagors, the Simpsons, the little Amanda Bakers, and all the countless fine and decent people who have had to suffer indignities, brutalities and death because they were black.

The fight for justice for Mrs. Taylor is a fight for them, too.

It is the duty—as well as the right and privilege—of every American to see that this fight is successful.

I am sure that you are doing your part to win the war. I know that the demands on your energies are greater than ever before—so much so that it may seem difficult to take this added responsibility for yourself and your organization. But, while this was being written, a letter came to our office. It came from thirty-three very busy people, enclosing a letter they had sent to the Governor of Alabama. The date line on the letter is "Somewhere in Belgium"—and the signers are soldiers.

Committees for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor have been

formed in a dozen states. More are in formation. Organizations of the people in almost every state have sent letters, telegrams, resolutions to Governor Sparks and his Attorney-General. Hundreds of meetings have been, and are being, held. Still—it is not enough. Her attackers still swagger on the streets of Abbeville.

This fight for equal justice can be won. The criminals can be indicted and tried under Alabama law for the crime of rape—if the voices of millions of Americans who believe that unity must be strengthened, that every fascist-like act against any minority group is an attack on democracy, are heard in Alabama.

The Governor and Attorney-General of Alabama must be aided in their pledge to do something about this case. They have at various times expressed determination to protect their womanhood: let us pledge our unqualified support. Let us insist that the letter and the spirit of Alabama's law against rape be enforced.

Mrs. Recy Taylor has become the symbol of free womanhood. The fight for justice for her has become the fight for equal justice and democracy.

COMMITTEE FOR EQUAL JUSTICE FOR MRS. RECY TAYLOR

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Rev. J. Clyde Keegan

YOUR SHARE IN THE FIGHT FOR EQUAL JUSTICE

1. Send letters, telegrams, resolutions to Governor Chauncey M. Sparks, State Capitol, Montgomery, Alabama, commending his action in bringing the case before the Grand Jury. Urge him to use his powers as Chief Executive of the State to see that these criminals are brought to justice. Send copies to the Committee, to your union publication, and local newspapers.

2. Initiate community or organizational membership meetings around the case. Copies of this pamphlet, a leaflet and petition collection-sheets are available for distribution.

3. Write the Committee, so that you may be kept informed of new developments. Whenever possible, groups in each community should work together on the case. We can help you by putting you in touch with other local groups.

4. Funds are urgently needed to carry out this program of national action. Send your personal contribution today, and see that your organization sends a generous contribution. Send checks to Hulan Jack, Treasurer, Room 204, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

COMMITTEE FOR EQUAL JUSTICE FOR MRS. RECY TAYLOR

(Cooperating with Committee for Equal Justice, Montgomery, Alabama)

Room 204 • 112 East 19th Street • New York 3, N. Y.

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(*Committee continued on reverse side*)

March 7, 1945

Dear Friends:

Your cooperation with the Committee shows that you know why the story of a woman you've never seen--who is, perhaps, of a different race and color and faith than yours--is important to you. You know that Mrs. Taylor's story is so important it might mean the kind of future you will have.

"Equal Justice Under Law" tells Mrs. Taylor's story--and why it is important. We want thousands of people to have the opportunity of reading it, because we believe that the fight for equal justice is an important part of the fight for a better world. We know you do.

You have already given your cooperation to this Committee. There is more for you to do. We need your help in distributing this pamphlet--hundreds of thousands of copies of it.

You know that contributions are the "legs" which carry forward the work of an organization. We have to help finance a southwide delegation to the Governor of Alabama. We should help issue special literature, written by Southerners for Southerners, for distribution in the South. We have to give Mrs. Taylor assistance and medical care.

Eighteen pamphlets cost $1. $10 pays for one hundred and eighty. $50 will mean that nine hundred people learn what you know--why equal justice must be won for every American.

Won't you, within the week, get signatures to the enclosed petition, with contributions? And won't you today, if you possibly can, send a personal contribution to this fight for equal justice?

Cordially yours,
Glenda Sullivan
Executive Secretary

P.S. We will be glad to furnish as many copies of the pamphlet and petition as you need.

Gs/ar
uopwa
1-83

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HON. CHARLES R. SAVAGE

West Virginia

PROF. J. SAPOSNEKOW

Wisconsin

MEYER ADELMAN
HAROLD CHRISTOFFEL
REV. MALCOLM DE PUI MAYNARD

Wyoming

REV. J. CLYDE KEEGAN

Believing that

EQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW

is the inalienable right of all citizens of the United States, without regard to race, creed or color; and understanding that Mrs. Recy Taylor, young Negro mother, residing in the town of Abbeville in Henry County, Alabama, was kidnapped and criminally assaulted by six young white men on September 4, last, that her assailants have not been arrested, tried or punished, although one confessed and named the others and this confession and other evidence has twice been presented to the Grand Jury of the County; we, the undersigned, earnestly urge and petition

The Honorable Chauncey M. Sparks

Governor of Alabama

to use the powers delegated to you by the Electors and the Constitution of the State of Alabama, to secure prompt trial of these criminals.

Do Not Detach

Your contribution for the campaign for equal justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor

	Name	Address
1.		
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Circulated by: (Name of individual or organization).....

Return to:

COMMITTEE FOR EQUAL JUSTICE FOR MRS. RECY TAYLOR
Room 204, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

Nº 5710

Total

Return with this Petition

10

COMMITTEE FOR EQUAL JUSTICE FOR MRS. RECY TAYLOR

(Cooperating with Committee for Equal Justice, Montgomery, Alabama)

Room 204 • 112 East 19th Street • New York 3, N. Y.

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MRS. FLORENCE SMEDLEY

(Committee continued on reverse side)

RECEIVED
APR 23 1945
DEP'T OF GENERAL
CHURCH SCHOOL WORK

RBE

April 18, 1945

Dear Friends:

Last week a special meeting of the National Conference of Christians and Jews heard that America is faced with a revival of Ku Klux Klanism. Mr. Elmo Roper, director of Fortune Magazine's Public Opinion Poll, who made the report, said that the dissemination of anti-minority feeling is the essential purpose behind this--and that the Negro probably will be the "No. 1 victim" of a postwar outbreak of intolerance.

I am sure you understand the importance of preventing such outbreaks--the vital need for nation-wide education and action.

The story of Mrs. Recy Taylor, told in the enclosed folder, is shocking enough in itself. It becomes even more horrible with the understanding that it is not unusual. We believe that we can make it unusual--by winning equal justice in this case. We believe that every meeting, every signature on a petition, has inestimable value in the fight against discrimination.

You can help by: 1)bringing the case to the executive board of your organization, passing a resolution as outlined in the folder, 2)sending an immediate contribution to help in this fight, 3)distributing literature and petitions (furnished upon request).

Won't you let us hear from you--immediately?

Cordially yours,
HENRIETTA BUCKMASTER
Co-Chairman

HB/mg
uopwa
1-83

Dr. G.B.J.
What about this case? What of this approach to it?
Thank you
A.D.Eleazer

Recy Taylor case

April 27, 1945

Mr. R. B. Eleazer
810 Broadway
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Eleazer:

Thanks for sending us the appeal from the Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor. We have received several similar communications.

I am sure that the Committee means well, and I hope that it does some good. We have watched the case and through members in Alabama have tried to see if anything could be done to bring the white boys to trial. One of our informants tells us that the county prosecutor said that "outside" pressure from committees such as this was not helping the situation a bit. One never knows. However, it is our opinion that the Council's efforts would not gain anything by tying in with the Recy Taylor Committee.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Thank you for bringing Miss Nichols' "The Abbeville Case," to my attention in the last issue of The Southern Frontier.

Would you be so kind as to send me another copy of that issue, and do you suppose the Christian Century ~~xii~~ would allow me to reproduce it and distribute it among my college students? Its message is as pertinent to Philadelphia as to Alabama?

Yours loyally,

Kenneth W. Cameron

Kenneth W. Cameron
P. O. BOX 3200
STATION "C"
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

May S.F. priced
2¢ a copy

June 19, 1945

Mr. Kenneth W. Cameron
P. O. Box 3200
Station "C"
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Cameron:

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the May issue of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, containing the report of "The Abbeville Case," by Mrs. Nichols.

We assume that the CHRISTIAN CENTURY would give you permission to reprint the article. If you could use it as it appears in the FRONTIER, however, we should be glad to let you have additional copies at two cents each. From our present supply we could let you have one or two hundred. If more are needed, we could have our printer run them off, as the type on this story is still standing. Will you please let us know by return mail whether or not you would like to order these through our office. The printer will hold the type a few days longer, to give me time to hear from you.

A new and revised edition of our pamphlet UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS is now ready for distribution. We hope that the enclosed copy will interest you.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer

September 29, 1949

Mrs. Alice Spearman
Newberry, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

Dr. Benjamin Mays called today to see if we could get him any detailed local information about the recent attack case in Greenwood County, which the radio four or five days ago announced had ended in the sentencing of a young Negro man to electrocution. The circumstances about the long drive around in the car with the white girl and her escort lend an air of improbability to the case of the Negro man.

Could you be at pains to get us what you can, not only of current newspaper accounts, but of opinion in Greenwood and nearby?

If it is your finding that there is every reason to suppose that the man is guilty as judged, that is that. But if you find a good deal of contrary opinion, we would be interested in hearing of it.

If your own circumstances won't let you make the inquiry, please arrange for someone else to become informed and write us.

We understand the execution is set for October 28.

Of course, if you find grounds for starting protest, the South Carolina Division should do what it wishes itself, without reference to us.

I should not keep Dr. Mays waiting long for knowledge of whether more information will reach him from us or not, so please let me know what you can take on in the way of getting the facts.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Impossible for me to go to Greenwood, so am sending Miss Rebecca Reid a copy of your letter asking that she send you information she has, & any she can get. She was visiting next door to the escort in case & heard him tell about it. It all sounded most unreal to her. Also am sending your request to Mr. Sam Smith, Supt. of Connie Maxwell Children's Home at G'wood, & a mbr. of our Adv. Comm. asking that he communicate with you. Could your office contact the N.A.A.C.P. office in Cola. to learn what it knows, and is doing? I so wish I could do more about this.

Hastily,
Alice N. Spearman

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1949
Southern Regional Counc.

Suspense

Dr. Mitchell - Sorry this is all Mr. Smith has gotten — a.w.s.

Connie Maxwell
CHILDREN'S HOME

SAM M. SMITH, SUPERINTENDENT & TREASURER
MISS JEANNETTE MURDOCH, ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT
JOHN C. MURDOCH, ASSISTANT TREASURER
F. J. HERRING, DIRECTOR ACTIVITIES

OWNED AND OPERATED BY BAPTISTS OF SOUTH CAROLINA
MEMBER CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA

GREENWOOD, S. C.

October 3, 1949

Mrs. Eugene H. Spearman
Algene Acres
Newberry, S. C.

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

I have your letter of September 30 regarding the recent attack case in Greenwood County.

Since this is the season in which I am out of town about half the time in my work of interpretation of Connie Maxwell's program, I shall not have opportunity to do anything like a detailed investigation regarding the sentiment of the public on the recent case here in Greenwood. However, from the information I have been able to get and from the attitude of the fairly thoughtful element, I believe the man is guilty of the crime. The average man on the street thinks he was given a fair trial and that justice was the outcome. My own studied opinion is that the negro is guilty.

An opportunity may be had to discuss this case with members of the negro race with whom I am acquainted and have respect for their judgment and integrity.

It is my hope that you will experience a speedy recovery from the operation which you face.

With every good wish and kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Sam M. Smith
Supt. & Treasurer

SMS/c

Dr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave.N.E.
Atlanta 3,Ga.

Oct 6-1949

RECEIVED
OCT 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

As soon as possible after receiving the request from Alice Spearman, yesterday, I went to Columbia and interviewed Mr. Harold R.Boulware, Attorney, 1109½ Washington St., Columbia, who was defense attorney in the Greenwood case and had been reported in the State paper as saying that he was very much gratified because of the spirit of fair play that was evidenced in the trial . (He says he didn't say just that)

I was in Greenwood the night after the tragedy,visiting in the home next door to the family of the "escort". A member of his family talked with me into the night about the young man's story, and both of us were puzzled about two aspects of his version:

1. Twice, he asserted, the Negro tried to assault the girl,telling them if there was any interference he'd kill both.Question one then in our minds was "Why didn't he"? Of course later it was revealed that he did. You can readily see why this version.
2. Why the wild driving over the country when every mile was a risk of his being discovered? (More of this when I report Mr. Boulware's account.)

Of course the "escort" was crushed, humiliated,- "that he was not man enough"to protect his first date. He is the 17 year old, only, spoiled child of a widowed mother.

I give you this as a background for my interview yesterday with Mr. Boulware and a subsequent conference in Columbia with a friend from Greenwood.

The substance of Mr. Boulware's account follows:
(I am not using quotation marks, as I am trying to give this as accurately as my memory allows.)

There were two actual assaults on the girl during the two hour drive in Greenwood and Laurence Counties. The clothes of both the Negro and the girl,according to FBI tests, showed blood and hairs of both races. Besides,the Negro man admitted this to Mr. Bulware (he is a Negro lawyer), however, insisting that it was not rape, but with"mutual consent."??????.

Mr. Boulware told me that the defendant was a domineering type with an evident flare for bullying,. To satisfy this bent and "frighten and cow the couple" was his first intent. He had drunk quite a quantity of poison alcohol that afternoon, and the theory was that the driving about could be explained by his desire to go somewhere to get more drink, and by hiscondition due to former indulgence. They did stop to get beer as well as gas, which the victims were required to pay for.
Mr. Boulware said there was little for him to do in the way of defense, as there was no defense. He seemed to think there was no question of the defendant's sanity, except for the drinking.

I asked the attorney how he accounted for the orderly trial in a town where the victims lived, and that has been guilty of more than one instance of racial disorder. He stated that much was brewing that didnot get into the papers, but that the father of the girl, Solicitor Beasley, threw all of his influence toward the procedure of letting the law have its course, and that at one time when matters grew tense,

the solicitor, father of the girl, walked over and laid his hand on the Negro attorney's shoulder as a gesture of confidence.
Incidentally, he also stated that and elderly citizen struck Mr. Boulware once, but "he just represented the old-time attitude."

Several women in the court room, when the defense had insisted on Negro names on the jury panel, came over to express their gratification to him, with the statement that it should have been done long ago. I understand there was a Negro on the jury.

After talking with Mr. Boulware and getting this very sane account of the trial, a question came into my mind as to the bias or non-bias of him as he represented the Negro race. Then I remembered the times when he had been associated with the NAACP and with Thurgood Marshall in several local trials, and I feel reassured.

Later in the day, I talked with a friend from Greenwood, a very orthodox lady of the "best families", and she had had no further interpretation that might conflict with our first account of the case, and she added: "The people of Greenwood liked the Negro attorney very much."

Mr. Boulware thought that nothing but gathered rumors would be gained by my going to Greenwood again. So that is that, and I pass it on to you and Dr. Mays for what it is worth. I am not re-writing it, because I think you want facts rather than a literary production, even if I could produce the latter, and time counts.

With best wishes always,

Rebecca Reid

Rebecca Reid.

I am sending extra copy in case you need it, and will send one to Alice and Mr. Dabbs.

See clipping file under: Tolbert Case (Greenwood, S.C.)

October 21, 1949

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President
Morehouse College
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

Here is such local information as we have been able to get about the recent attack case in Greenwood County, S. C. Our correspondence with local people has, of course, been confidential. If you should like to use any of this information, we would appreciate you doing so in a manner which would not embarrass any of the people with whom we have been in touch.

One of our correspondents, Miss Rebecca Reid of Sumter, S. C., was in Greenwood the night after the tragedy, visiting friends who lived next door to the family of the girl's escort. She had the opportunity of talking at length with a member of the boy's family who, she reports, was "puzzled" — as she was — over the circumstances surrounding Tolbert's long drive around the country with the boy and girl when the risk of discovery was so great. She learned that the 17-year-old boy was the only, "spoiled" son of a widowed mother.

On October 5, Miss Reid interviewed Mr. Harold R. Boulware of Columbia, defense attorney in the case. Mr. Boulware is a Negro lawyer who, according to Miss Reid, has been previously associated with the NAACP and Thurgood Marshall in several local trials. The substance of her conversation with Mr. Boulware is as follows:

1. Mr. Boulware told Miss Reid that Tolbert was a "bullying", "domineering" sort of person and that his first intent that night had been to "frighten and cow the couple".

2. Mr. Boulware stated that Tolbert admitted to him two actual assaults on the girl during the drive. The clothes of both Tolbert and the girl, according to FBI tests, showed blood and hairs of both races. Tolbert insisted to Boulware, however, that it was not rape since there was mutual consent. /According to the Greenville News for August 13,

1949, Tolbert freely admitted the attacks when apprehended and told questioners that he had changed his clothing after leaving the young couple near the spot where he earlier had forced himself into the car. According to this news account, Greenwood County officers went to the spot he mentioned and found the clothing where he had hidden it.]

3. According to Mr. Boulware, Tolbert had drunk a large amount of "poison alcohol" that afternoon and had driven around during the incident that night trying to find some more to drink. They did stop for beer as well as gas, which the victims were required to pay for. [The same Greenville News story quoted Greenwood officers as stating that the girl's escort had started to resist but that Tolbert started to choke the girl, threatening to kill them both if there was further resistance. According to the officers, the youth was "frail and had had heart trouble".]

4. Mr. Boulware told Miss Reid that there had been little he could do for Tolbert as defense attorney, "as there was no defense". There apparently was no question of Tolbert's sanity, except for the drinking.

5. The fact that the trial in Greenwood was an orderly one Mr. Boulware attributed to the father of the girl, A Mr. Beasley, who is the Solicitor. Although tension was high, Mr. Boulware said that the girl's father threw all his influence behind the legal process. At one point in the trial when things grew tense, the Solicitor walked over to Mr. Boulware and laid his hand on his shoulder as a gesture of confidence.

What other information we have been able to obtain does not conflict with the account Miss Reid has given us.

We hope that we are not too late in getting this to you and that it will be of some help in clearing up some of the dubious points in the case.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:s

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 26, 1949

RECEIVED
OCT 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I thank you for your report on the Tolbert case. I am very glad that Miss Reid had a conference with Mr. Boulware of Columbia who was the defense in the case. As I said to you, the accounts which I read in the Greenwood Index Journal seemed both strange and odd and it was very difficult for me to see how the thing could have happened just that way. I appreciate your getting this information for me.

I was primarily interested because Greenwood County is the County where I was born; and frankly its reputation in history is not too good. I am glad to note though that Tolbert got the justice he deserved.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours truly,

Benjamin E. Mays

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM
arw

April 9, 1945

The Honorable Ellis Arnall
Governor of the State of Georgia
State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Governor Arnall:

I am writing respectfully to request the official influence of your executive office to the end that the State of Georgia may not be through her own negligence a party to an act of grave injustice to two of her citizens and that the emerging position of the State in national affairs shall not be clouded by an indictment of national opinion that she is still one of the great barriers to the attainment of democracy in this country.

I am referring to the reported brutal beating of a twenty-year old Negro youth and the almost unbelievable details of the rape and perverted exploitation of his seventeen-year old girl friend which took place the day before Christmas near Decatur. The fact that the three white youths accused of the crime were released on extremely low bail and that one of them has already been acquitted by Gwinnett County after a trial of less than ten minutes strongly suggests that there is no sincere attempt to see that there is no sincere attempt to see that justice is done in this case.

One needs hardly point out what would have transpired if the race of the principals had been reversed. One shudders to think of the wave of emotion which would have swept through Dekalb and Gwinnett Counties if this had been the case. And yet, from the standpoint of the thinking of many white Southerners, the outrage could seem to be all the greater because it was committed by white youths instead of Negro youths. Many Southerners think of the Negro as having an inherently criminal tendency and therefore point to their own increased importance as keepers of law and order. Is the majority of the white South willing, through failure to prosecute such a case as this, to admit to the rest of the world that it passively condones such behavior? In spite of all their teaching to the contrary, can Negroes long maintain any respect for standards set by white persons under such circumstances? Negroes are constantly urged to become more law abiding. But how can they ever abide by the law in good conscience when that law seems to dispense only injustice?

When charges such as these are made by a white woman against a Negro man in the South, it is likely that most white persons tend automatically to believe them because of their ingrained belief about the irresponsibility and criminality of Negroes. By happenstance, the same effect is achieved when the situation is reversed, although by a different line

of reasoning. Negroes tend automatically to believe the Negro girl's charges because they know that if it is dangerous to make even true assertions about white persons in the South, it is doubly so to make false charges. Whenever a Negro girl makes such a serious charge as this, for the precise reason that she is not expected to, almost one hundred per cent of the Negro community will believe it. Most Negroes would tend to believe it anyhow, of course, because they know of the frequency with which their women are indirectly approached by white men.

For a long while, the South has protested against "outside interference" and has pleaded for a chance to solve its own problems. This case should provide an excellent study of the way in which such "outside interference" develops, for I predict that if the same lethargy and apparent lack of a fundamental will for justice continues to be shown by local authorities, it is almost inevitable that the case will be picked up and made a national issue.

Georgia has the chance to demonstrate its interest in solving its own problems and in solving them on the basis of equal justice before the law. Certainly it cannot be said that the traditional emotional barrier to justice for Negroes, the thought of "social equality" aspirations on their part, is present in this case. If anything, it is social equality in reverse.

The issue is clearly one of simple justice, and it is on that basis solely that I respectfully request your effort as Governor of the State of Georgia to see that justice is done. Harmonious race relations can never exist in the South as long as the memory of Negro Americans is pricked with a sense of their hopelessness in situations of this sort. I earnestly pray that your action will give them the hope that they may look forward to equal treatment under the law.

Very sincerely yours,

William Y. Bell, Jr.
Southern Field Director.

WYB:MW
Special Delivery

File

COPY

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

ATLANTA

Ellis Arnall
Governor

M. E. Thompson
Executive Secretary

April 16, 1945

Mr. William Y. Bell, Jr.
National Urban League
158 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Bell:

Acknowledgment is made with thanks for your letter of April 9th relative to the alleged criminal attack made on a young Negro girl by Ralph New, Ralph Goza and Howard Morgan.

This incident took place in DeKalb County and was presented to the DeKalb County Grand Jury. Under the Constitution and laws of this State, the Governor of Georgia has absolutely no power over the action of the grand juries of the several counties of the State.

Under the circumstances, I am powerless to do anything about it.

With highest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Ellis Arnall
Governor

ea/ct

Civil Rights case

Albany State College

ALBANY, GEORGIA

March 27, 1946

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Ernest Trimble went from house to house including one negro minister asking for "Betty" at last house was insisted that "Betty" was there & on entering shot after he

Mr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Trigg:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 25, 1946 in which you refer to the phone call to me on Friday morning, March 22. I was surprised to get a call relative to that matter, but in no way surprised at the interest you are taking in the general welfare here in our State.

I have made several inquiries about this matter and this is what I have found. My Dean and one other Professor read in a paper on Monday, March 18th that the Principal at Ocilla had been accidentally shot. These men reported to me independently that the article implied that this Principal seem to have been having some mental trouble and had gone from house to house asking for some person, and when he went to the last house, he stated, that the person was in although the head of the house had told him that she was not there, and when he made some effort to enter the home he was killed. The article further stated that this was an error and that this man was well thought of by both White and Colored in the community.

The only other bit of information that I received was from another member of our faculty who was a classmate of the deceased. This classmate said that he heard several weeks ago that the person in question had given evidence of having had some serious difficulty which played on his mind. It seems that he and his wife had separated and he had not been himself then. I have checked our Library for this article. I have checked the Atlanta World, The Albany Herald and the Atlanta Constitution, it therefore occurs to me that the article might have been in the Atlanta Journal on Monday or Tuesday, March 18 or 19. I am sorry that I have no additional information.

— check Miss Parks

Sincerely yours,

Aaron Brown

Aaron Brown, President

AB/jp

March 30, 1946

President Aaron Brown
Albany State College
Albany, Georgia

Dear Dr. Brown:

I am very grateful for your letter of March 27 and the information which it contains. If there is any new development, I shall be happy to inform you.

With kindest good wishes and highest personal regards, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

GEORGIA COUNCIL OF CHURCH WOMEN
MRS. A. A. HARDY, PRESIDENT
10 BLEACHERY STREET
THOMASTON, GA.

August31, 1951.

SEP 4 1951
Southern Regional Council

DR. George S. Mitchell:
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I became so interested in the case that after I talked to you I decided to go back to Atlanta and spend the night and go to the trial on Thursday .

I kept wondering how I would ever get to speak to Mrs. Almonds without arousing someones curiosity. I got a seat naar the press at recess and asked aNegro, or I should say the Negro who was there if he was a reporter and when he said "yes"I asked him if he was with The Daily World, and when his reply was affirmativeI felt it was safe to trust him so I asked him to get the address for me. There wasn't any chance to before court adjourned and he said he would get it andcall you, that he knew you personally. As I was coming down the steps I saw Mrs. Almomds go into the little colored waiting room and I went in there and spoke to her . I told her I was her friend and wanted to know where she was "staying" She said Westend and a girl with her said it was Oakland City Iasked for street and number and she said 205 Oakland City. You probably know where this section is but I have no idea. I am just passing it on to you for what it may be worth.

I drove 214 miles after I subtracted my trip back into town for the night.I had a phone call of$1.50trying

GEORGIA COUNCIL OF CHURCH WOMEN
MRS. A. A. HARDY, PRESIDENT
10 BLEACHERY STREET
THOMASTON, GA.

to get in touch with someone who knew the neighborhood better than I. Iate a 45 cent lunch.

I am glad I stayed for the trial and saw some of the policemem squirm when Homers lawyers asked many questions leading to his confession. I wish I could have stayed to-day and heard Homerss statement.

Thank you for asking me to do this. I hope you will ask me again sometime and I have better luck.

Respectfully,

Penelope Hardy.
(Mrs. A.A.)

Court cases McCray

24th September 1951

SEP 25 1951
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Dr. J. M. Dabbs
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Dabbs:

I have waited an unconscionably long time to reply to your letter of August 31 with reference to Mr. McCray. My apologies.

While I have no doubt that McCray has received a raw deal from the State, I would hesitate a long while before attempting to question publicly the validity and propriety of the action taken by the courts in his case. I assume that he was represented by competent counsel and that the Judge was within his legal rights in revoking the parole. If not, relief by way of appeal is available. It seems to me that for us to attack the revocation is equivalent to saying that the Judge was biased or ignorant or that the facts were not properly presented. Personally, I would not go that far, while entertaining my own mental reservations. Of course, any statement made by a parole officer concerning McCray's right to leave the State would not have justified McCray in so leaving. The conditions of the sentence imposed upon him speak for themselves and no administrative officer would be empowered to alter them by interpretation.

While such is my feeling about the revocation of his sentence, I might have a different view about a collateral matter. I understand that a white reporter and McCray were both indicted for criminal libel in connection with publication of substantially the same allegations. I recall that McCray was fairly promptly tried and sentence imposed. I have never seen what disposition was made of the case of the white reporter. If the offenses of the two men were substantially the same, I think that the difference in the handling of the two cases (if I am correct in my impressions) would be a proper subject for comment or resolution.

You will recall that Beverly Herbert originally represented McCray, and I imagine that he could give you all of the facts needed in reaching a decision on whether or not the course of action of the State in the two cases is actually subject to criticism.

With best wishes and kind regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

MAW:L

cc - Dr. George Mitchell
Atlanta, Ga.

M. A. Wright

See also:

Debs, J. M., correspondence
re McCray case

IMPORTANT

The Southern Regional Council announces the removal of its quarters from 710 Standard Building to:

Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Please use this address for all mail intended for:

Southern Regional Council
The Southern Frontier
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
Conference on Education and Race Relations

C
O
P
Y

Info. Req.

Civil Rights case?

February. 12.19 52

Mr, Mitchell,

Dear sir
I was in Defuniak Springs, to talk with my aturney, Feb,loth,52 an it seems impossible for me to get any thing done for the Negroes in this county, the case i put before you is still pending, an they are tortuing me since you spoke to a groop in Florida, for the advancement of Colored people,
SO i want your corporation to gather with Mr Walter White he is the Executive secretary of the NAAcp, 20 West 40th Street, New, York, 18, NY,

i have wrote him an ask that he contact you an lend to us a helping hand, it is nothing but a a bunch of rum making outlaws that pulled the job , so you all come to see me at your early date,

Yours truly,

RL,Ellis
Route One
Baker, Fla.

February 19, 1952

Rabbi Julius A. Leibert
1900 Whaley St.
Pensacola, Fla.

Dear Rabbi Leibert:

I had the enclosed letter today from somebody named R. L. Ellis at Baker in Okaloosa County.

We haven't got much of a filing system, and we couldn't trace any previous correspondence with him.

I wrote him, though, that we did have you as a member within reaching distance, and explained to him that though we were freindly with the NAACP, we were not connected with them.

I don't know what further Mr. Ellis will do, and of course I don't know what his trouble is. And it does seem wise to try to get news from him nearer by.

There is, of course, the off chance that he has some knowledge of the Mims case, which would make his letter important.

If you have any suggestions, I would appreciate word.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 19, 1952

Mr. R. L. Ellis
Baker, Fla.

Dear Mr. Ellis:

I got your letter of February 19, addressed to Mr. Mitchell, 63 Auburn Avenue.

None of us in this office can remember having had letters from you before.

Is there something we have been trying to work out with you?

The nearest member of our Council to you that I can think of is Rabbi Julius Leibert in Pensacola.

We are friendly with the NAACP, but not connected with them in any way.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Info. Requests
Civil Rights
cases - Mims
Moore

February 23, 1952

Mrs. Warren Zeuch
850 Royal Palm Pl.
Vero Beach, Fla.

Dear Mrs. Zeuch:

We are mighty late in answering your letter of February 9. My thanks for the dues you kindly sent in.

I don't think anybody has much light on the Florida violence. The outline of the happenings you and the Rev. Mr. Lauenborg will know better than we.

I have talked once or twice with Crawford Solomon by phone. He has word from numerous sources that the local police in the Mims area have been quite diligent in trying to find the people who did the bombing there and have cooperated well with the FBI, who have also been extremely active. Still, we hear of no clues, and certainly of no arrests.

In the Mims crime, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in a survey related the death of the Moores to Mr. Moore's NAACP activities and his other vigorous work in interracial causes. The NAACP in New York said that Moore's murder was linked with the Groveland rape case, because of his activities on behalf of the defendants. Mr. Moore had raised funds and solicited support for the Negroes involved in the case, and had also worked to increase Negro voters' registration.

On the Miami matter, though some pretty high-powered people spent a lot of time trying to dig out in the Miami area just who the synagogue and church bombers could have been, nothing more has come out than the rather pedestrian guess that the bombings were done either by "hate-ridden maniacs" or "thrill-seeking hoodlums." The chief of police in Miami said that the synagogue and church bombings were done by amateurs.

The Carver Village blasts were said by the chief to have been done by professionals.

Miami has a well-known housing problem. Sixty thousand Miami Negroes are crowded in a 284-acre tract in one quarter of the city. A slum clearance committee for Dade County has been working for five years to get better housing for Negroes, and Miami has twice voted overwhelmingly (the last

time, November 20, '51) for federal housing and slum clearance. The plans have remained on paper. The real difficulty seems to have been getting land. At every point where Negro expansion was proposed, white property owners have protested.

The fact that bombings have been increasingly resorted to in the South in the last couple of years comes out in page 7 of the January issue of NEW SOUTH. Copy enclosed (and one is being sent also to Mr. Lauenborg).

Two main things to be done in Florida and in the South generally:

1. Find some way to get more and better housing, and particularly more housing for Negroes. Of course, construction is mighty tight now, but every community ought, at the least, to plan soberly where and how it is going to open modern housing for Negroes. They begin to have the money to pay rent for a combination better than the slum shacks they have had. And the South is going to have to find a way to provide that combination. In most Southern cities the main way to expand has been to take over the lower fringes of white housing. Hence the bombings. There is one other mode of expansion; namely, new construction for middle-class and professional Negro people able to pay. That's a tiny trickle, but it encourages everybody else.

2. Talk with local police forces to bring them around to a modern standard on race and law enforcement. The way to do that, we think, is to have local citizens' groups study the pamphlet I send with this and then take a copy along on a visit to the chief or to the sheriff. One visit and one slim blue pamphlet are not going to turn the trick, but widely used and diligently followed up by local citizens, they could begin a ground swell of respect for safety of the person.

On the blue pamphlet, the Department of Christian Social Relations of the National Council has bought 200, and I am sure will be sending them out to secretaries of the diocesan departments. So that there is every encouragement for local church action in this way.

I am still remembering your and Mr. Zeuch's many kindnesses to me at your home. Do come to Atlanta; we would all love to see you both.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

K.S. got the check.

WOMAN'S AUXILIARY
To The National Council
DIOCESE OF SOUTH FLORIDA

February 9, 1952

RECEIVED
FEB 18 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell,
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. George,

Thank you for the notice of my back dues and I enclose a check for same.

Please send any information on the inter-racial incidents in Florida and in particular on the Mims case, not only to me but to the Rev. Bruce A. Louenborg, Ocala; he is the secretary and the only officer of our department of Christian Social Relations in the Diocese, due to the fact that Father Rogers has gone to Jacksonville which is in the Diocese of Florida. The department is anxious to know whatever you have found out through your investigations and I assured them that the Southern Regional Council would be interested and would follow up on the Mims matter as well as the Groveland matter and the bombings in Miami. I know I will get any information but I wanted to be sure it was sent to Father Louenborg for the use of that department.

Sorry that I will not see you when you are in Florida, but shall look forward to seeing you in the near future.

Sincerely,

Dottie

Dorothy L. Zeuch.

NOTES ON FLORIDA BOMBINGS

Mims, Fla. ADL survey related Moore's death to his NAACP activities, his vigorous work in interracial causes. (NYT report)

NAACP in New York said Moore's murder was linked with the Groveland rape case because of his activities on behalf of the defendants--Moore had raised funds and solicited support for the Negroes involved in the case. He had also been working to increase Negro voting registration. (NYT report)

Miami, Fla. Chief of Police said Carver blasts were done by professionals while the synagogue bombings and other church bombings were done by amateurs. This indicates that all bombings in Miami were not done by an organized conspiracy but by different groups interested in terrorizing religious and racial groups.

Synagogue and church bombings were attributed to "hate-ridden maniacs" or "thrill-seeking hoodlums."

Carver Village bombings were related to housing problem in Miami. 60,000 Miami Negroes are crowded in 284 acre tract in the northwest part of the city. Slum clearance committee for Dade County has been working for 5 years to get better housing for Negroes . While Miami has twice voted overwhelmingly (last time Nov. 20, 1951) for federal housing and slum clearance plans have remained on paper. Difficulty has been securing land--when attempts have been made to begin projects white property ownershave protested. Carver Village was originally built for white occupancy but rented to Negroes when few whites used it. (NYT report)

Law enforcement Fact [redacted] that stands out in these and other bombings is that [redacted] few arrests and no convictions have yet been made. Miami local police, federal and state agents have exerted every effort to track down the terrorists but white residents refuse to give the police information that might incriminate other whites in crimes against Negroes. In [redacted] 3 bombings in the South where persons have been arrested (Dallas; Rome, Ga. and Crossville, Ala.) they have not been brought to trial. In the 4th instance where someone has been apprehended (Atlanta) there was no conviction (Mistrial)

COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

July 16, 1952

RECEIVED
JUL 18 1952
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Aubern Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

A group of citizens of our community are working at the job of legislation in the field of race relations. Our schools are segregated by law. While this is the only segregation on the statutes, practice has meant that hotels, restaurants, and other places of public accomodation are usually segregated. We have one group in Fellowship House that is working very hard at testing out resturants with unusually good success.

A suit was brought against the city by the N.A.A.C.P. concerning the swimming pools. The city government did not want to take action and is appealing to a high court. During this hot weather in Kansas City our largest swimming pool is closed. Little work has been done for a Civil Rights Ordinance for the city and a Civil Rights bill for the state. Our committee of about twenty people is anxious to tackle the problem of legislation. We are anxious to know the general picture of Civil Rights in the various states and then after we gather this information we should like to do an educational job onhow legislation is accomplished.

I have always respect d your materials. Do you have any copies of Civil Rights bills of various states or any materials which you think would be helpful in this legislative committee. If so, would you please send them. If there is a charge please send an invoice. I have seen your RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT and like it. Thank you so much for any help that you an give.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Jones

Elizabeth Jones
Executive Secretary
Recreation and Group
Education Division

EJ:lg

IR

Civil Rights Activities
V/C. Mo.

July 23, 1952

Miss Elizabeth Jones
Recreation and Group Education Division
Council of Social Agencies
1020 McGee St.
Kansas City 6, Mo.

Dear Miss Jones:

I am sorry to say that the Southern Regional Council does not have any original material on civil rights bills and ordinances. With the possible exception of Kentucky, the 13 States in our area are not sufficiently advanced politically for such legislation to stand any chance of passage.

However, I am sending you separately a few items from our files, prepared by non-Southern organizations, which may be of some help to your committee. Since these are our only copies, I will appreciate it if you will return them to us when they have served your purpose.

I am enclosing, as of possible related interest, the last two issues of our monthly bulletin New South. If we can help further in any way, please call on us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

encs.

OFFICE OF
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

TREASURY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON 25

Administrative Circular No. 35

March 24, 1961

To Heads of Bureaus,

Treasury Department

SUBJECT: Nondiscrimination Clause in Government Contracts

Attached is a copy of Executive Order No. 10925 which establishes the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity (26 FR 1977). Section 301 of this Order prescribes a revised nondiscrimination provision which shall be included in Government contracts entered into subsequent to April 5, 1961. This will require that invitations to bid, now outstanding, where award will be made after April 5, 1961, must be amended to incorporate the revised provision.

This circular will be revised upon receipt of implementing instructions to the Executive Order from the President's Committee. In the interim, agencies are to comply with the instructions in the Executive Order.

Questions concerning the use of the clause should be referred to Mr. W. J. Boteler, Office of Administrative Services, on extension 2832.

Paul McDonald

Director of Administrative Services

Attachment

OFFICE OF
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

TREASURY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON 25

Administrative Circular No. 35
Supplement No. 1

April 6, 1961

To Heads of Bureaus,

Treasury Department

SUBJECT: Nondiscrimination Clause in Government Contracts

There is attached, for your information and guidance, a copy of General Services Administration General Regulation No. 25, dated March 29, 1961, which was published in the Federal Register of Friday, March 31, 1961, page 2733.

This regulation prescribes use of the nondiscrimination provisions in every Government contract entered into on and after April 5, 1961. Our previous instruction, contained in Administrative Circular No. 35, which set April 6, 1961, as the effective date for use, is superseded by this notice and GSA General Regulation No. 25.

GSA General Regulation No. 25 also continues in effect, as an interim measure, the provisions of GSA Circular No. 100, dated February 3, 1955. This regulation provides for use of a modified nondiscrimination clause in purchase orders and contracts which do not exceed $5,000.

Paul McDonald

Director of Administrative Services

Attachment

MS. H-75 OS-DPM dfghjkns
Chief Personnel Policy Br tux
Div Personnel Mgmt 5-1z
5305 N HEW Bldg

April 10, 1961 MANUAL CIRCULAR--PERSONNEL HEW No. 62

TO : Supervisory personnel and Personnel and Administrative Officers

FROM : The Secretary ABR.

SUBJECT: EMPLOYMENT POLICY

As you know, President Kennedy has issued an executive order directing all departments and agencies to do their utmost to guarantee equal employment opportunities for all persons, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin.

The President declared that "it is the policy of the executive branch of the Government to encourage by positive measures equal opportunity for all qualified persons within the Government."

It is my firm intention that this Department will energetically heed the letter and the spirit of the President's directive.

The opportunities for employment with this Department must be made known to all persons who may be qualified. It will be useful to renew and expand contacts with guidance counselors at colleges and universities which in the past have not been extensively represented in Federal employment.

The selection of applicants as well as promotions of personnel within the Department must be made solely on the basis of competence. It will be especially important to insure that there is no discrimination in the formation of boards which pass upon employee qualifications.

Guaranteeing equal employment opportunities will require affirmative efforts by each of you. Your wholehearted cooperation will be appreciated.

Distribution: PERSONNEL GUIDE addressees on keys MS.HRFC-1z + 2033E.

Retention Period: Until superseded by revision of Z2 PERSONNEL GUIDE 1 "Employment Policy Program."

FEDERAL NATIONAL MORTGAGE ASSOCIATION
WASHINGTON, D.C.

April 18, 1961

MEMORANDUM

TO : ALL AGENCY MANAGERS, FNMA

FROM : J. S. BAUGHMAN

SUBJECT: EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY POLICY

The Administrator, HHFA, will shortly issue his revised Agency-wide policy on Equal Employment Opportunity in the Housing and Home Finance Agency, a copy of which is attached for your information and guidance.

You will note that the policy statement provides that a positive program shall be pursued to broaden employment opportunities for members of minority groups and to fully utilize the skills and talents of all citizens. In addition, all constituent agencies of HHFA shall require that in active recruiting programs for positions at all levels of employment, positive efforts shall be made to recruit minority group candidates.

On the basis of the foregoing, Agency Managers shall assume personal leadership in the vigorous recruitment of qualified applicants of minority groups by contacting universities and colleges, including local business colleges, other government agencies, the Civil Service Commission, and other recruitment sources which could prove fruitful in the implementation of the Administrator's equal employment opportunity policy. We would like to see an increase in the number of minority group employees within the Association by providing opportunities at the Intern Trainee level or higher level for technical positions, if qualified applicants are available. As evidence of positive action in this area, every effort shall be made to immediately secure at least one candidate from minority groups as an Intern Trainee. In addition, positive efforts shall be made to fill other vacancies with qualified applicants from such groups.

To meet the requirements of the Civil Rights Sub-Cabinet Group, from time to time, we shall request reports from you concerning the progress being made in implemanting the policy outlined above. You should, therefore, maintain necessary employment records as to contacts and efforts made in the recruitment of minority group candidates.

J S Baughman
President

OFFICE OF
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

TREASURY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON 25

Administrative Circular No. 35
Supplement No. 2

April 26, 1961

To Heads of Bureaus,

Treasury Department

SUBJECT: Nondiscrimination Clause in Government Contracts

Attached hereto for your information and guidance is a copy of Supplement No. 1 to General Services Administration Regulation No. 25 dated April 18, 1961, in reference to nondiscrimination in employment, which was published in the Federal Register of Thursday, April 20, 1961.

This regulation provides interim exemptions to the use of the nondiscrimination provision until such time as the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity issues new rules concerning exemptions.

There is also attached, a copy of a Treasury Department Interim Form which lists the new nondiscrimination provisions required for use in Government contracts by Executive Order 10925, that may be used by Treasury bureaus until such time as the procurement standard forms are revised by GSA. Bureaus may request limited amounts of this form from Miss Henderson, Document Distribution Unit, on extension 2887, or may reproduce the copy attached.

Paul McDonald

Director of Administrative Services

Attachments

Elinor Hayes
OS-DPM
5305 N REW

April 26, 1961 MANUAL CIRCULAR--PERSONNEL HEW No. 65

SUBJECT: NONDISCRIMINATION IN MEMBERSHIP AND ACTIVITIES OF EMPLOYEE WELFARE AND RECREATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

To carry out the policies established by Executive Order 10925 of March 6, 1961, and a President's memorandum for the heads of all executive departments and agencies dated April 18, 1961, membership in any employee welfare or recreational organization using the name, sponsorship, facilities, or activity of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and participation in all activities sponsored by such organizations, shall be open to employees without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.

The heads of operating agencies, bureaus, and field stations are responsible for ensuring that the practices of all such organizations within their administrative jurisdictions are brought into immediate compliance with this policy.

Distribution: PERSONNEL INSTRUCTION addressees and BOASI District Offices on Keys MS.HRFC-1 + 2033.

Retention Period: Until December 31, 1961.

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

May 2, 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR ALL CONTRACTORS AND SUB-CONTRACTORS OF THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

SUBJECT: EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

On March 6, 1961, President John F. Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925 which established the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and which set forth expanded and strengthened requirements to insure equal opportunity for all qualified persons, without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin, seeking employment, or employed with the Federal Government or on Government contracts.

I earnestly call upon all AEC contractors and subcontractors to comply wholeheartedly not only with the specific provisions of the President's Order, but also with its spirit and intent.

We in the AEC are determined to firmly and fully support the objectives of the President's Order in the belief that it is our obligation to insure equal employment opportunity for all persons.

In the very near future, you will be contacted by AEC officials to consider with you ways to implement this program.

Glenn T. Seaborg
Chairman

DECLASSIFIED

Excerpt from

STAFF BULLETIN

Housing and Home Finance Agency

No. 61-59 May 22, 1961

NON-DISCRIMINATION IN RECREATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The attention of the employees of the Housing and Home Finance Agency is directed to the fact that Executive Order Number 10925 reaffirms that "discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin is contrary to the Constitutional principles and policies of the United States" and that "it is the policy of the Executive Branch of the Government to encourage by positive measures equal opportunity for all qualified persons within the Government."

In a letter to the heads of all executive departments and agencies on April 18, 1961, the President said:

> "I want immediate and specific action taken to assure that no use is made of the name, sponsorship, facilities, or activity of any Executive Department or Agency by or for any employee recreational organization practicing discrimination based on race, creed, color or national origin."

We expect that the members of all organizations and informal groups connected with the HHFA will take immediate action to see that current practices conform to this policy, and that their group is listed with the OA Personnel Office.

f

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

Series and Series No.	
NOTICE	
Control No. FW-76	Date June 23, 1961

TO: ALL FHA EMPLOYEES

SUBJECT: FHA POLICY OF MERIT RECOGNITION

As a former member of the career civil service, I have the highest respect for the Federal Merit System and wish every FHA employee to know that it shall be our policy to maintain the integrity of the competitive civil service, to advance the merit system, and strengthen the career service throughout the Federal Housing Administration. Through the utilization of our expanded career development program and by the vigorous application of the merit principle, it is our intention to encourage and to make it possible for all employees to have an opportunity for self-development and advancement.

Our recently announced program offering employees opportunities for career development gives to management a device for discovering the talents and career interests of employees; to employees it presents the opportunity to prepare for responsible technical, professional, and administrative positions throughout the Administration. Those employees who have advanced beyond the trainee level are encouraged to further their development through on-the-job initiative, self-study and after-hour educational pursuits.

Consistent with ordinary business practice, employees should advise their supervisors and the Director of Personnel if they are interested in being considered for positions beyond the area for which they automatically would be considered for reassignment or promotion. In the selection of employees, FHA Management will give recognition to demonstrated initiative, ability, performance, and attitude. Selections will be based solely on these merit factors.

A copy of an article written several years ago by Mr. James M. Mitchell, then Commissioner of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, is reproduced on the reverse of this notice for your review and records. This article sets forth a number of basic rules which I feel we should all follow as employees of the Federal government.

I am sure that all employees will respond favorably to our policy of merit recognition and understand that their advancement will depend upon their demonstrated competence and their willingness and ability to prepare for higher level assignments.

Neal J. Hardy

Neal J. Hardy

26 JUL 1961

Pitts

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

CIRCULAR
7-20-61

TO: All PHA Employees

SUBJECT: Non-Discrimination in Recreational Organizations

Executive Order No. 10925 reaffirms that "discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin is contrary to the Constitutional principles and policies of the United States" and that "it is the policy of the Executive Branch of the Government to encourage by positive measures equal opportunity for all qualified persons within the Government."

In a letter to the heads of all executive departments and agencies on April 18, 1961, the President said:

> "I want immediate and specific action taken to assure that no use is made of the name, sponsorship, facilities, or activity of any Executive Department or Agency by or for any employee recreational organization practicing discrimination based on race, creed, color or national origin."

Any recreational organization of PHA employees or any other recreational organization which makes use of the name, facilities, or activity of the PHA or its predecessors, or which claims sponsorship by the PHA or its predecessors, shall take immediate action to conform to the policy stated above. Every such organization shall file an affidavit within thirty days with the PHA Personnel Branch that it is not practicing discrimination based on race, creed, color or national origin and shall thereafter file such an affidavit annually until further notice.

Marie C. McGuire
Commissioner

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

Administrative Circular No. 13
(Revised)

To Heads of Bureaus and Employees August 1, 1961

Treasury Department

SUBJECT: Employment Policy Program

Effective February 15, 1961, I have designated Robert A. Wallace, Special Assistant to the Secretary, as Employment Policy Officer for the Department.

Effective this date, the list of Deputy Employment Policy Officers is hereby revised, and Administrative Circular No. 13, issued February 18, 1961, superseded.

Office	Deputy Employment Policy Officer
Bureau of Accounts	Charles O. Bryant
Office of Comptroller of the Currency	Chapman C. Fleming
Bureau of Customs	Alfred F. Beiter
New York Office	Frank R. Creed
Bureau of Engraving and Printing	Jay L. Esserman
Internal Revenue Service	Philip A. Hoffman
Regional Offices:	
Atlanta	Harold Meek
Boston	Herbert W. Keogh
Chicago	Leon S. Martin
Cincinnati	Thomas P. McGovern
Dallas	G. Clifton Witt
New York	Murray M. Lerman
Omaha	Vance N. Bates
Philadelphia	J. Walter Pearson, Jr.
San Francisco	Daniel L. Sullivan
Los Angeles	Thomas J. Finnigan (Assistant)
Office of International Finance	T. P. Nelson
Bureau of the Mint	Philip B. Neisser
Bureau of Narcotics	Henry L. Giordano
Bureau of the Public Debt	Ross A. Heffelfinger
Treasurer of the United States	Hayden E. Isaacs
United States Coast Guard	Edward S. Shankle
United States Savings Bonds	John A. Reed
United States Secret Service	Michael W. Torina

Douglas Dillon

Douglas Dillon

FORM CD-121
(9-22-59)
(PRES. BY
A.O. 206-10)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
Office of Personnel Management

3

TO : Heads of All Bureaus and Offices

DATE: August 7, 1961

FROM : Carlton Hayward, Director of Personnel

SUBJECT: Recruitment of Negro Personnel

Attached is a copy of a self-explanatory memorandum from the Executive Assistant to the Secretary.

Your issuance of necessary instructions will be appreciated.

It is requested that the information specified in the next to last paragraph of the attached memorandum be furnished to this office in duplicate. A simple, convenient form would be a carbon copy or a photocopy of the SF-50, Official Notification of Personnel Action.

CC: All Secretarial Officers

FORM CD-121
(9-22-59)
(PRES. BY
A.O. 206-10)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

TO : Mr. Carlton Hayward
Director of Personnel

DATE: August 4, 1961

FROM : Paul A. Johnston
Executive Assistant to the Secretary

SUBJECT: Recruitment of Negro Personnel

Secretary Hodges would like the following called to the attention of all appropriate personnel in the Department of Commerce:

At a recent meeting of the Cabinet, the President discussed the question of the employment of qualified Negroes, especially in Grades 12 and above. He expressed the hope that positive steps would be taken by all Departments to improve the picture.

On June 16, Mr. Bookbinder distributed to the heads of all bureaus and offices a report on employment of Negroes in the Department, a report based on statistics which you gathered. The report showed that approximately one percent of all employees in Grades 12 and higher were Negroes. Although this is slightly higher than the average for all Government agencies combined, it is far from satisfactory. As Mr. Bookbinder noted, we should do more than we have in the past to attract qualified Negroes to the higher grade positions and to train present employees to qualify for promotion to higher grades.

In this connection, I am pleased to note that Patent Commissioner Ladd has directed that plans be developed which are directed at recruiting examiners in Negro colleges or recruiting Negro examiners from interracial colleges. I hope that under your general direction such special emphasis can be given by all of our Department's activities.

With due regard to existing Civil Service procedure, I believe it should be possible to make special efforts in this area and thus help accomplish an important objective of the Administration.

Because of the urgency and great interest in this matter, it would be very helpful if Mr. Bookbinder and I were informed of all placements in and promotions to Grades 12 or above of Negro personnel.

I hope that you can arrange for such reporting that will not be unduly burdensome to the offices involved.

OFFICE OF
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

TREASURY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON 25

Administrative Circular No. 35
Supplement No. 4

August 10, 1961

To Heads of Bureaus,

Treasury Department

SUBJECT: President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, Title 41 - Public Contracts

There is transmitted herewith a copy of the newly promulgated Rules and Regulations of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity concerning Government contracts. The regulations were published in the Federal Register of July 22, 1961, on page 6585, under Title 41 - Public Contracts, Chapter No. 60.

Your attention is invited to 60-1.3 (b)(2) of the regulations which provide for an exemption from the regulations of all contracts of $10,000 or under, other than Government bills of lading.

The Compliance Report forms that will be required to comply with 60-1.5 of the regulations will be made available in the near future.

Any questions may be directed to Mr. William J. Boteler, Treasury telephone extension 2832.

Paul McDonald

Deputy Compliance Officer,
Government Contracts

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

WASHINGTON

Administrative Bulletin No. 61-58

August 25, 1961

TO BE DISCARDED AFTER December 31, 1961

To Heads of Bureaus

Treasury Department

SUBJECT: Equal Employment Opportunities

On May 31, 1961, you reported information on (1) Minority Group Employees on the rolls broken down by four subgroupings and by grade and (2) other information including measures and recommendations to eliminate discrimination. These reports were submitted in response to Personnel Bulletin 61-39 of May 16, 1961.

At this time additional reports are required as of September 1, 1961, and should be submitted to this office by October 1, 1961. These reports should indicate statistics by minority groups and certain narrative information.

The statistics should be submitted in accordance with the format of Attachment No. 1 and should indicate for your bureau the numbers of persons on the rolls in each of the GS or comparative classes and the breakdown by the four specified minority groups. This is comparable to the report submitted on May 31; the only change being that instead of using figures for January 20 and February 28, the figures will now report status as of January 20 and September 1.

In addition to this report you are requested to indicate the minority groups by grade and occupational series code for grades GS-5 and above. You should also indicate the numbers of supervisory personnel within these subtotals. The format for this part of the statistical report is shown in Attachment No. 2.

Further, please submit in brief narrative form: (1) significant developments of a specific nature in the area of equal employment opportunity such as resolving difficult problem cases or making significant advances in hiring or placing minority group personnel, (2) a general statement which would indicate actions being taken to eliminate discrimination and to increase the numbers and status of members of minority groups on the rolls. These two reports do not have to be separated if treatment of them lends to combining them.

As indicated above, these reports should be in this office by October 1, 1961, and this deadline must be met. If you have any questions concerning these reports, please contact George Maharay on Extension 2703 or Adrienne Burch, Extension 2710.

Robert A. Wallace
Employment Policy Officer

Attachments 2

Attachment No. 1

Treasury Department

Report of Minority Groups

Category	Negro		Spanish American		Puerto Rican		Oriental		Total Minority		Total Employment
	1/20		1/20		1/20		1/20		1/20		10/31/60
Class Act & Similar To											
Wage Board											
Total											
Grade GS-18											
GS-17											
GS-16											
GS-15											
GS-14											
GS-13											
GS-12											
Subtotal GS-12 to 18											

Treasury Department

Report of Minority Groups

Category	Negro		Spanish American		Puerto Rican		Oriental		Total Minority		Total Employment
	1/20		1/20		1/20		1/20		1/20		10/31/60
Grade GS-11											
GS-10											
GS-9											
GS-8											
GS-7											
GS-6											
GS-5											
Subtotal GS-5 to 11											
GS-4											
GS-3											
GS-2											
GS-1											
Subtotal GS-1 to 4											

Total, All Employees _____

Attachment No. 2

STATUS OF MINORITY GROUPS
GS-5 AND ABOVE

GRADE & OCCUPATIONAL SERIES CODE	NEGROES	SPANISH AMERICANS	ORIENTALS	PUERTO RICANS	TOTAL
GS-301 - 9	1 (1)	2	0	0	3 (1)
GS-501 - 6	10 (2)	9 (2)	3 (1)	6	28 (5)
GS-905 - 12	6 (1)	9 (3)	1	4 (2)	20 (6)

SAMPLE

( ) Place number of supervisory personnel included in total alongside appropriate number.

OFFICE OF
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

TREASURY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON 25

Administrative Circular No. 35
Supplement No. 6

September 11, 1961

To Heads of Bureaus,

Treasury Department

SUBJECT: President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity
Deputy Contracts Compliance Officers

Mr. Robert A. Wallace, Special Assistant to the Secretary and Principal Compliance Officer for Government Contracts for Treasury has designated the following Deputy Compliance Officers, Government Contracts, to represent their bureaus and to assure that the requirements of Executive Order No. 10925 and the Rules and Regulations of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, as they pertain to Government Contracts, are carried out:

Office	Deputy Compliance Officer
Bureau of Accounts	J. H. Henriksen
Office of Comptroller of the Currency	Chapman C. Fleming
Bureau of Customs	Alfred F. Beiter
Bureau of Engraving and Printing	Garland V. Bell
Internal Revenue Service	P. A. Hoffman
Office of International Finance	Page Nelson
Bureau of the Mint	Philip B. Neisser
Bureau of Narcotics	Henry L. Giordano
Bureau of the Public Debt	Ross A. Heffelfinger
Treasurer of the United States	Hayden E. Isaacs
United States Coast Guard	Cdr. Hugh C. McCaffrey
United States Savings Bonds Division	John A. Reed
United States Secret Service	Michael W. Torina

Paul McDonald

Deputy Compliance Officer
Government Contracts
Treasury

Employment

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

September 11, 1961

Dr. M. J. Jones
607 Dodson Avenue
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Jones:

In a recent interview you informed us of a survey being conducted on employment practices in Chattanooga. We understand this survey is a research project of the Southern Regional Council in three other cities, i.e., Miami, Houston, and Atlanta. As requested, we are providing the following information:

Total number of Negroes employed by schedule, classification title, and grade in Chattanooga area.

Salary Policy

Title	Grade	Number of Negroes
Schedule SA		
Employment Officer	3	1
	Subtotal	1
Schedule SB		
Clerk-Typist	2	2
Computing Equipment Operator	33	1
File Clerk	4	1
File Clerk	3	2
File Clerk	2	7
File Clerk	1	1
Mail Clerk	4	1
Mail Clerk	3	1
Mail Clerk	2	5
Stores Clerk	2	2
	Subtotal	22
Schedule SC		
Bindery Worker	3	1
Bindery Worker	2	1
Bindery Worker	1	2
Building Guard	2	2
Collating Machine Operator	4	1
Duplicating Machine Operator	3	1
Duplicating Machine Operator	2	3
Janitor	3	3
Janitor	1	49
Messenger	1	7

Schedule SC Cont'd

Messenger	Hourly	2
Photographer	2	1
	Subtotal	73

Schedule SD

Civil Engineer	3	1
Electrical Engineer	1	1
Electrical Engineer--Trainee	1	1
	Subtotal	3

Schedule SE

Draftsman	3	1
	Subtotal	1
	Total Salary Policy	100

Trades and Labor

Garage Attendant		2
Garage Attendant-Truck Driver		2
Lineman		3
Lineman Apprentice		2
Mortar Mixer		1
Truck Driver		2
	Subtotal	12
	Grand Total	112

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

Dr. M. J. Jones September 11, 1961

Enclosed are copies of a Summary Statement of our Recruitment, Register, Examination, and Certification System; College Recruitment Booklet; Information for Applicants About Employment in TVA; Basic Annual Pay Schedules for TVA Salary Policy Employees; and TVA Schedule of Trades and Labor Classes and Rates of Pay.

We would appreciate a copy of your survey findings for our files.

Very truly yours,

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

Harry W. Tyler, Employment Officer
Chattanooga Employment Office

Enclosures
CC: Southern Regional Council, Atlanta (Enclosures)

In reply refer
to DFO

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Employment Security
Washington 25, D. C.

Regional Memorandum No. 1006
October 9, 1961

TO: ALL REGIONAL DIRECTORS

FROM: W. R. Curtis
Deputy Director

SUBJECT: Assignment of Functional Responsibility for Minority Groups Services

In the past the responsibility for working with State employment security agencies on the problem of obtaining greater utilization of minority groups has usually been vested in your top employment service staff assistant. However, recent staff additions in regional offices have resulted in a realignment of responsibilities among staff members. In the realignment process, it is possible that responsibility for this function has not been clearly defined.

Accordingly, we would like to have the responsibility for the minority group activities fixed with a designated individual on the professional employment service staff in each regional office. The individual so designated will have responsibility for assisting the Regional Director in obtaining understanding and acceptance of the policies of the Department and the Bureau designed to assure maximum utilization of the labor force, regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin. More specifically, he will be responsible for:

1. Interpreting and implementing applicable policies for the guidance of State employment security agencies.

2. Identifying problems of under-utilization of minority groups, and developing programs and procedures directed toward remedial action.

3. Promoting a public awareness of the employment problems of minority groups, and obtaining maximum cooperation of individuals, groups or agencies on problem solutions.

4. Evaluating the extent and quality of services provided to minority group workers by State employment security agencies, and recommending actions designed to improve such services, as appropriate, including the conduct of staff training programs.

We shall appreciate your informing us by October 31, of the name of the staff member designated to carry out the indicated responsibility.

REPORT ON
IMPLEMENTATION OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 10925

by the
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

November 27, 1961

The Department of State is peculiarly situated with respect to implementation of Executive Order 10925. Its large number of Foreign Service personnel and the career status which these persons enjoy make necessary our primary emphasis on recruitment at the beginning level. Consequently, the major activities of the Department, in implementing the Executive Order, have been in the field of recruitment for the Foreign Service entrance examination.

Direct implementation was instituted with the designation of Assistant Secretary G. Mennen Williams as the Department's Employment Policy Officer. Appropriate deputies have been appointed throughout the Department for the purpose of processing formal complaints.

The Department has instructed all field posts that no discrimination is to be permitted in employee recreational activities at overseas posts; and the field inspection team has been instructed to observe for evidence of compliance with the non-discrimination policy.

Two deputy assistant secretaries of minority background served this year on the examining panel for FSO-8 candidates.

Further efforts to achieve a more representative body of personnel in the Foreign Service Officer corps include the following:

On August 16, 1961 the Department held a day-long conference with top Negro leaders and representatives of national agencies to discuss steps that might be undertaken to achieve a more representative service. Since that time communications have been sent to each of the participants asking that they send the names of any people they feel qualified for employment with the Department, and that they encourage Negro youth of their acquaintance to take the Foreign Service entrance examination this year. Moreover, they have been asked to inform others of the Department's interest in finding qualified Negroes for service at home and abroad.

Four of the conferees were asked to serve on a Liaison Committee which is to meet periodically to assess the Department's progress. A meeting of this committee is to be held on January 16.

Each year the Department conducts a college visitation program in connection with the Foreign Service entrance examination. Foreign Service officers are sent to approximately three hundred colleges to discuss career opportunities in the Foreign Service. This year the number of predominantly Negro colleges being visited has been increased. Whereas seventeen were visited last year, that number has been increased to twenty-six this year, a gain of nine. Moreover, the officers participating in the recruitment program have been supplied with a copy of the summary of the conference on Equal Employment Opportunity and time was allotted during a recent briefing session to inform them of the Department's effort to increase the representativeness of the Service. They were instructed to do everything possible to insure that Negro students understand the sincerity of purpose of the Department of State.

In addition, two officers made a special recruitment trip in October that took them to five cities -- Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, New York and Boston. The principal purpose of the trip was to meet with Negro students attending local colleges and universities to arouse interest in the Foreign Service entrance examination being offered in December.

Group meetings with students were arranged by local Urban League affiliates in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and New York. Two other meetings in New York were held under the sponsorship of the New York Amsterdam Newspaper and a faculty member of Yeshiva University. In each city, conferences were held with the editors of the major Negro newspapers, key college faculty members and top Negro leadership to apprise them of the Department's concern and to request their help in getting more Negro youth to take the examination this year. The officers also participated in live interviews at the local radio stations.

On November 12, at the Centennial Conference of Land Grant Colleges, held in Kansas City, Missouri, Assistant Secretary G. Mennen Williams met with the presidents of the member institutions to discuss the Department's interest in attracting more Negroes to the Foreign Service. He outlined the procedural steps which have been taken to increase their number at the entering level, explained some of the difficulties which have been discovered in recruiting prospective officers, and elicited the President's support in creating an enviromental encouragement for young Negroes to apply and take the examination. The presidents indicated their unqualified support of the program and pledged their and their faculties' cooperation in fulfillment of the Department's recruitment goals.

The Department is also moving ahead on the placement of qualified Negroes in the middle and higher grades. Before the end of the year, three new Negro employees are to enter on duty as Reserve officers. One is to be assigned to the Bureau of Economic Affairs, one to the

Bureau of Cultural and Educational Affairs, and the third to the Office of Personnel. It is anticipated that as more names of qualified applicants are submitted to the Department other appointments will be made.

The Department is surveying Negro personnel now working in related agencies such as USIA and the AID to see if some could be considered for lateral entry into the Foreign Service.

Aside from Foreign Service recruitment problems, it is a matter of major concern to the Department there is a great concentration of Negro Civil Service employees in lower grade classifications.

Three steps are underway to relieve the imbalance presently found in the distribution of Negro employees by grade. (1) The Office of Personnel is currently surveying job classifications in the Department to discover those in which there is a preponderence of Negroes. When this information is obtained efforts will be made to reduce the concentration. (2) A listing of Negro employees who have demonstrated potential for more responsible assignments is being prepared. This list of names will be used when vacancies occur for which these employees are qualified. (3) Every fourth promotion panel is being surveyed to determine the frequency with which Negroes appear on such panels. This will be continued over a six months period and a report will be prepared monthly detailing the type of panel, number of Negroes and the selection results. This activity in combination with the aggressive recruitment program underway should result in substantial change in Departmental employment within the next six months.

Two other steps related to the problem of securing qualified Negro applicants might be reported on briefly. At the conference on August 16, one of the recommendations made was that there should be no compromise with quality or any special concessions of competence made to Negroes but the examination procedure ought to be investigated to be determined whether it automatically excludes categories of persons who are potentially valuable Foreign Service officers.

Dr. Kenneth Clark, one of the participants in the conference of August 16 and a Professor of Psychology at City College of New York has recently volunteered the services of a subcommittee of the Society for Psychological Study of Social Issues for the purpose of taking a hard look at the entrance examination to see if it places a handicap on applicants from culturally disadvantaged backgrounds. The Department accepted this invitation and three officers of the Department met with the subcommittee in November.

In addition, Dr. Jerome Holland, President of Hampton Institute, is being asked to chair a committee whose objective will be to look into the problem of the long term supply of Negro candidates for the entrance examination. This committee has been asked to prepare a prospectus for such a program.

Finally, last spring, twenty students were selected to participate in a summer intern program. Included among the twenty were two Negro students. If funds are available for this program next year, Negro students will continue to be included.

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR OF VETERANS AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Please file

December 6, 1961

IM ✓

Yarmolinsky ltr A

IN REPLY REFER TO:

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of November 29, 1961, enclosing your Council's 1960 report on "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights."

We will be happy to furnish material in connection with your second study. Since it will require time to prepare and assemble the information, we ask your indulgence for a little while. We will write you as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

A H Monk

A. H. MONK
Associate Deputy Administrator

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

IM - file
Diane
Yarmolinsky
Atty A

December 7, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of November 30 asking for information on what the Special Protocol Service Section has done in the field of Civil Rights for Negroes.

I am enclosing a report of the activities of our office during the first nine months of its existence. I believe this is the most comprehensive summary we have put out. If we can be of further help, please do not hesitate to let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Pedro A. Sanjuan
Assistant Chief of Protocol

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

PEACE CORPS

Washington 25, D. C.

December 7, 1961

JM - file
Leslie
see pad for ltr.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your prompt reply to my letter of November 29. Immediately after sending it I saw your communication to Paul Geren. A reply to that letter is en route.

I look forward to the pleasure of meeting you on your next visit to Washington if it is at all convenient.

Sincerely yours,

Franklin H. Williams

Franklin H. Williams
Special Assistant to the
Director

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Washington 25, D.C.

December 7, 1961

See Yarmolinsky ltr
Change date

JM file
Date

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is in reply to your letter of November 29, 1961, in which you desire information respecting action taken by the General Services Administration in the interest of civil rights for Negroes. This agency has maintained a continual program of equal employment opportunity for personnel regardless of race, color, creed or national origin. It has always participated in the programs of the former President's Committee on Government Contract Compliance. Since the issuance of Executive Order 10925 by President Kennedy in March of this year, GSA has participated in the implementation of that Executive Order in the following manner:

1. Immediately subsequent to the effective date of the Executive Order, interim orders were issued by GSA for the purpose of implementing, on a temporary basis, the changes involved in Executive Order 10925 from the existing regulations then in effect under the previous Executive Orders.

2. In the month of July, 1961, immediately upon the issuance of rules and regulations by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, which was organized under Executive Order 10925, GSA placed in operation a special Nondiscrimination Office in the Office of the Director of Administration, operationally responsible to the Administrator of GSA. This office was made responsible for the implementation of the program as set forth in Executive Order 10925.

A full-time Nondiscrimination Officer and Deputy Nondiscrimination Officer were appointed for the purpose of operating the office.

3. GSA has participated in regional conferences of the heads of government agencies in Atlanta, Nashville, Chicago, Los Angeles and St. Louis. These conferences have been held for the purpose of determining methods for recruiting qualified minority personnel and for determining other problems in the area of minority employment in order to speed the implementation of the program adopted by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

4. GSA has also instituted a program of education for its personnel, which at this time involves class period instruction in nondiscrimination in courses being conducted for all types of managerial and supervisory personnel.

5. By way of written material, GSA feels that its existing personnel regulations, as approved by the Civil Service Commission, are sufficient in scope to maintain equality in employment. The specific classroom instruction outlined above is considered sufficient to re-acquaint all supervisory personnel with our basic principles.

I am enclosing herewith a letter which has been circulated to every employee of GSA signed by our former Administrator, setting forth our policy. I am also enclosing herewith a GSA Order issued at the same time, setting forth such policy.

As a continuing policy our Personnel Division carefully examines its practices of recruitment, hiring, training and upgrading of Negroes. In view of the fact that we have had comparatively few complaints of discrimination for so large an agency, we feel that the continuation of our now existing policies will assist the administration to implement the Executive Order issued by the President.

Sincerely yours,

A. H. Rosenfeld

A. H. ROSENFELD
GSA Nondiscrimination Officer

Enclosures - 2

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Washington 25, D.C.

October 16, 1961

MEMORANDUM

TO : All GSA Employees

FROM : The Administrator

SUBJECT: Nondiscrimination in Employment

The employment practices of General Services Administration have always been designed toward the policy of equal employment opportunity regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin. This is evidenced by the fact that over one-third of our employees are members of the minorities. On March 6, 1961, President Kennedy, in his determination to eliminate all discrimination in employment in the Federal Government, issued Executive Order No. 10925 in which he set forth the steps to be taken for the achievement of his goal.

As a member of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, established by the above Executive order, and as Administrator of General Services, I have pledged to cooperate to the fullest extent with the President's desire to end discrimination within the Federal Government. Accordingly, I expect every employee within GSA who has the authority to recruit, hire, promote, train, transfer, demote, separate, or fix compensation to carry out such responsibilities without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin of applicants or employees. To this end I have established a special staff in the Central Office to devote full time to implementing and coordinating, within GSA, the policies of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. A Deputy Employment Policy Officer has also been designated in each regional office to aid in implementing this program.

Any aggrieved GSA employee or qualified applicant for employment who believes he or she has been discriminated against because of race, creed, color, or national origin has the opportunity to be heard. Complaints may be filed with the Deputy Employment Policy Officer of your region or the GSA Employment Policy Officer in the Central Office. These officers are also available to provide further information.

John L. Moore

JOHN L. MOORE
Administrator

Disbribution: L

GSA WASH DC 62-4871

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

ADM 5450.25
October 16, 1961

GSA ORDER

SUBJECT: Nondiscrimination in Employment

1. PURPOSE. This order again brings to the attention of officials and employees the basic GSA policy on nondiscrimination in employment.

2. BACKGROUND. Executive Order No. 10925 issued by President Kennedy on March 6, 1961, reaffirmed the policy expressed in Executive Order No. 10590 of January 18, 1955, and prohibits discrimination against any employee or applicant for employment in the Federal Government because of race, creed, color, or national origin. Executive Order No. 10925 established the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, which is directed immediately to scrutinize and study employment practices of the Government, and to consider and recommend additional affirmative steps which should be taken by executive departments and agencies to realize more fully the national policy of nondiscrimination within the executive branch of the Government.

3. POLICY. It shall be the policy of GSA, in all personnel practices and actions, to afford equal opportunities and consideration to all persons, without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.

4. RESPONSIBILITY.

a. Heads of Services and Staff Offices in the Central Office and Regional Commissioners are directly responsible for assuring adherence to the nondiscrimination policy within their areas of jurisdiction.

b. In all personnel actions and practices, officials and supervisors are expected to be guided by considerations of merit, fitness, equality of opportunity, and fair treatment, without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin of applicants or employees. Each supervisor should be on guard against actions or words that could be interpreted as discriminatory, and should be alert to identify and correct any practices contrary to the intent of the policy.

John L. Moore
JOHN L. MOORE
Administrator

Distribution: A, B, C, F, G, H, I

GSA WASH DC 62.4822

TM - file
Yarmolinsky
Ex A

PEACE CORPS

Washington 25, D. C.

December 8, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of November 29 and for your interest in action taken by the Peace Corps in implementation of the Government's nondiscrimination policies.

From the inception of the Peace Corps, we have adhered to a nondiscrimination policy in the hiring of our staff, both for domestic and overseas service. We have vigorously implemented a similar policy in connection with the recruitment and selection of Volunteers for service on our projects.

We are rather proud of our achievements to date in this regard. Of the approximately 275 persons employed in staff capacities by the Peace Corps, 63 of them are Negro Americans, 3 are Oriental Americans, and 5 are Spanish-speaking Americans. We think you may be especially interested in the fact that among our Negro employees, 2 hold the civil service grade of GS-12, 5 are GS-13, 1 is GS-16 and 3 are GS-17 or the equivalent in foreign service.

In our training programs, special attention is paid to the instruction of our Volunteers in the nature, extent and causes of racial discrimination and segregation within this country. No effort is made to gloss over this problem; rather, it is designed to prepare our Volunteers to intelligently discuss this important subject wherever and whenever it may arise.

We greatly appreciate the opportunity to forward this information to you and will be happy to supplement it with any additional information which you feel would be of value in the preparation of your report.

Thank you for forwarding us "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights".

Very truly yours,

Paul Geren

Paul F. Geren
Deputy Director

December 11, 1961 MANUAL CIRCULAR--PERSONNEL No. HEW-84

SUBJECT: EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

> "To be effective as career administrators and managers in the 1960's we must have a sensitivity to the essential meaning and purpose of the democratic idea, and of how it relates to the tremendous forces that are shaping the destiny of man. Basic to this sensitivity is the understanding that the movement toward greater equality of opportunity in America is a force that cannot and will not be denied in the years ahead."

This quotation is from an article in the October-December 1961 issue of the Civil Service Journal. The article states simply and well the importance of achieving equality of opportunity in the Federal service, and the Federal manager's role in achieving this goal.

A reprint of this article is attached so that every Department supervisor may have an opportunity to read it, and discuss it with other employees. It is background for carrying out the Department's program of equal employment opportunity stated in Z2 PERSONNEL GUIDE 1.

Attachment

Distribution: PERSONNEL GUIDE addressees on Keys MS.HRFC-1 and z and 2033E

Retention Period: Until January 31, 1961

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
Washington 25, D. C.

JM - file
Yarmolinsky
Ltr A

December 12, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Your letter of November 29, 1961 addressed to Mr. William J. Sheppard, Acting Assistant Administrator for Administration, concerning information on the agency's civil rights activities was referred to me since these activities are largely centralized in my office. In addition to my regular duties as Acting Director for the Office of Program Support, I also serve as the agency's Employment Policy Officer, Compliance Officer, and alternate member of the Subcabinet Group on Civil Rights. In the administration of the agency's civil rights functions, I am assisted by one full time professional employee, appropriate service elements of the agency and, on occasion, by a race relations consultant.

Executive Order 10925 dated March 6, 1961 established, as you know, the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity with enlarged powers and duties over its predecessor Committees. Our agency participated actively with the President's Committee in assisting to establish its rules and regulations which now govern Federal actions with respect to employment under the national equal employment opportunity policy. A review of our existing regulations found that although they met the specifications of previous executive orders, they needed modification to accomplish the objectives prescribed by the President under the new executive order and other recent White House directives. Attached is a copy of a report submitted to the Subcabinet Group on Civil Rights which summarizes the agency's proposed civil rights or nondiscrimination programs. (Tab A)

To implement these programs, the agency is presently engaged in the following activities:

1. Clearing appropriate manual orders with the President's Committee which will be issued under the agency's directive system within a few weeks.

2. Coordinating its efforts with other agencies in a self-initiated proposal to produce a pamphlet which would assist foreign visitors and students to obtain a reasonable picture of U. S. race relations.

3. Increasing the scope of recruitment activity to cover on a regular basis Negro and other minority group schools and universities as sources for obtaining potential candidates for agency employment.

4. Planning means to obtain compliance reports from agency contractors to evaluate their nondiscriminatory policies and procedures with respect to employee hiring, placement, upgrading, transfer or demotion and other similar factors.

5. Arranging through agency Information Officers to consider ways by which they can channel to appropriate Negro newspapers, magazines and other information media, newsworthy events which arise out of agency activities.

Measures already taken to implement some phases of the above items are reflected in the attached agency directives. (Tab B)

Upon publication of the above mentioned manual orders and race relations pamphlet, copies will be forwarded to you.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Biren

Robert Biren
Acting Director
Office of Program Support

Att:

The International Cooperation Administration (ICA) became part of the Agency for International Development (AID) in November 1961.

ICA'S PROGRAM FOR IMPLEMENTING THE NATIONAL POLICY OF EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

The purpose of this memorandum is to suggest ways and means in which the ICA can assist in advancing the National Policy of Equality of Opportunity.

The three areas in which the ICA operations have an impact on non-discrimination are:

(1) Direct Federal Employment
(2) Contract Operations
(3) Participant Training

I. Direct Federal Employment

In the recruitment, employment and upgrading of qualified minority group members, ICA has significantly advanced the concept of equal employment opportunity. The Agency has in the past operated under rules and regulations issued pursuant to Executive Order 10590 dated January 18, 1955, and is currently operating under Executive Order 10925 dated March 6, 1961 which replaced Executive Order 10590.

There have been two formal complaints filed with this Agency's Employment Policy Officer. The President's Committee established to coordinate and oversee this program has concurred in the actions which the Agency has taken concerning these formal complaints. There have also been a number of discrimination problems which were precluded from becoming formal complaints because of the judicious and expeditious manner in which they were handled. The Agency will continue to review promotion and upgrading policies to assure that opportunities are made and will continue to be made available to qualified members of minority groups in the upper GS grade levels, especially for those jobs generally described as "non-traditional" for minority group members.

We will constantly review with all levels of supervision the need for providing free and open accession to on-the-job training which will enable qualified minority group members to effectively compete and qualify for supervisory positions.

The Agency will undertake a more intensive recruitment program to acquaint the major Negro Universities and Colleges with the specialized professional job opportunities existing in the Agency, both for domestic and foreign assignments. This program will be coordinated with the recruitment efforts being conducted by the Civil Service Commission.

In addition to contacting academic institutions, efforts will be made to communicate with responsible private organizations such as the National Urban League and the American Friends Service Committee, which are primarily concerned with the placement of qualified Negroes in white collar jobs, to apprise them of the interest and concern of this Agency in interesting qualified members of minority groups to apply for and compete with others for the "non-traditional" job opportunities currently available. There is hereto attached a report on minority group employment which was supplied to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity on June 6, 1961 in accordance with the respect of the Committee.

II. Contract Operations

ICA will use the administration of contract operations to advance the national policy of equal employment opportunity. Presently, as in the past, this Agency is cooperating with the Presidential Committee charged with the primary responsibility for assuring that there is no discrimination in employment on work financed by Federal funds. The standard non-discrimination clause is inserted in all contracts executed by this Agency and such complaints as have been filed have been processed with vigor and dispatch.

The contracting activity of the Agency is divided into three major areas:

(1) Private Companies
(2) Universities
(3) Other Non-profit Institutions

There are two avenues of approach in contract administration which can advance the national program. The first is to process complaints expeditiously, judiciously and firmly to make sure that no applicant for employment or employee for an ICA contractor is denied equal employment opportunity because of his race, color, religion or national origin.

However, without depreciating the importance or value of complaints, the Agency's experience of the past few years has indicated that this is not an effective instrument for advancing the principle of job equality. For a host of legitimate reasons, too numerous to enumerate here, most alledgedly aggrieved persons do not file complaints against contractors; and if the Agency were to rely on this source alone to advance vigorously the national program, its efforts would not be very meaningful. Despite the execution of thousands of contracts in the past few years, only a handful of complaints have been filed. No sophisticated observer or participant in the Government's Equal Employment Opportunity Program

believes that the number of complaints is an accurate index as to the extent and scope of employment discrimination. This is not only true of private contractors but is equally applicable to universities and non-profit institutions. Contracts have been and are awarded to universities in the southeastern or southwestern part of the country which do not either admit Negro students or employ Negro faculty members, laboratory technicians, or administrative staff; and those universities which admit or employ a limited number of Negroes, too often segregate their facilities with regard to these Negroes. Nevertheless, no complaints have ever been filed with this Agency concerning the practices of these institutions. If one were to adopt a passive policy on this problem, it could be maintained with considerable justification that there is apparently no problem of discrimination in the area of contract operations.

It is unlikely that there will be any change in the number of complaints filed. It must also be parenthetically stated that the great majority of complaints filed, upon investigation, are found to be unwarranted. Therefore, it will be necessary for the Agency to adopt or devise a program which will give it a more realistic insight and review as to the existence and extent of employment discrimination by ICA contractors.

ICA is, therefore, considering the preparation of two lists of the most significant contractors of the Agency, one to be composed of private contractors and the second of universities and non-profit institutions. The criteria for selection of these contractors may either be dollar volume or number of persons employed by the contractor. These contractors would be surveyed by the Agency without waiting for complaints to be filed and the basic purpose of the review would be to obtain an occupational breakdown of the institution's work force or staff by race, religion, color or national origin. The survey would, in addition, seek to ascertain the sources of recruitment utilized by the contractor -- employment services, private or public schools having a predominantly large Negro population, Urban Leagues, Negro Church leaders, etc., and whether there is a collective bargaining agent with known discriminatory or exclusionary policies. The survey should also contain the investigator's own evaluation as to whether or not the contractor engages in discriminatory employment practices.

If the Agency makes a sufficiently large number of surveys, it will know the areas which require corrective action.

The surveys of the non-profit organizations should be equally probing in order to determine whether the faculty, technicians, administrative and office staff are afforded equal employment opportunity. If the data from an organization indicate the absence or lack of minority group employees in the labor force of a community which has an appreciable number of such members, then detailed explanations should be obtained from that organization. If the explanations do not appear to be adequate or sufficient, then appropriate action should be taken by the Agency.

We have been informed that the President's Committee on Employment Opportunity plans to issue rules and regulations which contemplate procedures for contractors to report on their employment practices. In the event such regulations are issued containing provisions of this kind, we will, of course, coordinate efforts with the President's Committee.

III. Participant Training

A substantial expenditure of Federal funds is made through the participant training aspects of the Technical Assistance Program. Last year approximately 7,000 participants were brought to this and third countries for technical training. Approximately 300 universities and colleges, 20,000 industrial facilities and many service organizations are involved in this program.

This aspect of participant training which is conducted through formal contracts are handled in the same way as are all other contracts. This at least insures that the non-discriminatory provision is inserted and that the official notice (the Non-discrimination and, where appropriate, the Labor Union Posters) is or are posted by the contractor in conspicuous places of employment.

However, there are many other activities involving the expenditure of Federal funds. For example, participants receive a per diem allowance from ICA for maintenance during their training, as well as travel allowances. Frequently, arrangements have to be made in advance with hotels, YMCAs and even private lodgings. Serious problems have arisen with regard to the efforts to insure free and open facilities for dark skinned participants.

A frequent problem is the matter of off-campus housing when the participants are receiving training in selected colleges. This is not a regional problem and the difficulties encountered at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, are not very much different than the problem encountered in a southern school. ICA is working with the National Association of Foreign Student Advisors to assure non-discriminatory housing for its participants. A cognate problem to housing is providing eating accommodations for participants. Pressures must be brought in some instances against drug stores, restaurants, YMCAs and other eating places to changetheir practices. An example where an ICA project substantially changed the "public facilities profile" of a community was Annapolis, Maryland. Prior to establishing the International Labor Center at Saint Johns College -- the orientation center for participants receiving labor training -- this community never accepted colored citizens in the hotels, restaurants, movies, bowling alleys, etc. With the advent of the ICA program and because of the pressures which the resident director exercised, substantial changes were effective. At present the principal hotels and motels are open to all persons as well as a majority of the leading restaurants and other public accommodations.

There is a wide ambit of opportunity to advance the national program through the work in this area. A substantial number of training facilities are universities located in the south. In some instances, these facilities must be utilized because there are no available alternates. In these cases, it is incumbent for the Agency to seek to modify any discriminatory practices which its participants may encounter.

The Agency encounters very difficult problems when it executes a contract with a university, which alledgedly engages in discriminatory practices to have it furnish technical service overseas. Such a contract may be described as the expenditure of Federal funds by an institution which practices discrimination. Nevertheless, it is difficult to get qualified institutions to undertake these overseas assignments. It is not easy to sever ties and find replacements for these institutions.

IV. Coordinated Efforts

While there are broad problem areas in which the ICA may contribute to advancing the national equal job program, it should be noted that to maximize this program there should be coordinated and planned efforts with other agencies of the Government.

For example, while the ICA engages in contract operations of some size, it is dwarfed by such departments as Defense, General Services Administration, Atomic Energy Commission and Health, Education and Welfare. In addition, most of its contractors are also the contractors of other agencies of the Government. It does not appear to be administratively sound for this Agency to make a survey or to engage in negotiating with a given contractor, a chain of hotels or restaurants, or the National Board of the YMCA, only to have several other agencies concurrently pursue an identical course of action. In contract surveys, in most instances the ICA operation will be relatively small compared with any one of the other major agencies, and for this Agency to undertake major offensive against a contractor where its interest is relatively minor would be truly a case of "the tail wagging the dog." This Cabinet Committee can make a major contribution to this total effort by coordinating the activities of the several agencies seeking to expand and extend the national program of equality of opportunity. It would be helpful to have a coordinating body determine the major priority and evolve policy on matters which may be of major concern to several, but not all, of the Federal agencies. For example, a complaint which has been filed and re-filed with ICA involves the execution of a contract with a foreign university offering training in that country which generally does not issue visas and work permits to persons of Jewish faith. Such action does discriminate against American citizens of Jewish faith desirous of working under such a contract. This problem is equally pressing for the Department of Defense and Department of State in their contract operations and assignment of military and diplomatic personnel.

This is a problem which calls for a broad coordinated policy and appropriate implementing action. The ICA would welcome the opportunity to participate with other Government agencies in correcting the situation.

V. Summary

There are broad program areas of the ICA which can be effectively utilized to advance the National Equal Opportunity Program. Some facets of the ICA program are similar if not identical to those being carried on by other agencies. Some relate only to ICA operations.

This Agency believes that in order to maximize the effort of securing equality of opportunity, there must be an articulate policy and a coordinated course of action, whereby all agencies participating in the national effort are clearly aware of the measures being undertaken by other agencies. Those agencies which have the major responsibility and frequently the greatest leverage in the matter, should take the lead to conduct the major activity rather than leaving it to the agency with less leverage.

In light of the foregoing, ICA believes that it can make its greatest contribution to the National Equal Opportunity Program in areas where equal facilities are denied to members of minority groups. It appears that this can best be accomplished through concentration on the public accommodation aspects of its Participant Training Program mentioned above. ICA can establish contacts with such groups as the American Restaurant Association, the American Hotel Association, the National Board of the YMCA, and so on, for the purpose of obtaining their assistance and cooperation in changing discrimination patterns in affected areas.

ICA has and will continue to advance and to implement the National Equality Program with vigor and diligence.

Attachment

July 7, 1961

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
Washington 25, D. C.

AID General Notice
November 21, 1961

SUBJECT: AID Representation at Public Affairs or Meetings

The national nondiscrimination policy emphasizes that Federal funds and authority are not to be used either directly or indirectly in support of institutions or activities which operate on a segregated basis concerning race, color, creed or national orgin.

AID officials and staff employees who are called upon to act as AID representatives to public affairs or meetings should make every effort to assure themselves that their participation will not compromise or tend to nullify the Federal civil rights program. Avoidance of difficult or embarrassing situations in this field can be achieved by making certain that the national nondiscrimination policy is understood by all concerned and nondiscriminatory arrangements concerning attendance, housing and other facilities have been made for such meetings.

Inquiries concerning Agency policy in this area or its application to a particular situation may be addressed to Mr. Robert Biren, Acting Director, Office of Program Support, who also has responsibility for administering the nondiscrimination programs of AID.

DISTRIBUTION: AID List H, Position 5
AID List B-1, Position 10

DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY

Pursuant to the authority vested in me under State Department Redelegation of Authority 85-10A, dated February 2, 1961, and the provisions of Executive Order 10925 of March 6, 1961, "Establishing the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity," I hereby designate Mr. Robert Biren, Director,* Office of Management Planning, as the Employment Policy Officer and Compliance Officer for the International Cooperation Administration to have full responsibility, under my general direction, for carrying out the equal employment opportunity policy, regulations, and program set forth in, or arising from the above mentioned Executive Order.

This delegation is effective immediately.

for Henry R. Labouisse
Director

APR 6 1961

* Mr. Biren's title has recently been changed to Acting Director, Office of Program Support.

MEMORANDUM

TO : TO ALL O/CO CONTRACT MANAGERS DATE: June 27, 1961

FROM : Edward E. Kunse, O/CO, 504 SA-1

SUBJECT : Interpretation of Section 301 of Executive Order 10925

The following interpretation of Section 301 of Executive Order 10925, extracted from the FEDERAL REGISTER (Volume 26, No. 210, June 23, 1961) is furnished for your information:

"A new Part 60-80, Interpretations, is added to Chapter 60, Title 41, Code of Federal Regulations as follows:

60-80.1 Section 301 of Executive Order 10925

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity interprets the requirements of contract provision (2) of section 301 of Executive Order 10925 of March 6, 1961 (26 F.R. 1977), relating to solicitations or advertisements for employees on public contracts as being satisfied whenever the contractor or subcontractor does any of the following:

(a) States expressly in the solicitations or advertising that all qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, creed, color or national origin;

(b) Uses display advertising, and the advertising includes an appropriate insignia prescribed by the Committee. The use of the insignia is considered subject to the provision of 18 U.S.C. 701;

(c) Uses a single advertisement, and the advertisement is grouped with other advertisements under a caption which clearly states that all employers in the group assure all qualified applicants equal consideration for employment without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin;

(d) Uses single advertisement in which appears in clearly distinguishable type the phrase "an equal opportunity employer."

Signed at Washington, D. C., this 14th day of June 1961.

Jerry R. Holleman,
Executive Vice Chairman.

[F.R. Doc. 61-5885; Filed June 22, 1961; 8:48 a.m.]"

RECEIVED
JUL 5 1961
M/MP - MSB

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

JM - file

~~Personal Secy~~ ltr

ltr c

DEC 13 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter enclosing the report of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights." It is most interesting and I am very glad to have had the opportunity to see it.

As you requested, I am enclosing press releases and office orders covering the Employment Policy Program in the Treasury Department. In addition, we have sent to the press several pictures relating to the appointments covered in the press release. We are adding your name to our mailing list for future releases of this nature.

It is hoped that this material will be of interest and use to your Council.

Again, many thanks for the report.

Sincerely,

Robert A. Wallace

Robert A. Wallace
Assistant to the Secretary

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Enclosures

I M - file

Yarmolinsky ltr

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT
ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL
BUREAU OF PERSONNEL
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

December 13, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of your report entitled, "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights."

The material you asked for in your letter of November 30, 1961, is being assembled and as soon as it is ready, I shall be glad to send it to you.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Thomas

Assistant Postmaster General
Employment Policy Officer

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION
HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

CIRCULAR
12-14-61

TO: Central Office Division and Branch Heads
Regional Directors
Housing Managers

SUBJECT: Equal Employment Opportunity Policy

The Administrator, HHFA, has issued an Agency-wide policy on Equal Employment Opportunity established under authority of Executive Order 10925 which reads as follows:

> "It is the policy of the Housing and Home Finance Agency to assure that equal opportunity, consistent with law and applicable Federal employment regulations, shall be afforded to all qualified persons for employment in the HHFA. No appointing or selecting official shall discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, color, creed, or national origin. In addition a positive program shall be pursued to broaden employment opportunities for members of minority groups and to fully utilize the skills and talents of all citizens."

In order to implement the provisions of the policy stated above, appointing officers are required to make positive efforts to recruit minority group candidates when filling positions at all levels of employment. This should present no problems since we have operated under a policy of non-discrimination in the past. We want now to make an even more positive effort so that we can continue our leadership in this area.

To carry out the provisions of this program the Deputy Commissioner has been designated as a Deputy Employment Policy Officer in the HHFA and will serve as the principal Employment Policy Officer of PHA. The Regional Directors have also been designated as Deputy Employment Policy Officers for the areas covered by their respective offices. Their relationship to the Deputy Commissioner in carrying out the responsibilities of this designation will be spelled out in Section 82-3-14, Government Employment Policy. This Section will be revised to reflect the above policy and to prescribe the rules and regulations.

Marie C. McGuire
Commissioner

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO

Yarmolinsky ltr.

DM file

December 14 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am very happy to answer your letter of November 29, and to give you a summary of the actions taken by the Civil Service Commission under this Administration's civil rights program.

The Commission's general responsibility in this area has been twofold. One phase has dealt with those actions which the Commission has taken to support and strengthen the Government-wide policy of equal employment opportunity. The second has involved those steps taken by the Commission to strengthen its own internal policy.

With respect to the first, one of the early Commission actions was to appoint a Special Assistant to our Executive Director, whose basic function has been to conduct a visitation program to the predominantly Negro colleges and universities in order to stimulate interest on the part of Negro students in our Federal Service Entrance Examination. Because an adequate supply of qualified Negro personnel is basic to the success of the overall policy, this special visitation program is being supplemented by the recruiting efforts of our regional offices in every way possible. We are making use of every Commission resource in this talent search.

Since the Commission has a considerable responsibility in the area of monitoring the personnel actions of the Federal agencies, a further step has been that of having our inspection service include an analysis of agency activities in implementing the fair employment policy in the normal course of their review of other personnel matters. An initial report on this effort has already been received, and it indicates that the idea is both feasible and productive.

Finally, since the Commission is represented on both the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and on the Subcabinet Group on Civil Rights, we are continually involved in policy-making decisions on civil rights matters and in executing such decisions where appropriate to the Commission's functions. We are, for example, involved in the

general question of minority-group surveys in Federal employment, and in how they can be improved and refined.

With respect to the second area of activity--the Commission's internal program--we began with an overall survey of Negro employment in the Commission early last spring. A thorough analysis was made of the results of this survey, and our Personnel Division drew up a plan of action which was designed to strengthen our own fair employment policy and to insure that our personnel actions are as free as possible from any discriminatory tendencies.

The Special Assistant to the Executive Director has, in addition to his recruitment program, the responsibility of serving as the Commission's Employment Policy Officer. He therefore spends full time on matters relating to the fair employment policy.

I hope that this information will be helpful to you in your proposed study.

Sincerely yours,

John W Macy Jr

John W. Macy, Jr.
Chairman

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

MANPOWER

IM-file

14 December 1961

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We are greatly interested in your plans to prepare a study of developments during 1961, this to follow the report THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL RIGHTS.

We are in position, pursuant to your contacts with Mr. Harris Wofford, to respond in connection with this effort. I hope that your schedule is such as to allow this Department to be represented in your findings. While this is primarily an acknowledgment, we hope to follow with pertinent data.

The returns from our recent mission to Atlanta continue to be altogether rewarding.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES C. EVANS
Counsellor

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

2

Research files

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Ltr C

14 DEC 1961

I M. file

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for the copy of the interesting publication of The Federal Executive and Civil Rights forwarded with your letter of November 30. The publication is well presented and contains many challenging ideas.

As you requested, I am enclosing copies of regulations, internal instructions, and publications reflecting this department's policies and actions in the field of civil rights.

In total, these actions we believe have given significant impetus within the Department of Defense to the Administration's drive to assure that all civilian employees and military personnel are extended equal opportunities to be selected, trained and advanced strictly on merit.

In the area of official issuances, the following may be of particular interest for your purpose:

Tab A - Secretary of Defense memorandum, March 24, 1961, to Secretaries of the military departments and others, subject: Non-discrimination in Employment.

Tab B - Secretary of Defense memorandum, March 24, 1961, to all employees, subject: Non-discrimination in Employment.

Tab C - Military department issuances implementing Tabs A and B.

Tab D - Secretary of Defense memorandum, April 28, 1961, to the Secretaries of the military departments and others, subject: Military and Civilian Employee Recreational Organizations.

Tab E - Excerpt from Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower) memorandum, to Under Secretaries of the military departments, November 7, 1961, subject: Minority Representation in Officer Procurement and Training; Army Adjutant General memorandum, December 8, 1961, subject: Minority Representation in Officer Procurement and Training; Letter of the Secretary of the Navy to Commanders, May 12, 1961, subject: Minority Groups in the Navy.

Tab F - Deputy Secretary of Defense memorandum to the Secretaries of the military departments, June 19, 1961, subject: Availability of Facilities to Military Personnel.

Tab G - Publication, The Negro Officer in the Armed Forces of the United States of America, July 4, 1960.

Tab H - ASD (Manpower) memorandum to Under Secretaries of the military departments, December 7, 1961, subject: Non-segregation Policy in Training and Education.

Tab I - World-wide publicity among commanders, supervisors and employees on their responsibilities for compliance with equal employment opportunity policies.

A basic Department of Defense policy Directive on the entire subject of Equal Employment Opportunity covering both employment in the Department of Defense and in Defense contractors has been prepared. This Directive is pending coordination by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and, for that reason, has not yet been issued.

Since personnel records in the Department of Defense do not reflect race, we are unable to provide quantitative data on the recruitment, hiring, training and upgrading of Negroes.

It can be seen, however, from the documents attached, notably Tabs A and E, that within the general framework of equal opportunity for all employees, affirmative actions are being taken to provide better opportunities for Negroes.

There are many other administrative actions being taken at local and national levels to assure equal opportunity for all employees which are not reflected in published instructions or memoranda but which are equally significant.

Included in these types of actions are inspections by survey teams of personnel operations at installations and commands, conferences and training sessions on equal employment opportunity policies and practices, a variety of publications and other issuances by local commanders, and the investigation and correction of specific problem situations as they arise. Examples of this type of follow-through action are:

Tab J - Army Program Evaluation Letter No. 266; Guides used by Army survey teams in the evaluation of installation and command personnel programs; and Army Civilian Personnel Circular No. 10, subject: Equal Opportunity in Employment, outlining the responsibilities of civilian personnel staffs in connection with equal employment policies.

Tab K - Representative statements by installation commanders, articles in installation publications, panel discussions, and use of advisory committees.

Action also has been taken to require employee unions or other employee organizations dealing with the Department of Defense to be free of discrimination or practices denying membership because of race, color, religion or national origin. Where dual unions or restrictive membership practices are found to exist the Department of Defense is requiring that they be discontinued. Excellent cooperation is being received from the national union headquarters in this effort.

It is hoped this information and the attached documents are of assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

Adam Yarmolinsky
The Special Assistant

Enclosure

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEC 15 1961

I M file

Yarmolinsky ltr A

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In reply to your letter of November 29, 1961, we are enclosing copies of the following documents, which appear to contain the information you requested; explanatory remarks are included where appropriate:

1. Press Release No. D-268.

2. AEC Personnel Policy. The policy reflected herein has been in effect for more than twelve years.

3. AEC Manual Chapter 4158. This chapter is still labeled "Draft", but will be printed shortly without change. It has been approved by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

4. AEC Procurement Regulations, Title 41--Public Contracts, Subpart 9-12.52--Nondiscrimination in Employment. This subpart is presently being amended to reflect the provisions of Executive Order 10925.

5. Letter dated June 7, 1961, with attachments, from Chairman Seaborg to Mr. Jerry R. Holleman, Executive Vice Chairman, The President's Committee on Equal Employment. This document is intended to supply the information you requested regarding the recruitment, hiring, training or upgrading of Negroes by the AEC.

6. Memorandum on Equal Employment Opportunity dated May 2, 1961, from Chairman Seaborg for all contractors and subcontractors of the AEC. This should be considered along with Attachment B to the document described in 5, above.

7. Memorandum entitled "Report on Employment Practices," dated August 8, 1961, to Managers of Operations from Harry S. Traynor, Assistant General Manager for Administration.

8. September 30 Progress Report.

   a. Equal Employment Opportunity Program.

   b. Executive Order 10925--Contractors. With respect to the bowling incident described in this report, one bowling alley owner in Oak Ridge agreed to lease his entire alley to bowling leagues of the contractors for the periods when they bowl, and to permit the leagues to select the participating bowlers without restriction as to color.

If you require any further information, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely yours,

Neil D Naiden

Neil D. Naiden
General Counsel

Enclosures:
As stated

cc: Mr. Harris Wofford
Special Assistant to the President

FEDERAL AVIATION AGENCY
Washington 25, D.C.

JM-file

DEC 15 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your recent letter sent at the suggestion of Mr. Harris Wofford.

We will be pleased to furnish and forward to you all appropriate and available information as soon as it has been compiled by the Agency.

Sincerely yours,

for DAGGETT H. HOWARD
General Counsel

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JM-file

No ltr
kept copy
of report

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEC 20 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Reference is made to your letter dated November 29, 1961 addressed to Mr. John Hurley, our Employment Policy Officer, requesting information regarding actions taken by the Small Business Administration in the interest of civil rights for Negroes.

Your letter together with the copy of your report entitled "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights" has been referred to me since Mr. Hurley has been ill for some time.

Upon opportunity to study your report, I shall be most happy to send you the necessary information for your forthcoming study.

Sincerely,

Eugene J. Davidson

Eugene J. Davidson
Deputy Employment Policy Officer

JCL file

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

December 20, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director, Southern Regional
Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar: first letter in formal file

In further reference to your letter of November 30, I am enclosing the following items:

1. A statement made by Secretary Hodges on the Equal Employment Opportunity Program to the Department's top staff. This statement has been used widely throughout the Department and serves as the basic mandate from the Secretary to all employees to take the necessary steps to carry out the President's program.

2. "Official Use Only" memorandum was issued by me on June 16 and served as a basis for internal review of employment patterns in each of our respective agencies. (I assume you know that the Commerce Department includes such activities as Weather Bureau, Bureau of Public Roads, Maritime Administration, Patent Office, National Bureau of Standards, Census Bureau, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and Area Redevelopment Administration.) I am sending you this document as background for your analysis. You may refer to it in general terms, but I would appreciate your respecting the classification and not publishing any of the specific data included therein.

3. This is the August 7 memorandum to the heads of our Bureaus and Offices dealing with the very special problem of the higher grade positions. This was our follow-up on the request made specifically by the President. (Since this memorandum, we have had some progress -- slow, but definite.)

4. and 5. These are two recent speeches by the Secretary of Commerce to indicate that he is speaking out boldly on this issue wherever possible.

6. Press release announcing the employment of Clifford E. Rucker to the position of Advisor on Equal Employment Opportunity.

7. Program of the recently conducted Conference on Small Business. This was a non-Government conference of about 250 Negro businessmen. The Commerce Department played a major role in conceiving, promoting, and arranging this Conference.

I hope these materials are the kind you were interested in. Much of the work in the sensitive area, of course, is not to be found in any written memorandum or documents. From day to day, we are trying to do whatever is possible to make a contribution to the entire program of Executive action in the field of civil rights.

Sincerely yours,

Hyman H. Bookbinder

Hyman H. Bookbinder
Special Assistant to the Secretary

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

Ath B.

January 15, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I regret that we delayed so long in our answer to your letter of November 30 to Assistant Secretary Reynolds.

We have enclosed some material on the Department's policies that should be of interest.

Sincerely yours,

David S. North
Special Assistant to
Assistant Secretary Reynolds

Enclosures

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

Ltr & insert, see file

Republic 7-5600
X.3789

January 16, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I regret the delay in replying to your letter of November 30 asking for information regarding the Department's policies and actions in the field of civil rights and equal employment opportunity.

I am enclosing a recent report which summarizes the efforts of the Department in this area. In addition, I had a long talk with Mrs. Shaughnessey of your staff last week and described some of our program in fuller detail which I assume will be reported to you.

If you should like additional information or clarification on any point, please feel free to write.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Fox

Richard Fox
Special Assistant
Office of Personnel

Enclosure:
As stated.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

REPORT ON
IMPLEMENTATION OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 10925

by the
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

November 27, 1961

The Department of State is peculiarly situated with respect to implementation of Executive Order 10925. Its large number of Foreign Service personnel and the career status which these persons enjoy make necessary our primary emphasis on recruitment at the beginning level. Consequently, the major activities of the Department, in implementing the Executive Order, have been in the field of recruitment for the Foreign Service entrance examination.

Direct implementation was instituted with the designation of Assistant Secretary G. Mennen Williams as the Department's Employment Policy Officer. Appropriate deputies have been appointed throughout the Department for the purpose of processing formal complaints.

The Department has instructed all field posts that no discrimination is to be permitted in employee recreational activities at overseas posts; and the field inspection team has been instructed to observe for evidence of compliance with the non-discrimination policy.

Two deputy assistant secretaries of minority background served this year on the examining panel for FSO-8 candidates.

Further efforts to achieve a more representative body of personnel in the Foreign Service Officer corps include the following:

On August 16, 1961 the Department held a day-long conference with top Negro leaders and representatives of national agencies to discuss steps that might be undertaken to achieve a more representative service. Since that time communications have been sent to each of the participants asking that they send the names of any people they feel qualified for employment with the Department, and that they encourage Negro youth of their acquaintance to take the Foreign Service entrance examination this year. Moreover, they have been asked to inform others of the Department's interest in finding qualified Negroes for service at home and abroad.

Four of the conferees were asked to serve on a Liaison Committee which is to meet periodically to assess the Department's progress. A meeting of this committee is to be held on January 16.

Each year the Department conducts a college visitation program in connection with the Foreign Service entrance examination. Foreign Service officers are sent to approximately three hundred colleges to discuss career opportunities in the Foreign Service. This year the number of predominantly Negro colleges being visited has been increased. Whereas seventeen were visited last year, that number has been increased to twenty-six this year, a gain of nine. Moreover, the officers participating in the recruitment program have been supplied with a copy of the summary of the conference on Equal Employment Opportunity and time was allotted during a recent briefing session to inform them of the Department's effort to increase the representativeness of the Service. They were instructed to do everything possible to insure that Negro students understand the sincerity of purpose of the Department of State.

In addition, two officers made a special recruitment trip in October that took them to five cities -- Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, New York and Boston. The principal purpose of the trip was to meet with Negro students attending local colleges and universities to arouse interest in the Foreign Service entrance examination being offered in December.

Group meetings with students were arranged by local Urban League affiliates in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and New York. Two other meetings in New York were held under the sponsorship of the New York Amsterdam Newspaper and a faculty member of Yeshiva University. In each city, conferences were held with the editors of the major Negro newspapers, key college faculty members and top Negro leadership to apprise them of the Department's concern and to request their help in getting more Negro youth to take the examination this year. The officers also participated in live interviews at the local radio stations.

On November 12, at the Centennial Conference of Land Grant Colleges, held in Kansas City, Missouri, Assistant Secretary G. Mennen Williams met with the presidents of the member institutions to discuss the Department's interest in attracting more Negroes to the Foreign Service. He outlined the procedural steps which have been taken to increase their number at the entering level, explained some of the difficulties which have been discovered in recruiting prospective officers, and elicited the President's support in creating an enviromental encouragement for young Negroes to apply and take the examination. The presidents indicated their unqualified support of the program and pledged their and their faculties' cooperation in fulfillment of the Department's recruitment goals.

The Department is also moving ahead on the placement of qualified Negroes in the middle and higher grades. Before the end of the year, three new Negro employees are to enter on duty as Reserve officers. One is to be assigned to the Bureau of Economic Affairs, one to the

Bureau of Cultural and Educational Affairs, and the third to the Office of Personnel. It is anticipated that as more names of qualified applicants are submitted to the Department other appointments will be made.

The Department is surveying Negro personnel now working in related agencies such as USIA and the AID to see if some could be considered for lateral entry into the Foreign Service.

Aside from Foreign Service recruitment problems, it is a matter of major concern to the Department there is a great concentration of Negro Civil Service employees in lower grade classifications.

Three steps are underway to relieve the imbalance presently found in the distribution of Negro employees by grade. (1) The Office of Personnel is currently surveying job classifications in the Department to discover those in which there is a preponderence of Negroes. When this information is obtained efforts will be made to reduce the concentration. (2) A listing of Negro employees who have demonstrated potential for more responsible assignments is being prepared. This list of names will be used when vacancies occur for which these employees are qualified. (3) Every fourth promotion panel is being surveyed to determine the frequency with which Negroes appear on such panels. This will be continued over a six months period and a report will be prepared monthly detailing the type of panel, number of Negroes and the selection results. This activity in combination with the aggressive recruitment program underway should result in substantial change in Departmental employment within the next six months.

Two other steps related to the problem of securing qualified Negro applicants might be reported on briefly. At the conference on August 16, one of the recommendations made was that there should be no compromise with quality or any special concessions of competence made to Negroes but the examination procedure ought to be investigated to be determined whether it automatically excludes categories of persons who are potentially valuable Foreign Service officers.

Dr. Kenneth Clark, one of the participants in the conference of August 16 and a Professor of Psychology at City College of New York has recently volunteered the services of a subcommittee of the Society for Psychological Study of Social Issues for the purpose of taking a hard look at the entrance examination to see if it places a handicap on applicants from culturally disadvantaged backgrounds. The Department accepted this invitation and three officers of the Department met with the subcommittee in November.

In addition, Dr. Jerome Holland, President of Hampton Institute, is being asked to chair a committee whose objective will be to look into the problem of the long term supply of Negro candidates for the entrance examination. This committee has been asked to prepare a prospectus for such a program.

Finally, last spring, twenty students were selected to participate in a summer intern program. Included among the twenty were two Negro students. If funds are available for this program next year, Negro students will continue to be included.

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

16 January 1962

Dear Leslie:

Sorry I didn't get to talk with you more when you were here. I believe I supplied Mrs. Shaughnessy with most of the information you requested on December 27.

The Committee will be making public later this month some reports which may supply you with additional relevant data, both on government employment and contractors involved in the Plans for Progress program.

Sincerely yours,

John G. Feild
Executive Director

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR OF VETERANS AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

January 18, 1962

IN REPLY REFER TO:

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In further reference to my letter of December 6, 1961, I am enclosing material along the lines in which you expressed an interest. These documents have been distributed to all our field stations throughout the country. I believe this will acquaint you with our Program to carry out the provisions of Executive Order 10925 pertaining to equal employment opportunities in the Federal agencies and nondiscrimination in government contracts.

In 1953 VA integrated its patient population throughout our hospitals. Our work force, of some 175,000, is made up of many races and religions. Based on a "head-count" survey in May 1961, we found that minority groups comprise 25.9% of the total employment, of which 23% are Negroes. Most of our Negro employees occupy lower grade positions, a pattern which is true throughout the Federal establishment. However, we also have a wide pattern of Negro employment in middle and higher job categories throughout the agency, including professional positions in our medical program. Two of our field station managers are Negroes.

Last year we began to include Negro colleges in our general recruiting program by inviting representatives to VA recruiting conferences and sending VA representatives to visit Negro educational installations. Our employment policy is to consider all applicants on the basis of qualifications regardless of race, color, religion or national origin.

With respect to upgrading, we follow an established promotion plan by which we consider all qualified applicants on the basis of merit.

In the agency's broad public programs, we have taken administrative actions to insure that VA's benefits are administered fairly and equitably regardless of race or color. There is no reference to race on our hospital records, loan guaranty or GI schooling forms, or claims applications for compensation or pension.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

We recognize there is still much to do in the broad field of race relations, despite encouraging progress. This is especially true of employment. To this end we are giving increasing time and energy to assure equal opportunity in recruitment, appointment, training, and upgrading of our minority group people.

I hope this information will be helpful to you.

Sincerely,

A. H. MONK
Associate Deputy Administrator

Encl.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

Yamelinsky ltr A

January 22, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for sending us a copy of your report entitled The Federal Executive and Civil Rights along with your request for data relevant to civil rights. We have delayed replying until our End-of-Year Report on Equal Employment Opportunity was compiled. It is enclosed along with two of our publications -- the August issue of Tips of Personnel Management for Supervisors, which is devoted to an explanation of our nondiscrimination policy; and our September 13 USDA Employees News Bulletin, which carries an article on page three entitled Equality of Opportunity. These two publications are widely circulated among our employees in Washington and our field offices.

Our End-of-Year Report is designed to show two things: (1) The number of Negro employees in grades GS-12 and above, and (2) the number appointed or promoted since last January to specific job assignments at all grade levels for the first time. You will note that we now have 44 full-time and two part-time Negro employees in grades GS-12 and above. A year ago we had only 15 in these grades. Those in job assignments for the first time since January a year ago total 484 in grades GS-1 through GS-15. These include specific assignments all the way, for example, from a GS-2 office machine operator to a GS-14 organic chemist. This does not necessarily mean that Negro employees have never held such assignments before anywhere in the Department, rather it means this is the first time they have held a given position in a unit, section, division, or agency.

We hope the enclosed information will prove useful.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph M. Robertson

Joseph M. Robertson
Administrative Assistant Secretary

Enclosures

Growth Through Agricultural Progress

January 25, 1962

Mr. Joseph M. Robertson
Administrative Assistant Secretary
Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Robertson:

Many thanks for your letter of January 22. Enclosures, however, did not arrive with the letter and I wonder if you could send them on.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR • WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Federal Housing Administration
Public Housing Administration
Federal National Mortgage Association
Community Facilities Administration
Urban Renewal Administration

lh c

JAN 25 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is with reference to your letter of November 29, 1961, requesting information concerning policies and actions of this Agency in the field of civil rights including data regarding Negro employment policies. We would also like to acknowledge receipt of your booklet entitled "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights".

For your information we are enclosing the following issuances of HHFA and its constituent agencies and units:

1. Statement of the Administrator on "Equal Employment Opportunity Policy", issued April 14, 1961;

2. Statement of J. S. Baughman, President, Federal National Mortgage Association, on "Equal Employment Opportunity Policy", dated April 18, 1961;

3. Staff Bulletin of the Housing and Home Finance Agency dealing in part with "Non-Discrimination in Recreational Organizations", dated May 22, 1961;

4. Statement of Neal J. Hardy, Federal Housing Commissioner on "FHA Policy of Merit Recognition", dated June 23, 1961;

5. Statement of Marie C. McGuire, Public Housing Commissioner on "Non-Discrimination in Recreational Organizations", dated July 20, 1961;

6. "Equal Employment Opportunity-HHFA Policies and Procedures", dated December 6, 1961;

7. Circular issued by PHA on "Equal Employment Opportunity Policy", dated December 14, 1961; and

8. Poster on Equal Employment Opportunity in the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Since the issuance of Executive Order 10925 on March 6, 1961, which established the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, this Agency has made two employment surveys of its entire personnel to determine employment patterns with regard to minority groups. As HHFA employs in excess of 12,000 persons and its employment records do not indicate the race or color of employees it is difficult to conduct such surveys with absolute accuracy. The following list discloses the increase of Negroes employed in the grades indicated between April 14, the date of the original survey, and December 31, 1961:

	Negro Employment	
	April 14, 1961	December 31, 1961
GS-11	16	24
12	35	38
13	3	8
14	7	9
15	3	6

The following executive and professional positions are now held by Negroes in the Housing and Home Finance Agency (about twenty of these positions have for the first time been occupied by Negroes):

Housing and Home Finance Administrator	Statutory	HHFA
Assistant to the Administrator for Intergroup Relations	GS-15	OA*
Director, Low Income Housing Demonstration Program	GS-15	OA
Special Assistant to the Assistant Administrator (International Housing)	GS-15	OA
Regional Counsel	GS-15	OA
Assistant Commissioner for Relocation and Community Organization	GS-15	URA
Assistant to the Commissioner (Intergroup Relations)	GS-15	FHA
Chief, Legal Opinions Branch	GS-14	OA
Assistant to the Regional Administrator	GS-14	OA

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*Office of the Administrator

Director, Intergroup Relations Branch	GS-14	PHA —
Assistant to the Commissioner (Intergroup Relations)	GS-14	URA —
Deputy Regional Director (2)	GS-14	URA +
Attorney-Adviser, Special Programs Counsel	GS-14	URA +1
Chief, Operations Staff	GS-14	URA +
Regional Relocation Officer	GS-14	URA —1
Assistant to the Regional Administrator for Virgin Islands Operations	GS-13	OA
Assistant to the Regional Administrator	GS-13	OA
Supervisory Architect	GS-13	FHA +
Attorney	GS-13	FHA +
Intergroup Relations Adviser	GS-13	FHA —
Programs Representative	GS-13	FHA +1
Regional Relocation Officer	GS-13	URA —1
Area Supervisor	GS-13	URA +
Field Representative	GS-13	URA +1
Auditor	GS-12	OA
Attorney	GS-12	FHA +
Architectural Examiner	GS-12	FHA +
Supervisory Operating Accountant	GS-12	FHA +
Intergroup Relations Advisers (8)	GS-12	FHA —
Housing Management Officer	GS-12	PHA +
Intergroup Relations Specialists (6)	GS-12	PHA —
Engineer	GS-12	PHA +
Maintenance Engineer (2)	GS-12	PHA +
Architectural Engineer	GS-12	PHA +
Program Officer	GS-12	URA +1
Intergroup Relations Specialists (3)	GS-12	URA —
Relocation Adviser	GS-12	URA —1

The Federal Housing Administration, the Public Housing Administration, the Federal National Mortgage Association, and the Office of the Administrator (HHFA) have inaugurated programs to assure the employment and promotion of qualified members of minority groups. FHA recently conducted an employment survey in the departmental and field services as a part of its continuing review to determine the effectiveness of existing policies and procedures with respect to equal employment opportunities. The results of the survey show that within the past six months there has been an encouraging increase in the number of Negroes occupying positions above grade GS-6. Between April 14, 1961 and December 31, 1961, the number of Negroes holding positions at grade GS-7 and above has increased from 44 to 66. Negro employees have been appointed to clerical positions in FHA offices in Atlanta, Georgia and Greensboro, North Carolina. There has been a substantial increase in the number of Negroes selected for participation in the formal training programs. During 1961, six Negroes were selected for participation in FHA's Underwriting Intern Program, seventeen in its Accounting Technician Program and one in its Attorney Intern Program.

In the Federal National Mortgage Association the equal opportunity policy has continued as a priority item in staff meetings with top level officials and the supervisory staff throughout the Association and in supervisory training sessions. Contacts with sources conducive to the encouragement of minority group persons to apply for employment in the Federal service and FNMA have continually been broadened, including colleges and universities. As an example of these efforts the Assistant Manager of the Dallas Agency Office recently addressed the student body of Prairie View College in Texas, pointing out employment opportunities in the Federal service and FNMA and inviting applications for employment. Positive recruiting efforts by FNMA to locate minority group candidates have resulted in a steady increase in the number of appointments in that group. In the Atlanta Agency Office alone eight positions have been filled by Negroes between April and November, 1961 which office previously had no Negro employees. The Dallas Agency Office now has six minority group employees and two Negroes have been appointed to the FNMA Intern Training Program.

PHA has endeavored to encourage the employment of non-white personnel by local housing authorities in the operation of individual low-rent public housing projects throughout the country. Recent conversations with the Nashville Housing Authority by PHA and URA personnel have resulted in assurances that future employment with this Agency will be available to all, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin.

The personnel services for the Urban Renewal Administration and Community Facilities Administration are performed by the Division of Personnel in the Office of the Administrator. The Director of Personnel and the Chief of Placement participated in a career day conference at North Carolina A & T College. Approximately 200 students heard addresses on the subject of employment opportunities in the urban affairs field and Federal employment opportunities for college graduates. The Director of Personnel and the Chief of Placement also participated with personnel officials from six other Federal agencies in a career conference at Xavier University, New Orleans, Louisiana. Attending that conference were selected students from eleven Negro colleges in Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas. Attending also were college officials and placement directors. The objective of this conference, which was planned jointly by Xavier University, the Civil Service Commission, and HHFA representatives, was to expose high caliber senior students from a number of Negro colleges to top personnel officials in the Federal service and, conversely, to publicize to students in these colleges the beginning professional positions available to them in the Federal service.

The Personnel Staff has visited a number of colleges in its Housing Intern Recruitment Program including Negro schools at Houston (Texas Southern University) and the Atlanta University group in Atlanta. Personnel activities in this regard have resulted in the appointment of eight Negroes to Housing Intern positions in the Office of the Administrator, CFA, and URA.

The Office of the Administrator and three of the Agency constituents, PHA, FHA and URA maintain full time intergroup relations staff personnel whose work is concerned with minority group housing problems. In addition, Employment Policy Officers and Contract Compliance Officers have been designated throughout the Agency and function in implementing the policies and procedures of Executive Order 10925.

If we can be of any further service in this regard, we would be pleased to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Jack T. Conway

Jack T. Conway
Deputy Administrator

Enclosures - 8

To Hagerd 3-30-62

The Department has recruited and selected Negroes for the following key positions since January 20, 1961:

1. Mr. Christopher C. Scott
   Deputy Assistant Postmaster General
   Bureau of Transportation
   Washington 25, D. C.

2. Mr. Henry N. McGee
   Regional Personnel Manager
   Chicago 100, Illinois

3. Mr. Herbert T. Waddy
   Assistant Postmaster
   Washington 13, D. C.

4. Mr. Andy S. Maundless
   Assistant General Superintendent of Mails
   Detroit, Michigan

5. Mr. Charles A. Preston, Jr.
   Postal Inspector
   Bureau of the Chief Postal Inspector
   Washington 25, D. C.

6. Mr. Neil L. Halliday
   Electronic Development Technician
   Office of Research and Engineering
   Washington 25, D. C.

7. Mrs. Waveney H. Bryant
   Operations Research Analyst
   Office of Research and Engineering
   Washington 25, D. C.

8. Mr. Arthur L. Williams
   Digital Computer Systems Analyst
   Bureau of Finance
   Washington 25, D. C.

9. Mr. Henry L. Dixon
   Employee Relations Assistant
   Bureau of Personnel
   Washington 25, D. C.

10. Mr. William T. Owen
    Superintendent, Vehicle Operations
    Memphis, Tennessee

11. Miss Nancy L. Avery
    Acting Postmaster
    Pacoima, California

12. Mrs. Marveleigh M. White
Postmaster
Method, North Carolina

13. Mr. Theodore Jackson
Station Superintendent
Memphis, Tennessee

14. Mr. Walter P. Tate, Jr.
Case Analyst
Bureau of Operations
Washington 25, D. C.

15. Mr. Arnett N. Willis
Assistant Station Superintendent
Memphis, Tennessee

16. Mr. Erskine W. Lytle
Assistant Station Superintendent
~~Memphis,~~ Tennessee

Nashville

17. Mr. Herman T. Anderson
Route Examiner
Mobile, Alabama

18. Mr. Harry A. Chambers
Dispatcher, Vehicle Service
Memphis, Tennessee

19. Mr. Herbert W. Robinson
Dispatcher, Vehicle Service
Memphis, Tennessee

The following appointments are being made within the next 15 days:

20. Mr. Lloyd Davis
Executive Assistant to the
Assistant Postmaster General
Bureau of Personnel
Washington 25, D. C.

21. Mr. Samuel Simmons
Member, Board of Appeals and Review
Bureau of Personnel
Washington 25, D. C.

22. Mr. John Strachan
Regional Employment and Placement
Officer
New York 1, New York

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

January 31, 1962.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N . W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We regret very much that our End-of-Year Report on Equal Employment Opportunity and the two publications referred to in our letter of January 22 were not enclosed. We are attaching them herewith and rushing them to you by air mail.

Sincerely yours,

Joe Robertson

Joseph M. Robertson
Administrative Assistant Secretary

Attachments

Growth Through Agricultural Progress

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT
ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL
BUREAU OF PERSONNEL
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

January 31, 1962

Jarmalinsky
ltr

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

As promised in my letter to you on December 13, 1961, I am enclosing the following pertinent material which we have issued, to date, governing the administration of the non-discrimination policy in the Postal Service.

1. Postal Bulletin of January 11, 1962, containing the Department's instructions on Equal Employment Opportunity.

2. Postal Bulletin of December 28, 1961, containing information regarding the Department's poster informing employees of our equal opportunity program.

3. A copy of the poster referred to in Item 2.

4. Postal Bulletin of December 14, 1961, containing information regarding a poster prepared by the Department for posting in post office lobbies.

5. A copy of the poster referred to in Item 4.

6. Postal Bulletin of December 7, 1961, containing the Postmaster General's statement concerning "Human Rights Week."

7. Postal Bulletin of September 28, 1961, containing a statement by the Postmaster General emphasizing the Department's non-discriminatory policy in hiring and up-grading and consultation with employee representatives prior to personnel policy decisions.

8. Postal Bulletin of September 14, 1961, concerning non-discrimination in employment by Federal Government contractors.

9. Copy of poster concerning Item 8.

10. Postal Bulletin of August 31, 1961, outlining the Department's policy regarding observance of religious holidays by employees.

11. Postal Bulletin of August 10, 1961, containing a new code of ethics developed for postal employees.

12. A pamphlet entitled "Code of Ethics" distributed to each of our more than one-half million employees.

13. Press release describing the new code of ethics referred to in Items 11 and 12.

14. Press release concerning statements by the Postmaster General, Deputy Postmaster General, and Assistant Postmaster General for Personnel concerning the Department's anti-discrimination policies in talks before the 25th annual convention of the National Alliance of Postal Employees.

15. Accomplishments of the new Administration during its first six months in office.

16. Postal Bulletin of July 6, 1961, containing the President's memorandum on the subject of employee-management relations in the Federal service.

17. Reprint from the Postal Bulletin of May 25, 1961, outlining the policy of the Post Office Department on promotions.

18. Brief Summary of the Department's first 100 days under Postmaster General J. Edward Day.

19. Postal Bulletin of April 27, 1961, setting forth the Department's non-discrimination policy governing employee recreational organizations.

20. Press Release concerning the requirement that a non-discrimination clause be included in all advertisements for bids in the Department's building program and in all leases signed by the Department.

21. Postal Bulletin of March 30, 1961, outlining the Department's new policy on promotions.

22. Postal Bulletin of March 23, 1961, concerning the observance of Good Friday by postal employees.

23. A copy of a pamphlet entitled "Democracy's 'Unfinished Business'" which was reproduced by the Post Office Department and distributed to all management, appointing and supervisory personnel in all first, second and third-class post offices.

If I can be of further assistance, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Richard J. Murphy

Assistant Postmaster General
Employment Policy Officer

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF
THE SECRETARY

FEB 1 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is in follow-up to Mrs. Mina Schaughnessy's visit with me on January 12.

Mrs. Schaughnessy asked that we furnish certain information with regard to the Hill-Burton Program and also forward any relevant issuances in the equal employment area directly to you. As I indicated to Mrs. Schaughnessy during the interview there have been relatively few hospitals built under the "separate but equal" provisions of the Hospital Construction Program. Out of 5,888 projects, as of the end of 1961, only 98 were constructed as segregated facilities. The principle problems in this area, therefore, arise not from complaints of total exclusion from Hill-Burton projects but complaints of discrimination against Negro physicians with respect to staff privileges.

Enclosed are copies of the principle distributions by the Department with regard to equal employment opportunity in government service and related matters. In addition to the distribution of this material, the Assistant Secretary was for the first time designated as Employment Policy Officer for the Department. This designation gave assurance of continued high-level attention to the promotion of equal employment opportunity.

I have met with top executives and key personnel people of the operating agencies to discuss what has and has not been accomplished in this area and what is expected of them. Agency and Bureau heads have been encouraged to follow through by establishing committees for the positive implementation of the Administration's program and several such committees have been established. There has been close cooperation with the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity in its regional meetings and either I or my Deputy have attended all but two of these meetings and have met with top management in the regions on each occasion. In addition, equal employment opportunity has been an item on the agenda of practically every meeting

of regional representatives in Washington. These are an indication of some of the steps that have been taken within the Department in the promotion of the Equal Employment Opportunity Program.

Should you have any questions on the above or with regard to my conversation with Mrs. Schaughnessy, don't hesitate to get in touch with me.

Sincerely yours,

James M. Quigley

James M. Quigley
Assistant Secretary

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Enclosures

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT
ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL
BUREAU OF PERSONNEL
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

February 2, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

With my letter to you dated January 31, 1962, I enclosed a list of Negroes recruited and selected for key positions in the Postal Service since January 20, 1961. We now find that through error we listed Mr. Erskine W. Lytle as Assistant Station Superintendent in the Memphis, Tennessee, post office, instead of the Nashville, Tennessee, post office.

Also, through inadvertence, we failed to list the following appointment:

Mr. Ramon N. Days, Sr.
Postmaster
Magazine, Alabama

We sincerely regret these errors and hope that they have not caused too much inconvenience.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Murphy

Assistant Postmaster General
Employment Policy Officer

The Department has recruited and selected Negroes for the following key positions since January 20, 1961:

1. Mr. Christopher C. Scott
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   Regional Personnel Manager
   Chicago 100, Illinois

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   Assistant Postmaster
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   Assistant General Superintendent of Mails
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   Postal Inspector
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6. Mr. Neil L. Halliday
   Electronic Development Technician
   Office of Research and Engineering
   Washington 25, D. C.

7. Mrs. Waveney H. Bryant
   Operations Research Analyst
   Office of Research and Engineering
   Washington 25, D. C.

8. Mr. Arthur L. Williams
   Digital Computer Systems Analyst
   Bureau of Finance
   Washington 25, D. C.

9. Mr. Henry L. Dixon
   Employee Relations Assistant
   Bureau of Personnel
   Washington 25, D. C.

10. Mr. William T. Owen
    Superintendent, Vehicle Operations
    Memphis, Tennessee

11. Miss Nancy L. Avery
    Acting Postmaster
    Pacoima, California

12. Mrs. Harveleigh M. White
Postmaster
Method, North Carolina

13. Mr. Theodore Jackson
Station Superintendent
Memphis, Tennessee

14. Mr. Walter P. Tate, Jr.
Case Analyst
Bureau of Operations
Washington 25, D. C.

15. Mr. Arnett N. Willis
Assistant Station Superintendent
Memphis, Tennessee

Nashville

16. Mr. Erskine W. ~~Lytle~~
Assistant ~~Station~~ Superintendent
~~Memphis~~, Tennessee

17. Mr. Herman T. Anderson
Route Examiner
Mobile, Alabama

18. Mr. Harry A. Chambers
Dispatcher, Vehicle Service
Memphis, Tennessee

19. Mr. Herbert W. Robinson
Dispatcher, Vehicle Service
Memphis, Tennessee

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20. Mr. Lloyd Davis
Executive Assistant to the
Assistant Postmaster General
Bureau of Personnel
Washington 25, D. C.

21. Mr. Samuel Simmons
Member, Board of Appeals and Review
Bureau of Personnel
Washington 25, D. C.

22. Mr. John Strachan
Regional Employment and Placement
Officer
New York 1, New York

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

MANPOWER

Ltr & 5 insert are good

12 February 1962

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We were glad to have your letter of January 26th for it had been our understanding here that Mr. Yarmolinsky would furnish, as he did on December 14th, basic response to the Council inquiry on advances in the Department, and leave it to us to supply such additional specific items as you might require.

As the fall term opened the Service Academies showed the following total Negro enrollment:

United States Military Academy . . . 14
United States Naval Academy. 12
United States Air Force Academy. . 10

No one of these cadets was appointed by the President. You may be interested in the enclosed tabulations further portraying the small but growing inclusion of Negro cadets at the Service Academies.

filed

Earlier we furnished copies of DOD Directive 1125.4, dated January 2, 1962. We will be glad to furnish any additional information which you may require and look forward to the Council report. We hope that all continues to go well.

Sincerely yours,

JCE

Enclosure

for JAMES C. EVANS
Counsellor

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

January 26, 1962

file

Dr. James C. Evans
Civilian Aide to the
Secretary of Defense
Pentagon Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Evans:

We wrote on November 30 both to you and to Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky seeking information regarding actions taken by the Department on civil rights. Mr. Yarmolinsky replied on December 14. We are very grateful for the full and attentive consideration given to our request.

We have subsequently had occasion to ask Mr. Yarmolinsky regarding present enrollment of Negroes at the academies and he referred us to you. In 1960-61 we understood there were 7 Negroes at Annapolis, 8 at West Point, and 3 at the Air Force Academy. Could you tell us what the present figures are, and also whether any Negroes are now enrolled through appointment of President Kennedy?

Mr. Yarmolinsky in his letter of December 14, referred to a Department policy directive on the entire subject of Equal Employment Opportunity which was then in consideration and could not at that time be released to us. I assume that this is the directive which was referred to in the New York Times of January 6. If we may now have a copy, I would be very appreciative.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

Nat'l Guard
Negro Officer 1964

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

February 15, 1962

Yarmalinsky Ltr A

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I have your letter of January 26, 1962, requesting information as to the number of Negroes employed as investigators or in other professional positions by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity is presently engaged in making various statistical studies concerning the employment of Negroes in all departments of the Federal Government. I understand it plans to release figures along this line within the next few weeks. I am sure you can appreciate that it would be a bit awkward for me to attempt "to jump the gun." I hope, therefore, that pending the Committee's action you will permit me to defer complying with your request for the time being.

Sincerely,

Maceo

Maceo W. Hubbard
Employment Policy Officer
Department of Justice

January 26, 1962

Mr. Maceo Hubbard
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Maceo:

I note that you have been designated Employment Policy Officer for the department and I wonder if you could help me in regard to a report which we are preparing. Specifically we would like, if the data are available, figures on the number of Negroes employed as investigators or in other professional positions by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the number employed as United States Marshals, with an indication in both instances of how the present numbers compare with those of a year earlier.

We shall be very grateful for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

FEDERAL AVIATION AGENCY
Washington 25, D.C.

FEB 16 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I hope you will excuse the delay in answering your inquiry as to the activities of this Agency in the equal opportunity and civil rights areas. In the interim, however, we have solicited and compiled from the various elements of the Agency certain information which you may find of assistance. Subsequent to the issuance of President Kennedy's Executive Order 10925 the Federal Aviation Agency issued Agency Order No. 66 which establishes the Agency policy and program against discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin of FAA employees and in work performed under FAA contracts. That Order also establishes an Agency Civil Rights Steering Committee to serve as a coordinating group within the Agency to unify the FAA's position in the entire area of civil rights. A copy of Agency Order No. 66 is enclosed for your information. In addition, FAA is developing and will soon issue a new Agency Practice implementing and complementing the new rules on Federal Government employment issued by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. I will be pleased to send you a copy of this document when it is issued. We have arranged for your organization to receive copies of any FAA press releases concerning civil rights, and I am enclosing a copy of one such release herewith. Some of the developments during 1961 which may be of interest to you are as follows:

(a) The institution of litigation leading to the desegregation of air terminal facilities at New Orleans and Montgomery, Alabama. Members of the Office of General Counsel cooperated with the Department of Justice in the development and institution of these suits.

(b) The new FAA policy statement on the recognition of Agency employee representation groups requires as a prerequisite to such recognition:

> "A statement that the practices and policies of the employee representation group does not in any way discriminate against or segregate persons because of race, color, religion or national origin; further that full and complete membership in the group, (nationally and in every geographical region and in all of its subordinate and organizational elements) is available to all persons and in fact exists on an identical, nonsegregated basis; and further, that the group does not maintain separate organizational elements for purposes of, or reflecting, segregation by reason of race, color, religion or national origin."

(c) Four additional minority group educational institutions have been added to the Agency's college recruitment schedule for the current year. These are: Howard University, in Washington, D. C., Langston University in Langston, Oklahoma, Prairie View A&M College in Prairie View, Texas, and Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama.

(d) Letters of our various Regional Offices to placement officers in colleges and technical schools to be visited state that equal employment opportunity in FAA exists for all students regardless of race, creed, color or national origin, and request that this information be given wide publicity among the students. In addition, any paid advertisements in college newspapers will contain a specific statement of the FAA policy on equal employment opportunity.

(e) It is now standard FAA practice to include in all agency vacancy announcements a statement that the best qualified person will be selected, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin. A similar statement is enclosed in all job orders released to public employment services by the FAA Aeronautical Center in Oklahoma City.

(f) FAA training courses for new employees, supervisors, managers and executives have been revised to include instruction on agency policy with respect to equal employment opportunities as expressed in the above mentioned Agency Order No. 66.

(g) Agency wide publicity has been given to the new equal employment opportunity program. A feature article on the subject was carried in a recent issue of FLY-BY, the Agency official house organ. A copy of that issue is enclosed for your information. FLY-BY is distributed to all FAA employees and to important segments of the aviation community.

We are advised that the information you request as to the recruitment, hiring, training and upgrading of Negroes by this Agency should be obtained from the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

I trust this information satisfactorily answers your inquiry.

Very truly yours,

DAGGETT H. HOWARD
General Counsel

Enclosures

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Yarmolinsky
ltr A

February 22, 1962

Mr. Daggett H. Howard
General Counsel
Federal Aviation Agency
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Howard:

Thank you for your letter of February 16 to Mr. Dunbar in which you supply answers to questions raised in his recent letter of inquiry. You mention in your letter several enclosures, which, I am sure, will be of value to us here, but which were not enclosed with your communication. Would you, therefore, be good enough to refer to your letter of the above date and forward to us the enclosures mentioned therein?

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to Mr. Dunbar

MMJ

FEDERAL AVIATION AGENCY

ROUTE SLIP

TO Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson

- Take necessary action ☐
- Approval or signature ☐
- Comment ☐
- Prepare reply ☐
- Discuss with me ☐
- For your information ☐
- See remarks below ☐

FROM Federal Aviation Agency
Office of General Counsel

DATE February 27, 1962

REMARKS

Attached are enclosures inadvertently omitted from our letter of February 16, 1962. Thank you.

Owen Birnbaum

OWEN BIRNBAUM, (Attorney
Office of General Counsel)

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1959 OF—496167

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY

1962

Mr. Dunbar

The enclosed, per our telephone conversation, is the latest progress report.

Richard Fox

Richard Fox
Special Assistant
Office of Personnel

JM
return to LD

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

At the conclusion of the conference held in the Department last August, Mr. Roger Jones, in his remarks, proposed that the chairman of the four discussion panels be retained as members of a Liaison Committee to meet periodically for the purpose of assessing the Department's progress.

On January 16, 1962 the Liaison Committee consisting of Doctors Dent, Clark, Holland and Davis met in the Department with Mr. Jones, Mr. Crockett, myself and other Departmental representatives. We reported to the Committee on the steps that have been taken to effectuate the recommendations of the conference. The following is a summation of the meeting:

1. College Visitation Program

It was reported that twenty-six predominantly Negro colleges were among the 275 colleges and universities visited by the Department last fall. The reception at each institution was good and great interest was expressed in the career opportunities available to Negroes in the Foreign Service of the Department.

Because of the paucity of Negro officers in the senior grades both in the Foreign and Civil Service, it was not possible for the Department this year to meet the recommendation calling for the use of Negroes as recruiters both at predominantly Negro and at integrated colleges. However, it was suggested and agreed that as Negro officers return to Washington, they would be made available for speaking engagements and visitation trips particularly to the predominantly Negro schools now being visited.

A special recruitment trip to five larger Mid-Western and Eastern cities undertaken last fall by the Executive Director of the Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service and a Negro Special Assistant in the Office of Personnel was reported. Mention was made of the fact that these two officers will again combine on a two week trip to California

late in February. As in the previous trip, meetings will be held with Negro student groups and key leadership people in addition to the college visitation work.

As a means of measuring the extent of progress in one phase of its program the Department had a survey made of Negro candidates taking the Foreign Service entrance examination last December at each examining site, strictly on the basis of visual observation. (The results of this survey are being sent you in a separate communication). It is planned that the collection of this data will continue over the next few years.

2. Foreign Service Entrance Examination

One of the recommendations of the conference on August 16, emphasized the need for a detailed study of the entire testing program whereby individuals are selected at the lower levels for the Foreign Service. Dr. Kenneth Clark reported this recommendation to the Council of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, a subdivision of the American Psychological Association, when it met in New York City on August 31, 1961. The Council unanimously offered its cooperation in a review of the testing procedures. An existing subcommittee was designated as the machinery for the cooperation between the Department and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.

On October 27, 1961 and again on January 12, 1962 the subcommittee met with the representatives of the Department. It was concluded that a validation of the written examination should be undertaken. Concurrent with his service on the SPSII subcommittee, Dr. Clark is a member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs Personnel, chaired by Christian A. Herter, which is conducting a survey of the selection, education and training, and career development of Foreign Service personnel. At a recent meeting of a sub-committee of this group charged with an assessment of present and future personnel requirements of the Foreign Service, he discussed the plans of the SPSII - State Department Committee. Because the proposed study clearly overlapped the responsibilities of both groups and in view of the advantageous financial position of the Herter Committee, it was agreed that the Herter sub-committee would supply the funds to employ a staff person to conduct this phase of the study. The SPSII - State Department Committee would act in an advisory capacity to the staff person engaged to conduct the study. Dr. Clark will keep the Liaison Committee apprised of the progress of the study.

3. Curriculum Aid

In consideration of the recommendation "That predominantly Negro colleges be advised as to any special courses or curriculum materials that might better prepare students for Foreign Service careers," the Department had asked Dr. Jerome Holland to chair a committee to look into this matter. However, the committee was not activated pending the first meeting of the Liaison Committee so that it might consider the terms of reference for this project.

The Liaison Committee suggested that a three step approach be followed. The Department is to convene in March a meeting of the college presidents participating in the August 16 conference to discuss curriculum content as related to required knowledge for the entrance examination. The second step would be a workshop, to be called later, inviting faculty members from the twenty-six predominantly Negro colleges to spend several days focusing on necessary skills for the entrance examination, kinds of functional work in the Foreign Service and curriculum needs to meet these requirements. The third step calls for the development of a scholarship program at the graduate level which could be tied into an established program or the exploration of sources of support for a new program specifically for the purpose of preparing Negro students for the entrance examination.

4. Effort to integrate Negro USIA and AID officers in the Foreign Service. Other employment activity.

This is being done on a continuing basis. One AID officer has already been selected and assigned to Abidjan as an Economic Officer. When he returns on home leave in November 1962, he will be examined by the Board of Examiners for lateral entry. We have just finished reviewing the files of eleven AID officers, several of whom may be approached to determine their interest in transferring to the Department. A Negro departmental employee is also under consideration for an overseas assignment as a Foreign Service Administrative Officer.

In outside employment activity, an economist joined the staff in the Bureau of Economic Affairs at the FSR-4 level on January 22, but two other prospective employees have declined offers made them. An education specialist, from HEW, was detailed indefinitely on January 9, 1962 to the Bureau of African Affairs to serve as educational advisor. The Department is continuing its recruitment of people with administrative experience and currently has under consideration for appointment two Negro applicants.

One junior Foreign Service officer, came on board in the November 1961 class and a second, the first Negro female FSO, is expected to enter on duty in April 1962. Both are products of the 1960 Foreign Service Entrance Examination.

The latest statistics show eighteen Negro career Foreign Service officers and seven Foreign Service Reserve officers.

5. Other Program Activity

A number of activities are under planning and will be carried through over the next few months. There follows a brief description of each:

A. The publisher of "Ebony" magazine has agreed to do an article on Negro Foreign Service Officers. We are currently obtaining pictures of the officers and informational data to be forwarded to "Ebony."

B. A meeting is planned around the first of February in New York City with staff members of organizations engaged in student exchange programs to consider ways of reaching and attracting alumni of their programs to take the Foreign Service Entrance Examination. Some of the organizations expected to be represented at the meeting are:

World University Service
Ecumenical Work Camps of the National Council of Churches
Unitarian Work Camp Committee
Experiment in International Living
Operation-Crossroads Africa.

C. At the time of the aforementioned trip to New York, a meeting will be held with representatives of several Puerto Rican organizations. The purpose will be to solicit their advice and assistance in reaching more applicants of Puerto Rican background for the Foreign Service examination and for Foreign Service Staff Corps positions.

D. A letter has been prepared to go to Negro newspaper editors and radio stations giving the facts regarding the small turnout of Negro candidates for the Foreign Service Entrance Examination. It is hoped the letter will evoke some editorial comment urging greater interest and participation.

E. The National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro students has furnished the Department with a list of names of Negro college seniors known to them to be attending integrated universities. A personal letter will be sent each student in April inviting him or her to take the Foreign Service Entrance Examination in September.

The program on which the Department is embarked looks to both the short range need of effecting promptly a change in our employment statistics in both the middle and senior grades so as to help motivate Negro youth towards careers in the Department of State, as well as the long range problem of establishing the necessary machinery that will provide annually a larger flow of young people at the entry level into the career service.

I know that many of you have given assistance to this effort. It would be very much appreciated if you would continue to refer to me the names of outstanding people whom we might consider for appointment.

To keep you abreast of our activities in the Department, I am having a copy of the News Letter sent you each month. Your suggestions or comments with regard to our work are welcomed.

Sincerely yours,

Herman Pollack
Deputy Assistant Secretary
for Personnel

President

August 28

DRAFT

Mr. Henry Steeger, Sr.

Please extend to the delegates of the 51st Annual Conference of the National Urban League my warm greetings and best regards. The constructive work of the Urban League has never been more important. Your pioneering in bringing people together from all sections of the community has been and will continue to be a great service to the nation. You are playing a vital role in forging the unity on which the strength and the future of America depend. I look forward to meeting your national officers to hear the results of your conference and to working with them in the months and years ahead. Together we must succeed in making equal opportunity a reality in all parts of our nation's life.

Cordially,

THESE ARE THE 52 CORPORATIONS COVERED BY THE "PLANS FOR PROGRESS"

Aero-General
Aero-Space Corp.
American Bosch-Arma
American Machine & Foundry Company
AVCO ← the Bendix Corp.
Boeing Aircraft
Burroughs Corp.
Chrysler Corp.
Collins Radio
Continental Motors Corp.
Curtiss-Wright
Douglas
Ford Motor Co.
the Garrett Corp.
General Dynamic
General Electric
General Motors
General Precision
Goodyear Tire & Rubber
Grumman Aircraft Engineering
Hercules Powder Co.
Hughes Aircraft
International Business Machines
International Harvester Corp.
International Tel & Tel
Affil ated Kaiser Co.
Kaiser-Raymond-Macco-Puget Sound
Lockheed
~~McDonnell Aircraft~~
Martin
McDonnell Aircraft
Merrit-Chapman & Scott
Minneapolis-Honeywell Reg. Co.
~~North American~~
Newport News Shipbuilding & Drydock
North American
Northrop
Pan Am World Airways
Philco Copp.
RCA
Raytheon
Republic Aviation
Ryan Aeronautical Co.
Sanders Associates, Inc.
Socony-Mobile Oil Co.
Sperry Rand Co.
Texas Instruments, Inc.
Textron, Inc.
Thiokol Chem Corp.
Thompson Ramo Woolridge
United Aircraft
Western Electric
Westinghouse

Business Dept.

Make folder "Civil Rights Information Service Chicago, Ill"

June 5, 1964

Mr. Robert McNamara III
Civil Rights Information Service
1880 N. Larrabee Street
Chicago, Illinois 60614

Dear Mr. McNamara:

Pursuant to your request to Mr. Dunbar, I am enclosing the Charter of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and some other materials relating to the formation, purposes and objectives of the Council. It is our sincere hope that these items will be useful to you as you move toward the incorporation of the Civil Rights Information Service.

If we can be of any assistance at any time, please call on us.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE
1810 N. LARRABEE ST. CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60614 TEL. 312/MO 4-8707

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Enclosed is a simple statement of our progess to date. Despite the fact that we are well along in our work, CRIS has not yet been incorporated.

In order to save us the effort of an original drafting could you please send us either the articles of incorporation for SRC or a statement of the corporate purpose.

Thank you for your assistance,

Siacerely yours,

Robert McNamara III

Robert McNamara 111

pls reply
nothing was enclosed

PROPOSAL
CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

Robert C.McNamara 111
1810 N. Larrabee Street
Chicago Illinois
MO 4-8707

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

This project is an attempt to correct the major communication problems of the civil rights movement with a single effort, a single organization, that would operate as a clearing house for public information concerning the civil rights movement. Civil Rights Information Service addresses itself to the three major problems in this field with practical solutions and development of new techniques. It therefore is dedicated to efficient and economical satisfaction of need.

The three problems to which we commit our efforts are these. First that the area of dominant or "white" openion is in the main apathetic and poorly informed about the varied demands being made by Negroes today. The second problem is that the U.S. Negro, though aware of a growing sense of solidarity among his fellows, has no reliable source of information as to the progress of the civil rights movement, nor is he exposed to any detailed accounts of action in other communities. The third problem is in the present sources of information. Through an organized effort to reach editors, librarians, and writers, we will be able to keep these people informed and supplied with materials at times other than at the height of demonstrations. Also, we realize that part of this problem lies in the use of archaic techniques of news reporting. We shall continue our development of news gathering techniques more consistent with current social needs. It is hoped that the media themselves will adopt the practices that we initiate and refine.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF

CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

May 20, 1964

Civil Rights Information Service is now engaged in three projects: The first is increasing the quantity of information available to the American Negro while improving the standards of this information. The second is developing an intra-movement communications system. The third project is aimed at creating a better basic understanding of the rights guaranteed by existing laws and institutions. Each of these projects is an attempt to fill a need immediately. Furthermore, CRIS has produced each project to the point where success depends solely on sufficient financial support.

Each project is described fully below:

1. The Civil Rights Network

The Civil Rights Network instantanously distributes news of community civil rights action to a vast number of radio stations by playing tape recorded reports to conference call networks of twenty-five radio stations. This is done as often as is necessary. In addition there is a week-end roundup of stories and aspects of stories that were overlooked during the proceding week. Subscribers to this network, which is offered free, include twenty-one Negro radio stations in eighteen cities, United Press International, ABC-TV, CBS news, Radio Vatican. It is expected that subcribers will increase as fast as the facilities to serve them can be installed.

With the distribution of this material assured, the consern of the network becomes a procedure for accurate gathering of news. During the past two months movement sources and stringers were depended on. As activity increases over the summer these sources may dry up. For this reason we will need a staff of nearly a dozen reporters to travel around the south with lightweight tape recorders. The editors of several college daily papers and several journalism schools have agreed to supply interested workers on short notice.

Another aspect of this news service is that we will offer a teletype service to newspapers, concerned institutional groups and civil rights groups when the funds can be secured.

Needless to say, the major expense of network is in the communicating itself. Two Wide Area Telephone Service (watts) lines are needed in order to keep an unlimited contact with the movement. The rental of teletype equipment could be carried by the charges made for the service, but money is needed to get it going. For the reporters in the south for the summer subsistence salaries, expenses and a small amount of money to modify inexpensive recorders to our standards are needed. In addition there are small amounts needed for office staff and equipment maintenance.

NBC has promised a substanial equipment contribution which should relieve the need for expansion capital. We are trading services with several existing press organizations so that keeping track of ordinary civil rights coverage will be no expense.

The attached budget carefully outlines the expense of this project for the summer. It is assumed that the coming of fall will cause a great reduction in the information that needs circulation.

2. The Movement Letter

After considerable research into past efforts at establishing an interior communications system for the movement, several points were established. They are that it must be inexpensive for all civil rights workers to participate, it must be circulated in a simple fashion and it must avoid developing a particular point of view. The first issue of the Movement Letter is being prepared and will be distributed before June. It has nearly twenty short statements of the particular status of various local movements and a few personal articles of interest, each written by someone involed with the situation described. It will be distributed to a growing list of those actively participating in the movement; including slightly over 500 field offices of action groups, 230 community movement leaders, and the action orientated agencies of churches and foundations.

(more)

The cost of the Movement Letter is minimual. The only additional equipment needed is an Addressograph machine and an electric postage meter. Both can be rented for about $200 a month. Also needed are funds for two subsistance salaries, paper stock and postage.

It is possible for activsts on all levels to be aware of each other's efforts. leaving this possibility undeveloped would be a mistake.

3. The Freedom Hour

The Freedom Hour is a weekly radio show that will be a top quality radio show, offered to broadcasters at a small charge for use as public service broadcasting. The FCC requires stations to program a certain number of hours of public service material each week. The opportunity of partially meeting this requirement with attractive material is rare. The format of the program will be somewhat unusual. It will be recorded in one "take" with nearly half of the hour spent playing gospel and blues music. During the breaks between music, short takes of the week's new will be played which the disc jockey and quest performers will discuss in terms of fundamental freedoms. It will be spontaneous and unscripted.

This will be recorded in a studio early friday morning. The studio will then immediately reproduce 200 copies which will be mailed special delivery to the subscribing stations. After a station uses the program for three weeks, it will be required to cooperate in bearing production which will be on the order of twenty dollars a week per station. Again, as with the news network, capital is required to get the venture under way.

Negro radio stations in fourteen cities representing most of the Northeast will use this program. However, radio station owners contacted concerning this project felt that if several hundred copies were made of the show and they were to be mailed around for a free trial period the initial subscription would be well over a hundred.

This project can begin production as soon as the funds are available. The production staff has been assembled, the talent is available, and several recording companies have offered studio facilities and special prices on tapex duplication and mailing.

THE BUDGET FOR THESE PROJECTS IS ATTACHED

BUDGET FOR THE CIVIL RIGHTS NETWORK OF CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

Budget Per Month for June 1 through August

a. Communications Costs	
2 WATS (unlimited use) telephone lines	$ 3,000.
Other telephone	400.
Teletype rental & maintenance	250.
b. Reporters support	
Automobile lease	
8 cars	640.
Gas & Oil	350.
Air travel	400.
Salaries for 8 Reporters	1,600.
Equipment	600.
c. Administration	
Salary for Desk Editor & secretary	600.
Supplies (tape, teletype, paper & printing(	200.
	$8340.

FOR MOVEMENT LETTER (4 issuses a month)

a. Expenses	
Paper stock, ink, etc.	150.
Addressograph, postage meter rental	230.
Postage	240.
Telephone, telegraph	120.
Travel	200.
Photographic plates	40.
b. Salaries	
2 people at $75 per week	600.
	$ 1580.00

FOR FREEDOM HOUR
(it is assumed that after 1 month it will be self-supporting)

a. Production costs	
Studio time (Cost-20 hours of professional engineering)	200.
Tape duplication (200 tapes including tape stock for 4 weeks or 800 tapes)	1440.
Mailing (includes production of special box & special delivery mailing of 800 tapes)	420.
b. Salary for producer	300.
	$ 2360.00

FOR NEW NETWORK	$ 8340.
FOR MOVEMENT LETTER	1580.
FOR FREEDOM HOUR	2360.
	$ 12,180.00

Hays, Brooks

Civil Rights Legislation

February 19, 1948

The Honorable Brooks Hays
Member of Congress
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brooks:

A thousand thanks for all your diligence in getting to me copies of Mr. Truman's message on civil rights. I now have a plenty for our meeting.

Incidentally, here is an announcement about the meeting.

We are hard at work trying to get the Southern Governors to make an announcement in the spirit I talked about to you on the 'phone on February 6.

Here is a copy of the wire sent to the Governors.

We think their forty days' decision was good and we hope that within that time they can bring themselves to a resolution for progress instead of just anger.

We are working at it quietly without newspaper ~~attention~~ activity.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: 1 cy wire to Southern Governors dtd 7Feb48
and cy ltr to officers of Council Divisions, dtd 31Jan48.

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
514 FEDERAL BUILDING

MEMBER
BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
CLAUD D. CURLIN

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

February 9, 1948

Mr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am mailing you some copies of the Congressional Record for Monday, February 2, in which the President's message on Civil Rights appears. I am enclosing one copy and you will see that the message appears on page 960. There are 25 of these. I may not be able to get 100 copies but I will send you just as many as are available.

With regards, I am

Sincerely,

Brooks -

enc.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
FEBRUARY 7, 1948

BROOKS HAYS
WEEKLY NEWSLETTER

KNUTSON TAX BILL ENDANGERS FINANCIAL STABILITY OF NATION

It seems strange that the House Republicans, who have always insisted they are the sound money party, put forward the Knutson bill as a tax relief measure. It was adopted by the House but is sure to be overhauled by the Senate. The Republicans admitted it would cost $6½ billion (The Treasury says $7.2 billion).

If a similar bill passed by the House last year had become law we would have a deficit of $500 million instead of a $700 million surplus to be applied on the national debt.

Everyone recognizes that the need for tax relief is very great. If, however, we should reduce taxes before making commensurate savings in the budget we would be using red ink again - a legislative crime in this period of high national income. The effect upon our Government bond market would be disastrous. The following figures demonstrate how closely the banking and insurance institutions are related to government finance:

The Government owes $257 billion represented by bonds. Commercial banks own $70 billion of this amount - 60 per cent of their total assets. Insurance companies own $25 billion of these bonds or 45 percent of their assets. Federal reserve banks own $22 billion, one-half of their assets.

A shrinkage in the value of these bonds would have a calamitous affect upon the banking system. (After World War I with a national debt only one tenth the present size government bonds declined as much as 20 per cent.) It is unthinkable that Congress should take such risks even in an election year. That is why I voted No on the Knutson bill.

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CIVIL RIGHTS MESSAGE CREATES CONSIDERABLE CONTROVERSY

The big news this week was the President's message on Civil Rights. It has created considerable resentment and I fear for the time being has destroyed the atmosphere in which the issues may be judicially considered. Political factors weigh heavily in the equation. The Chairman of the National Republican Committee, Mr. Reece, rejoices publically over the South's disaffection and refers to the President's critics as racially intolerant. As one who does not agree with the specific proposals contained in the President's statement I hope Mr. Reece's charge can be disproved. We must try harder to convince those outside the South who do not fully understand the delicate problems of our region that we are exerting our full efforts for the protection of human rights. There is no doubt in my opinion about the South's position being fortified by the United States Constitution but we should not permit this to force us into a legalistic defense. We can be proud of the progress Arkansas has made in extending educational advantages; perhaps our example will be helpful to others. In any event, we must get down to specific steps for the extension of equal opportunities to the Negroes and other minority groups.

It is the time for a calm appraisal of the problem. Both the Democratic and Republican parties are now officially against us. While insisting upon the necessity for action within our own social pattern and by non-revolutionary means we can seek a correction of evils complained of by the President. It is the only way to disarm the agitators and to demonstrate that the South's great intellectual resources are being applied where the most good can be accomplished.

****

BILL WOULD REQUIRE COMMUNISTS TO REGISTER

The Committee on Un-American Activities began hearings on a bill to require members of the Communist Party to reveal their identity by registering. An alternative proposal to outlaw the party was not looked on with much favor but since Communists policies are dictated abroad with a view to serving not America's interests but those of the Soviet system it is argued with much force that adherents of Communism should be required to declare themselves. The main objection to outlawing the party is that it would drive the movement underground and might conceivably threaten our democratic principles but these objections do not apply to the Mundt bill.

BROOKS HAYS, M. C.

The SPEAKER. He is not recorded.

Mr. COLE of New York. The gentleman from Oklahoma and I have a live pair. He is unable to be present. If present he would have voted "no." I therefore withdraw my vote and vote "Present."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate insists upon its amendment to the bill (H. R. 2192) entitled "An act for the relief of the Massman Construction Co.," disagreed to by the House; agrees to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. WILEY, Mr. DONNELL, and Mr. MCGRATH to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

LOUIS H. DEAVER—VETO MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 517)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following veto message from the President of the United States:

To the House of Representatives:

I return herewith without my approval H. R. 3111, a bill "for the relief of Louis H. Deaver."

The bill authorizes and directs the Bureau of Employees' Compensation of the Federal Security Agency to receive the claim of Louis H. Deaver, of Tuthill, S. Dak., who allegedly was permanently disabled as the result of an injury received in August 1921, while employed as postmaster at Cody, Nebr., and authorizes said Bureau to consider and act upon the claim under the provisions of the Federal Employees' Compensation Act, notwithstanding the time limitations contained in said act within which claims thereunder must be filed. The bill further provides that any claim authorized by this measure shall be filed not later than 6 months after the date of enactment and that no benefits shall accrue prior to the approval of this measure.

It appears that Mr. Deaver was appointed postmaster at Cody, Nebr., on April 12, 1913, when the office was in the fourth class, and that the office was advanced to the third class in 1916, and Mr. Deaver was appointed and reappointed for five consecutive 4-year terms to that third-class office, having served therein until January 30, 1934. It further appears that while Mr. Deaver claims to have sustained an injury in August 1921, in the handling of mail bags, no claim was made with respect thereto, but on January 2, 1936, he wrote to a Member of Congress asking aid in procuring compensation on account of the injuries, and on May 20, 1940, he wrote the Post Office Department asking for financial assistance in the way of a pension or some sort of compensation by reason of the injury he claims to have sustained in August 1921. Mr. Deaver is now approximately 75 years of age.

The proposal contained in this measure is objectionable, first, by reason of the fact that at the time of the alleged injury Mr. Deaver was an "officer" as distinguished from an "employee," and officers of the Federal Government were not at that time, and are not now, entitled to benefit sunder the Federal Employees' Compensation Act of 1916, as amended. Second, even if Mr. Deaver had been an employee of the Federal Government at the time of the alleged injury, it would be practically impossible to develop evidence at this late date—some 27 years after the alleged injury—as to the circumstances under which the injury occurred, and especially in connection with a hernia injury. Finally, the approval of this measure would be discriminatory since it would extend to Mr. Deaver privileges not available to other officers and employees of the Federal Government, especially in cases where injuries are alleged to have occurred many years ago.

While I feel constrained to withhold my approval of this measure, I would be glad to approve a general measure which would make the provisions of the Federal Employees' Compensation Act applicable to the civilian officers of the Federal Government, effective from the date of such enactment, if such civilian officers are injured in the performance of their duties and comply with the time limitations required by the act in the filing of claims thereunder.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 31, 1948.*

The SPEAKER. The objections of the President will be spread upon the Journal, the bill referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and the message ordered to be printed.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 516)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

In the State of the Union Message on January 7, 1948, I spoke of five great goals toward which we should strive in our constant effort to strengthen our democracy and improve the welfare of our people. The first of these is to secure fully our essential human rights. I am now presenting to the Congress my recommendations for legislation to carry us forward toward that goal.

This Nation was founded by men and women who sought these shores that they might enjoy greater freedom and greater opportunity than they had known before. The founders of the United States proclaimed to the world the American belief that all men are created equal, and that governments are instituted to secure the inalienable rights with which all men are endowed. In the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, they eloquently expressed the aspirations of all mankind for equality and freedom.

These ideals inspired the peoples of other lands, and their practical fulfillment made the United States the hope of the oppressed everywhere. Throughout our history men and women of all colors and creeds, of all races and religions, have come to this country to escape tyranny and discrimination. Millions strong, they have helped build this democratic Nation and have constantly reinforced our devotion to the great ideals of liberty and equality. With those who preceded them, they have helped to fashion and strengthen our American faith—a faith that can be simply stated:

We believe that all men are created equal and that they have the right to equal justice under law.

We believe that all men have the right to freedom of thought and of expression and the right to worship as they please.

We believe that all men are entitled to equal opportunities for jobs, for homes, for good health, and for education.

We believe that all men should have a voice in their Government and that Government should protect, not usurp, the rights of the people.

These are the basic civil rights which are the source and the support of our democracy.

Today, the American people enjoy more freedom and opportunity than ever before. Never in our history has there been better reason to hope for the complete realization of the ideals of liberty and equality.

We shall not, however, finally achieve the ideals for which this Nation was founded so long as any American suffers discrimination as a result of his race, or religion, or color, or the land of origin of his forefathers.

Unfortunately, there still are examples—flagrant examples—of discrimination which are utterly contrary to our ideals. Not all groups of our population are free from the fear of violence. Not all groups are free to live and work where they please or to improve their conditions of life by their own efforts. Not all groups enjoy the full privileges of citizenship and participation in the government under which they live.

We cannot be satisfied until all our people have equal opportunities for jobs, for homes, for education, for health, and for political expression, and until all our people have equal protection under the law.

One year ago I appointed a committee of 15 distinguished Americans and asked them to appraise the condition of our civil rights and to recommend appropriate action by Federal, State, and local governments.

The committee's appraisal has resulted in a frank and revealing report. This report emphasizes that our basic human freedoms are better cared for and more vigilantly defended than ever before. But it also makes clear that there is a serious gap between our ideals and some of our practices. This gap must be closed.

This will take the strong efforts of each of us individually, and all of us acting together through voluntary organizations and our governments.

The protection of civil rights begins with the mutual respect for the rights of others which all of us should practice in our daily lives. Through organizations in every community—in all parts of the country—we must continue to develop practical, workable arrangements for achieving greater tolerance and brotherhood.

The protection of civil rights is the duty of every government which derives its powers from the consent of the people. This is usually true of local, State, and national governments. There is much that the States can and should do at this time to extend their protection of civil rights. Wherever the law enforcement measures of State and local governments are inadequate to discharge this primary function of government, these measures should be strengthened and improved.

The Federal Government has a clear duty to see that constitutional guaranties of individual liberties and of equal protection under the laws are not denied or abridged anywhere in our Union. That duty is shared by all three branches of the Government, but it can be fulfilled only if the Congress enacts modern, comprehensive civil rights laws, adequate to the needs of the day, and demonstrating our continuing faith in the free way of life.

I recommend, therefore, that the Congress enact legislation at this session directed toward the following specific objectives:

1. Establishing a permanent Commission on Civil Rights, a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights, and a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice.
2. Strengthening existing civil-rights statutes.
3. Providing Federal protection against lynching.
4. Protecting more adequately the right to vote.
5. Establishing a Fair Employment Practice Commission to prevent unfair discrimination in employment.
6. Prohibiting discriminaton in interstate transportation facilities.
7. Providing home rule and suffrage in Presidential elections for the residents of the District of Columbia.
8. Provding statehood for Hawaii and Alaska and a greater measure of self-government for our island possessions.
9. Equalizing the opportunities for residents of the United States to become naturalized citizens.
10. Settling the evacuation claims of Japanese-Americans.

STRENGTHENING THE GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

As a first step, we must strengthen the organization of the Federal Government in order to enforce civil-rights legislation more adequately and to watch over the state of our traditional liberties.

I recommend that the Congress establish a permanent Commission on Civil Rights reporting to the President. The Commission should continuously review our civil-rights policies and practices, study specific problems, and make recommendations to the President at frequent intervals. It should work with other agencies of the Federal Government, with State and local governments, and with private organizations.

I also suggest that the Congress establish a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights. This committee should make a continuing study of legislative matters relating to civil rights and should consider means of improving respect for and enforcement of those rights.

These two bodies together should keep all of us continuously aware of the condition of civil rights in the United States and keep us alert to opportunities to improve their protection.

To provide for better enforcement of Federal civil rights laws there will be established a Division of Civil Rights in the Department of Justice. I recommend that the Congress provide for an additional Assistant Attorney General to supervise this Division.

STRENGTHENING EXISTING CIVIL-RIGHTS STATUTES

I recommend that the Congress amend and strengthen the existing provisions of Federal law which safeguard the right to vote and the right to safety and security of person and property. These provisions are the basis for our present civil-rights enforcement program.

Section 51 of title 18 of the United States Code, which now gives protection to citizens in the enjoyment of rights secured by the Constitution or Federal laws, needs to be strengthened in two respects. In its present form this section protects persons only if they are citizens, and it affords protection only against conspiracies by two or more persons. This protection should be extended to all inhabitants of the United States, whether or not they are citizens, and should be afforded against infringement by persons acting individually as well as in conspiracy.

Section 52 of title 18 of the United States Code, which now gives general protection to individuals against the deprivation of federally secured rights by public officers, has proved to be inadequate in some cases because of the generality of its language. An enumeration of the principal rights protected under this section is needed to make more definite and certain the protection which the section affords.

FEDERAL PROTECTION AGAINST LYNCHING

A specific Federal measure is needed to deal with the crime of lynching—against which I cannot speak too strongly. It is a principle of our democracy, written into our Constitution, that every person accused of an offense against the law shall have a fair, orderly trial in an impartial court. We have made great progress toward this end, but I regret to say that lynching has not yet finally disappeared from our land. So long as one person walks in fear of lynching, we shall not have achieved equal justice under law. I call upon the Congress to take decisive action against this crime.

PROTECTING THE RIGHT TO VOTE

Under the Constitution, the right of all properly qualified citizens to vote is beyond question. Yet the exercise of this right is still subject to interference. Some individuals are prevented from voting by isolated acts of intimidation. Some whole groups are prevented by outmoded policies prevailing in certain States or communities.

We need stronger statutory protection of the right to vote. I urge the Congress to enact legislation forbidding interference by public officers or private persons with the right of qualified citizens to participate in primary, special, and general elections in which Federal officers are to be chosen. This legislation should extend to elections for State as well as Federal officers insofar as interference with the right to vote results from discriminatory action by public officers based on race, color, or other unreasonable classification.

Requirements for the payment of poll taxes also interfere with the right to vote. There are still seven States which, by their constitutions, place this barrier between their citizens and the ballot box. The American people would welcome voluntary action on the part of these States to remove this barrier. Nevertheless, I believe the Congress should enact measures insuring that the right to vote in elections for Federal officers shall not be contingent upon the payment of taxes.

I wish to make it clear that the enactment of the measures I have recommended will in no sense result in Federal conduct of elections. They are designed to give qualified citizens Federal protection of their right to vote. The actual conduct of elections, as always, will remain the responsibility of State governments.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

We in the United States believe that all men are entitled to equality of opportunity. Racial, religious, and other invidious forms of discrimination deprive the individual of an equal chance to develop and utilize his talents and to enjoy the rewards of his efforts.

Once more I repeat my request that the Congress enact fair employment practice legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment based on race, color, religion, or national origin. The legislation should create a Fair Employment Practice Commission with authority to prevent discrimination by employers and labor unions, trade and profession associations, and Government agencies and employment bureaus. The degree of effectiveness which the wartime Fair Employment Practice Committee attained shows that it is possible to equalize job opportunity by Government action and thus to eliminate the influence of prejudice in employment.

INTERSTATE TRANSPORTATION

The channels of interstate commerce should be open to all Americans on a basis of complete equality. The Supreme Court has recently declared unconstitutional State laws requiring segregation on public carriers in interstate travel. Com-

pany regulations must not be allowed to replace unconstitutional State laws. I urge the Congress to prohibit discrimination and segregation, in the use of interstate transportation facilities, by both public officers and the employees of private companies.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

I am in full accord with the principle of local self-government for residents of the District of Columbia. In addition, I believe that the Constitution should be amended to extend suffrage in Presidential elections to the residents of the District.

The District of Columbia should be a true symbol of American freedom and democracy for our own people, and for the people of the world. It is my earnest hope that the Congress will promptly give the citizens of the District of Columbia their own local, elective government. They themselves can then deal with the inequalities arising from segregation in the schools and other public facilities, and from racial barriers to places of public accommodation which now exist for one-third of the District's population.

The present inequalities in essential services are primarily a problem for the District itself, but they are also of great concern to the whole Nation. Failing local corrective action in the near future, the Congress should enact a model civil-rights law for the Nation's Capital.

OUR TERRITORIES AND POSSESSIONS

The present political status of our Territories and possessions impairs the enjoyment of civil rights by their residents. I have in the past recommended legislation granting statehood to Alaska and Hawaii, and organic acts for Guam and American Samoa, including a grant of citizenship to the people of these Pacific islands. I repeat these recommendations.

Furthermore, the residents of the Virgin Islands should be granted an increasing measure of self-government, and the people of Puerto Rico should be allowed to choose their form of government and their ultimate status with respect to the United States.

EQUALITY IN NATURALIZATION

All properly qualified legal residents of the United States should be allowed to become citizens without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin. The Congress has recently removed the bars which formerly prevented persons from China, India, and the Philippines from becoming naturalized citizens. I urge the Congress to remove the remaining racial or nationality barriers which stand in the way of citizenship for some residents of our country.

EVACUATION CLAIMS OF THE JAPANESE-AMERICANS

During the last war more than 100,000 Japanese-Americans were evacuated from their homes in the Pacific States solely because of their racial origin. Many of these people suffered property and business losses as a result of this forced evacuation and through no fault of their own. The Congress has before it legislation establishing a procedure by which claims based upon these losses can be promptly considered and settled. I trust that favorable action on this legislation will soon be taken.

The legislation I have recommended for enactment by the Congress at the present session is a minimum program if the Federal Government is to fulfill its obligation of insuring the constitutional guaranties of individual liberties and of equal protection under the law.

Under the authority of existing law, the Executive branch is taking every possible action to improve the enforcement of the civil rights statutes and to eliminate discrimination in Federal employment, in providing Federal services and facilities, and in the armed forces.

I have already referred to the establishment of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. The Federal Bureau of Investigation will work closely with this new Division in the investigation of Federal civil rights cases. Specialized training is being given to the Bureau's agents so that they may render more effective service in this difficult field of law enforcement.

It is the settled policy of the United States Government that there shall be no discrimination in Federal employment or in providing Federal services and facilities. Steady progress has been made toward this objective in recent years. I shall shortly issue an executive order containing a comprehensive restatement of the Federal nondiscrimination policy, together with appropriate measure sto insure compliance.

During the recent war and in the years since its close we have made much progress toward equality of opportunity in our armed services without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin. I have instructed the Secretary of Defense to take steps to have the remaining instances of discrimination in the armed services eliminated as rapidly as possible. The personnel policies and practices of all the services in this regard will be made consistent.

I have instructed the Secretary of the Army to investigate the status of civil rights in the Panama Canal Zone with a view to eliminating such discrimination as may exist there. If legislation is necessary, I shall make appropriate recommendations to the Congress.

The position of the United States in the world today makes it especially urgent that we adopt these measures to secure for all our people their essential rights.

The peoples of the world are faced with the choice of freedom or enslavement, a choice between a form of government which harnesses the state in the service of the individual and a form of government which chains the individual to the needs of the state.

We in the United States are working in company with other nations who share our desire for enduring world peace and who believe with us that, above all else, men must be free. We are striving to build a world family of nations—a world where men may live under governments of their own choosing and under laws of their own making.

As part of that endeavor, the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations is now engaged in preparing an international bill of human rights by which the nations of the world may bind themselves by international covenant to give effect to basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. We have played a leading role in this undertaking designed to create a world order of law and justice fully protective of the rights and the dignity of the individual.

To be effective in these efforts, we must protect our civil rights so that by providing all our people with the maximum enjoyment of personal freedom and personal opportunity we shall be a stronger nation—stronger in our leadership, stronger in our moral position, stronger in the deeper satisfactions of a united citizenry.

We know that our democracy is not perfect. But we do know that it offers a fuller, freer, happier life to our people than any totalitarian nation has ever offered.

If we wish to inspire the peoples of the world whose freedom is in jeopardy, if we wish to restore hope to those who have already lost their civil liberties, if we wish to fulfill the promise that is ours, we must correct the remaining imperfections in our practice of democracy.

We know the way. We need only the will.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 2, 1948.*

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. ARNOLD] may insert in the Appendix of the RECORD his speech, together with the speech made by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. CUNNINGHAM] at the Good Roads Association meeting in which he properly extolled the virtues of our present Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. REED]?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD in two instances, in one to insert an editorial from the Maryland Gazette, the oldest newspaper in the United States, on the tax bill; and also an address delivered by Dr. C. S. Duncan before the annual meeting of the railway treasury officers at Swampscott, Mass., last January.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

SPECIAL ORDER GRANTED

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 20 minutes after any other special orders today, and to include as a part of my remarks an article from a commercial paper regarding currency, notwithstanding the estimated cost which it may entail.

The Arkansas Plan for Civil Rights Legislation

Speech of

Hon. Brooks Hays

of Arkansas

in the

House of Representatives

February 2, 1949

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SPEECH

OF

HON. BROOKS HAYS

OF ARKANSAS

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, today marks the passing of a full year since the President sent to the Congress a message on civil rights. I wish to discuss the significance of events related to this controversy beginning with the most noteworthy fact of all, namely, that not a one of the President's major recommendations has been approved. It seems to me that it is appropriate to take a second look both at the President's message and the report of the Commission on Civil Rights upon which the message was based. The proponents of the civil rights program would surely concede that failure to win congressional approval of a single item signifies that there are valid and substantial objections to that program. At the same time, as one who has joined generally in the resistance, I am prepared to concede that there are some meritorious features in the report. Furthermore, I concede that the continued agitation for these proposals should be convincing on one point, namely, that the problems do exist, but it should be just as clear that they do not yield to categorical solutions.

The Commission's report itself carries a misleading label. It deals not primarily with civil rights, although the proposals dealing with anti-lynching legislation are directed to the basic and fundamental right of every man to a trial according to the great traditions of our judicial system. This is a civil right, but the others deal with social aspirations, some of which are entirely proper, and are receiving consideration by the leadership of the respective States and communities.

Today I want to propose to the House that we consider compromises based upon those maximum concessions which each side is willing to make. I do not expect any Member to abandon principles, but I would be less than frank with you if I did not urge in specific terms that this is a compromise, that it springs from a conviction entertained by many of us that the controversy is divisive, that it tends to weaken the Nation in an hour when the need for cooperation and unity is great.

Southern representatives have been the most prominent ones in opposing this proposed legislation. Perhaps our reaction has been too emotional. Perhaps we have been inaccurate in some of our judgments. I note, for example, that on the question of segregation views sometimes attributed to the President are not contained in his message at all and we may not have been meticulous in distinguishing his message from contents of the Commission report. I am not pleading that our case as presented to this date has been a perfect one and I assume my own share of the responsibility for these deficiencies. I would be glad to recall some of my own inaccurate statements but I can assure the House now that having read and studied not only the message but the report itself I am prepared to apply a more rigid standard to my presentation. I am aware of the occasional misunderstanding of an approach of this kind. That is, the presentation of a southern point of view. I do not mean to offend but because the South lives in such proximity to the problem of our largest and most important racial minority—certainly the most important when civil rights issues of this type are considered—I believe it is entirely fair and proper to present as a background of my own thinking the traditional Southern viewpoint. Yet I am just as sure that the answer we should seek is not the conventional Southern answer nor, indeed, the non-Southern answer. We seek and must find the right answer.

If an answer to the difficult problem involved in the proposals is found we must study the problem in sections. It is regrettable that the recommendations have been submitted as one proposal—impinging as they do upon an infinite variety of human relations and involving widely different legal questions.

The South does not ask any exemptions from a statute soundly conceived and based upon judicial principles applying to our national community of 145,000,000 people. Furthermore, we have no intention of disregarding the legitimate rights of our minority citizens, and we deny that our opposition to some of the proposals contained in the civil rights

report is due to an uncharitable attitude toward the Negro race or any other race. This is not the time nor place to speak as we of the majority group often like to speak; namely, of the happy relationship that exists generally in the South between colored and white groups. But one reason for our warnings is the obvious deterioration of the condition of mutual respect and cooperation which has resulted from political agitation.

The civil rights report, stripped of features not related to sectional and intergroup differences, contains four controversial matters: Segregation, poll-tax repeal, antilynching legislation, and the FEPC. Let me speak of these in order.

SEGREGATION

It is my opinion that congressional action is not necessary in order to achieve the President's objective as to nonsegregation in interstate travel as outlined in his message, although he probably had in mind some clarification and minor extensions of Federal policy based upon the Supreme Court decision invalidating a Virginia statute requiring segregation of passengers. The Supreme Court in effect sustained a nonsegregation policy for common carriers in all interstate travel. The nonsegregation aspects of civil rights discussions have doubtless grown out of language in the report of the President's Commission, intimating that steps should be taken to outlaw segregation policies as now generally enforced in many States. Certain statements in the report justify the fears of those who are concerned with avoiding friction and upheavals in thousands of communities where the races are accustomed to existing patterns of life.

It would help a lot for proponents of civil rights legislation to renounce any purpose of projecting Federal authority into purely local situations, particularly where such authority might be exercised to discard the existing relationships to which we are conditioned. On these issues, there is not an open mind. Everyone who knows anything at all about group relations knows that to invoke the power of law for social intermingling would meet the stiffest resistance and the only result of an attempt by Federal action to change the thinking of our people on this score—and I include Negroes as well as white persons—would be to destroy the dignity and prestige of Federal law. Surely, we learned from our experience with Federal prohibition that some social and individual habits and attitudes defy Federal regimentation. It is well to be frank on this score. Not even the most liberal of Southerners has any other thought, if wisdom and experience direct his thinking at all. I use the words "social intermingling" rather than "social equality" because this phrase more accurately expresses the basis for the customs of our region. Present patterns are maintained with personal good will and without preventing the necessary and desirable relations which interracial groups must maintain for the progress of both races.

If we could agree, Mr. Speaker, that no legislation should be adopted on the subject of segregation, it would be the first step in a proper compromise.

THE POLL TAX

Now let us look at the poll tax. Here, I think, we of the poll tax States should give ground. We will not withdraw our objections to a statutory repeal by Congress, but I do concede that the rest of the country has concluded that as a matter of policy, the payment of a poll tax should not be required for voting in our elections. I do not agree with this judgment. I mean by that that while I do not like the tax, I think it is a reasonable exercise of States' rights and I do not think that there is any substantial impairment of citizen rights to vote. It is a policy that might well be left to the determination of the respective States. This is my own judgment—I am not arguing it. I have heretofore presented it in the debates in the House, but I realize that we have not won many adherents and that the rest of the country wants the seven States retaining the tax to get rid of it.

But repeal should be by constitutional methods. The payment of a poll tax as a voting qualification is permitted under the provisions of section 2, article 1, of the Federal Constitution, and is a matter solely for the States to determine. It is asserted, however, that it is an impairment—not a qualification—but it is clear from more than one decision that the Supreme Court of the United States does not consider the poll tax as constituting an impairment. Nothing less than a constitutional amendment can accomplish in a legal and proper way what the adherents of poll-tax repeal have in mind, but if the constitutional amendment is offered—if statutory repeal is abandoned—I think there will be no

trouble at all in inducing the people of the poll-tax States to accept defeat gracefully.

ANTI-LYNCHING

The two most difficult aspects of the civil-rights controversy are the anti-lynching proposal and the so-called fair-employment practices plan.

The lynching evil has been virtually extinguished. It is not a national problem. We agree, of course, with the authors of the Commission report that one lynching is too many, but lynchings are so rare and the other problems of criminal law enforcement so tremendous that the agitation over this particular question hardly seems fitted to the conditions of 1949.

To advance their cause, the proponents of civil rights have invoked words that have a rich meaning in American life—justice, democracy, equality, opportunity—and yet the proposed application of these concepts is not only vague and unconvincing but, if implemented by Federal law, would actually obstruct the realization of many of these great principles. In grounding their appeal for antilynch legislation upon the guaranties of our judicial system, however, the proponents have some good arguments. In the realm of economics, the references to equality seem out of place since individuals are not equal in productiveness, but in the realm of law and in the quest for justice there is an authentic ring about the claim of equality. One would have to know something of the abuses of Federal intervention in State and local affairs wherever race relations have been involved to understand fully why the invasion of judicial functions reserved to the States and communities is resented. This is not legalistic and it is not due to any indifference to the terrible evil of mob violence. I know from actual experience. I have lived in communities where lynchings have occured, first as a boy 40 years ago and as a young man in another community about 25 years ago. I have had an opportunity to observe the aftermath of mob violence. Every sensitive person could feel the pall of anxiety and fears. Residents of States that have experienced lynchings know enough about this to verify our principal point that lynchings are committed by lawless people and are in such violent conflict with our ideals that gradually the processes of law have been fortified and violence put down. The passage of a Federal law would have little if any effect, in my opinion, on the continuing struggle to eliminate the evil altogether. The final crushing out of mob violence, the depriving of persons suspected of crimes of the precious right of a trial will not be accelerated by a Federal statute. Nevertheless, I can see the basis for arguments that have been advanced by the President's Commission. There are many people in Southern States who recognize the soundness of some of these arguments.

I have written to a number of newspaper editors in the South who, as a group, are generally alert to social problems and free from prejudice and political considerations. I have been impressed by what some of these editors have said about working out, if possible, a Federal statute that would strengthen the laws against this evil without creating counter-influences that would retard the movement to eliminate it altogether. I refer, for example, to the distinguished editor of the Louisville Courier Journal, Mark Ethridge, formerly of Georgia, widely known and widely respected. Mark Ethridge writes me as follows:

> Our failure to have a national policy on lynching affects us most adversely all over the world. The Russians use it with great effect. I personally can't see any excuse we can make to ourselves for not having a national policy on it and for not making prosecution the business of the Federal Government where State law enforcement breaks down. Don't you think it's anachronistic that we are willing to legislate about motor-vehicle stealing, about kidnaping, and about crossing State lines with a woman for immoral purposes, and yet as a Nation we cannot bring ourselves to say that the right to life is sacred enough that it ought to be protected by the Federal Government? I think a declaration by the National Government in the form of effective legislation would have tremendous effect on people all over the world. It's something we owe ourselves in good conscience, but beyond that we do owe it to the world as its leader.

One does not have to agree with this point of view to recognize the fairness and the social vision of the author and the relevancy of his comment. The question of lynching laws tends to become altogether a moot question, but since the whole question enters so substantially into the civil rights controversy I recognize reasons quite outside the practical considerations of law enforcement for a declaration by the Congress. The absence of such a declaration may be misunderstood abroad. If by yielding on

this point for the purpose of presenting a solid front to the nondemocratic world we can symbolize our devotion to the ideal of "equality under law," I, for one, would be glad to attempt to work out such a declaration.

I do not like to begin with the proposition that racial groups in other parts of the world feeling a kinship with certain minority groups in America are imposing unfavorable judgments upon us or that because the Communists abroad are exploiting imperfections in our American social structure, we must legislate. It is true, of course, that the Communists are exploiting isolated incidents, but our emphasis should be on the fact that the harmony which prevails among the races here is much greater than that in any country with a comparable situation. The rights and privileges accorded the racial minorities are so much greater here than in any other part of the world that I regard the argument as to anti-Communist strategy as secondary. I do, however, see value in assurances to members of minority groups in the United States that every available power will be extended to protect all civil rights. Consequently, if it can be done constitutionally, and I am convinced that it can, and if a proposed statute carrying the declaration I speak of can be so phrased as to leave unimpaired the primary responsibility of the States themselves to deal with the evil complained of, I see no reason why we should not grant to the racial minority in this instance the Federal buttress they regard as essential.

Here is how I think it can be done. Add to chapter 13, relating to crimes involving civil rights, of title 18 of the United States Code, a simple statute making lynching a Federal crime, but avoid vagueness in defining the crime so that only a person who knowingly participates in a lynch mob shall be subject to the penalty. Leave out all references to property, limit the jurisdiction to offenses involving violence upon an individual either in the custody of a peace officer or suspected of a criminal offense, and require the Government to show that such violence was for the purpose or consequence of taking the life of such individual. If such violence results in the person's death, then the motive is immaterial. Otherwise, violence to become a Federal offense must be committed for the purpose of taking the person's life. This will avoid bringing gang fights and rioting under Federal jurisdiction. The extensive hearings by the Judiciary Committee of previous Congresses should be convincing on the point that the Federal Government should not be involved in minor disturbances associated with race antagonism. Leave out of the Federal statute all penalties upon the innocent people living in the locality where the crime occurs. Stripped of these extraneous matters, a statute would provide assurances that the Federal Government will be concerned with the essential guaranties of organic law.

And finally, Mr. Speaker, in order to project Federal authority into only those situations where State instrumentalities are not functioning, I would add to the statute a limitation that the Government shall not have jurisdiction of an offense in States authorizing the Attorney General or the governor or an attorney acting under the direction of the governor to direct prosecutions for lynching and authorizing the State authorities to conduct such prosecutions in a local government subdivision other than that in which the offense was committed. If any State agrees to exercise its sovereignty to this extent by moving into a vacuum that has been permitted to exist in areas where pressures and fears in a decentralized judicial system have prevented effective prosecution, then that State will be free from any interference by the United States authorities. In States having this kind of statute the Federal courts should not be given authority to institute proceedings unless the Government could show that the prosecution has been impaired by willful failure of the Attorney General of the State or the governor to exercise authority with respect thereto, and, if sufficient time has elapsed since the offense was committed, to enable the State law-enforcement officer to begin the prosecution. Thus, we would be able to say to any State complaining of Federal intervention in this type of offense that if intervention shall become intolerable, all that the people of that State would have to do would be to adopt the statute as described.

Mr. Speaker, this represents some research and I have consulted with many students of the problem in an effort to work out a sound approach, one that can be defended. In previous debates on the subject we have had presented only the question of a simple Federal declaration.

Under such statutes, it would be possible for the Attorney General of the United States to become involved in local situations no matter how bona fide the local prosecution. That should not be permitted by the Congress. Its political implications are apparent, and I will not dwell upon them. On the other hand, my suggestion does not impair our time-honored provisions for State responsibility in criminal prosecution. It simply provides for a criterion in determining whether or not Federal action is justified by reason of failure of the States to act. This could in all probability be administratively achieved anyway but there is every reason in this instance for Congress laying down the limitations upon action by the Federal Department of Justice.

FEPC

Finally, there is the recommendation of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, embodying penalty provisions and giving Federal authorities power to enforce regulations invading as no statute in our history has attempted to do the intimate relations that are inherent in our free society. There are basic and fundamental objections to this type of legislation and the objections transcend all racial or sectional considerations. The Congress cannot afford to take this step toward statism, regardless of the purposes back of the proposal. The good faith of the proponents is not questioned. But this is a principle in government which cannot be compromised.

Considering, however, the problem of discrimination, to the extent that it exists, there is a basis for action that does not involve compromise of principle—action that involves no legal sanctions, but a legitimate exercise of governmental powers in the field of education and human relations. Patterns are already established in the Department of Labor. We may perhaps do as much for members of a minority suffering from discrimination in employment as we have done for physically handicapped workers, whose condition has been greatly improved without breaching the principles of our economic system. I see no objection to the creation of a division within the Department of Labor, operating under congressional mandate, to counsel with management and labor for the elimination of discrimination and to work toward wider employment opportunities for all groups. In previous discussions of the problem, I have commended the wartime FEPC for its handling of the Sun Oil Co. case, in which a satisfactory adjustment of grievance of Negro workers was reached without imposing penalties or threatening prosecution.

Some of the complaints are understandable. I think I can illustrate by referring to a situation that probably has been corrected. It involves a Negro mechanic—a skilled instructor of apprentices in a certain plant, the location of which is not important to this discussion. It was the mechanic's duty to train young white workers who came into the plant. He must have done a good job, because having completed their instruction, the trainees moved immediately into assembly line jobs and began to receive more than the instructor, although everything they knew about their job had been acquired from him. We do not have to have a coercive law to become sensitive to an injustice of that kind. But I submit to the Congress that it would be quite in order for a Federal division to counsel for the correction of such a grievance and this without retreating from our insistence that nongovernmental procedures are far more effective in the long run in working out such maladjustments.

There is nothing wrong with the contention often advanced by proponents that there should be equal pay for equal performance. It is hard enough, however, to achieve this ideal, for example, for certain feminine workers and handicapped workers, and if we should invoke the great instrumentalities of the Federal Government for situations involving indefinable elements such as race prejudice and religious preferences, the powers of the Federal Government will have been prostituted. Equality of opportunity is an ideal to be cherished and the pursuit of the ideal should continually engage us, but it is better to leave every man free to think himself and his group superior and be wrong than as a matter of law proclaim him or his group to be the equal of others in economic activities.

In a few days we will celebrate the birthday of the Great Emancipator. Surely Abraham Lincoln would not be accused of race prejudice, yet in his Peoria speech on October 16, 1854, he said in discussing the slavery question

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and proposals based upon certain equality concepts:

My own feelings will not admit of this and if mine would, we well know that a great mass of the whites will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment is not the sole question, if indeed it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill-founded, cannot be safely disregarded.

In my opinion, no utterance of Lincoln's is more timely in its application to the disregard of the thinking of the people.

In closing let me quote Mark Ethridge again, having indicated from his statement on antilynching that he does not discard the civil rights program in its entirety. On the FEPC case, however, he is emphatic, and Mark Ethridge knows this subject, for he was one of the policy makers of the wartime fair-employment program.

If anything at all is to be done about FEPC, it ought to be put as a minor section in the Labor Department. It ought not, however, to have any coercive powers. It would be, therefore, very largely an information section which might provide manufacturers and others with information, and this information as to the experiences of States in handling the problem will be valuable all over the country.

It appears, Mr. Speaker, that a majority of the people who are familiar with this problem are opposed to a permanent FEPC.

In the interest of harmony and economic justice to all, the civil rights controversy should be settled and I believe this can be achieved without sacrifice of principle by either side by first, limiting Federal nonsegregation policies to interstate movements; second, repeal by constitutional amendment of poll tax requirements for voting; third, a modified antilynching bill leaving primary responsibility with the States; and, fourth, abandoning all proposals for coercion in employment but establishing a counseling service to work for nondiscrimination in industry.

Mr. DEANE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I yield.

Mr. DEANE. As a southerner I certainly appreciate the attitude expressed by the gentleman from Arkansas.

On Monday, January 31, I inserted in the RECORD an outstanding editorial, The Task of the South, from the pen of Jonathan Daniels, the brilliant editor of the Raleigh News and Observer. The Members are invited to read this editorial, which in a most forceful way comes to grips with this subject of civil rights.

Of further interest is the fact that this editorial received first-place award in the best editorial division, as voted by the North Carolina Newspaper Institute, during the past week.

As indicated by the gentleman from Arkansas, it is to be hoped that we can honestly come to grips with this perplexing subject. We cannot evade the issue.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I appreciate the remarks of the gentleman from North Carolina, whom I admire very much.

Mr. DOLLIVER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. DOLLIVER. I would like to compliment the gentleman from Arkansas for his very illuminating discussion of a very difficult and perplexing problem. In my own district I may say that perhaps we are not confronted with the difficulties which exist in some other parts of the country. Recognizing, however, that this is an acute and difficult situation which must be met, I appreciate all the more the proposals made by the gentleman from Arkansas.

I would like to ask the gentleman if he will elucidate a little further upon this advisory proposal which he suggests in connection with the fair employment practices matter. I am not clear what he has in mind.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I may say in answer to the question in reference to the nonpenalty FEPC that in certain measure it follows a suggestion of Senator TAFT, of Ohio, who said in the early days of the discussion that the only proper way to approach the problem would be through a nonpenalty provision.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Arkansas has expired.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, if it is not inconvenient to those having special orders following, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for an additional 10 minutes.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I have the next 10 minutes and I will be very glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I appreciate that very much.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. I think the gentleman is entitled to the attention of every Member of the House for the statement he has made.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I appreciate the comment of the gentleman from Michigan very much.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. I would like to ask the gentleman one question speaking of FEPC, which would bar discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, or state of origin. I recall that several years ago when the bill was up I offered a similar bill but added to it that there should be no discrimination in one bill because of sex and in another bill, which was more important, because of membership or nonmembership in any union, but I could not find any vociferous advocate of FEPC who was willing to accept that amendment. Has the gentleman any explanation of why, as long as they wanted to do away with discrimination they would not let the fellow who wanted to work go to work, in other words provide that there should be no discrimination against him?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I would like to say in that connection I think that it is a good illustration of the difficulty of invoking law in these matters of employment. It touches many of the fields which the gentleman from Michigan has mentioned. I think one of the best illustrations of the efficacy of the counseling service is what we have done with the handicapped workers. We have not said that any plant must employ a person who is handicapped. We have not said he must employ him, but we have demonstrated to a lot of employers that certain handicapped groups are exceptionally productive and efficient. It is quite impressive to study the statistics of productiveness of the handicapped workers. It is remarkable what they have done, often excelling people who are not handicapped. That is not done by forcing a nondiscrimination policy, but counseling by skilled Government employees who know how to bring people together and induce management to do things which, when convinced, they are glad to do.

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. PRIEST. Because of my personal association and very close friendship with the gentleman from Arkansas I have been aware for quite some time of the very studious and serious effort he has been making in a study of this proposal. I think we can all appreciate the contribution the gentleman has made in attempting to approach this subject from a broad, unbiased, unprejudiced viewpoint, recognizing the fact that it does present a great many very serious problems; recognizing the fact, as he stated a few moments ago, that in this report there may be some proposals that were objectionable to various sections of the country, but in it also there is the problem, or series of problems, that we must face. The gentleman, I think, in his study and in his proposal has compromised and has made a very valuable contribution to our consideration of this problem. I compliment him on his very calm and unimpassioned presentation of the situation. In considering the problems presented in the President's message and in the so-called civil-rights program, if we can approach them and consider them in that same unimpassioned, calm, deliberate spirit in an effort to arrive at what is best for the country, I think we can make some very good progress.

I commend the gentleman from Arkansas for his presentation today.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I appreciate the gentleman's statement very much.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN. I have listened with a great deal of interest to the gentleman's address today and I believe that it is a new approach to a very old problem. I remind him, however, that it is much older than a lot of people think. My father told me—and he lived in Newport, R. I.—that in various places in the East, when he was a young man, particularly in Massachusetts, they had signs posted which read, "Men wanted. No Irish need apply." But as time went on it seems the Irish have solved their own problem, and they are sending them

now to legislative halls and putting them in high positions, because they sought to benefit themselves and work out their own salvation instead of looking for helpful legislation.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Well, they are doing the hiring themselves now, are they not?

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. TRIMBLE. Knowing the gentleman from Arkansas as I do, I know of his deep sincerity in what he has had to say. I gather that his approach is on the theory that you can get the most good out of the civil rights proposal with the least emotional strain. Is that what the gentleman advocates?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I am very grateful to the gentleman for stating it just that way.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. MONRONEY. I, too, would like to compliment the gentleman from Arkansas for the dispassionate way in which this issue has been discussed here today. If we can only go through this session with an open-minded attitude or willingness to try and resolve the differences, I think we will get a lot closer to solving this problem than we will by the heat of debate or incriminations that have often taken place on this floor in the past.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I am very grateful to the gentleman for that comment.

Mr. TACKETT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I yield.

Mr. TACKETT. Mr. Speaker, I too, wish the opportunity of congratulating my colleague from Arkansas [Mr. HAYS] upon his attitude in his efforts to compromise the serious and complex civil rights issues, even though he is willing to go much farther than I could either commit or permit myself.

The arguments usually advanced by the proponents and opponents of such legislation are comparable with the often expressed view that "to prominently promulgate the congregated diversions of an abstainer of intoxicants is to dissimilate his true character." For the northern and eastern proponents of such proposed legislation to pick out only the adverse racial relations and occurrences within the South, and for the opponents to, in turn, counteract with like charges against and within the North and East—each such group failing to give a true picture of the racial problem as it actually exists and its effects in each locality of our Nation, offers no solution.

However, I want to state that because of my inherent and fundamental belief in States' rights, I could not and would not go along with my colleague in his compromise efforts with such proposed Federal legislation.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I appreciate that very much.

Mr. BIEMILLER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. BIEMILLER. I have always had a very high regard for the ability and the temperate approach of the gentleman from Arkansas. Today my regard goes even higher. I agree with those who have spoken ahead of me and said that if we can approach this civil rights question in a temperate and easy-mannered way we may reach a solution for it. The only point I should like to add at this moment is that I do not think any of us should assume that the civil rights question is peculiarly a problem of the South. I think it is a question that exists throughout the entire 48 States. That should never be lost sight of.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I am glad to have that comment. I appreciate the statement of the gentleman very much.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. I realize that this country does need unity. I appreciate the fact that the gentleman from Arkansas has approached this matter not only from the attitude of a Congressman but as a Christian.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I am very grateful to all the Members for what they have said.

In yielding the floor I should like to say that my primary purpose was to undertake to state, in a dispassionate way, a position which I believe is typical of a vast number of our people, and, secondly, to give the House the benefit of the study I have made of the technical side. It will all be in the RECORD.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. COLMER. Unfortunately I did not hear all the gentleman's discussion. I yield to no one in my very high appraisal of the gentleman from Arkansas. I know that whatever he said was said with the great sincerity that symbolizes his usual conduct upon the floor of this House. Since I did not have the benefit of hearing all the gentleman's address, may I ask if I am correct in assuming from what I have heard here on the floor that the gentleman thinks this is a matter that cannot well be solved by legislative edict, that it is a matter that will have to be worked out?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I think that reflects a portion of my comment. The problem will continue; no matter how skillful our craftsmanship, no matter how good our performance, there will be a continuing problem in the realm of human relations; that we can, however, since the Nation has focused attention upon the problems, find a degree of legislative authority that might be required. That is the thing I have pointed to in the desire to find the basis for a compromise. I think it is possible for us to find it. But I agree with the implication of the gentleman that it is not primarily a legislative problem.

I am very grateful to the House.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend, I include the following bill to permit the prosecution of lynching in Federal courts when the governor or attorney general of the State concerned lacks authority to direct the prosecution in State courts, or such prosecution is impaired by his refusal to do so:

Be it enacted, etc., That chapter 13 (relating to crimes involving civil rights) of title 18 of the United States Code is hereby amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"245. Lynching.

"Whoever willfully instigates, incites, organizes, aids, abets, or commits a lynching by any means whatsoever, or is knowingly a member of a lynch mob, shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than 20 years, or both.

"As used in this section:

"The term 'lynch mob' means any assemblage of ____ or more persons which, without authority of law, commits or attempts to commit violence upon the person of any individual in the custody of a peace officer or suspected of, charged with, or convicted of the commission of any criminal offense, with the purpose or consequence of taking the life of such individual.

"The term 'lynching' means any violence by a lynch mob upon the person of any such individual, with the purpose or consequence of taking the life of such individual."

SEC. 2. The table of contents of chapter 13 of title 18 of the United States Code is hereby amended by adding at the end thereof

"245. Lynching."

SEC. 3. Section 3231 (relating to jurisdiction of district courts) of title 18 of the United States Code is hereby amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"Notwithstanding any other provision of this title, a district court of the United States shall have jurisdiction of an offense against section 245 of this title only if the court finds, with respect to each State in which the offense was committed, that—

"(1) the act or acts constituting the offense do not also constitute, under the laws of the State, an offense which may be prosecuted (A) by the attorney general of the State or an attorney acting under his direction or the direction of the governor of the State, and (B) in a local governmental subdivision other than that or those, as the case may be, in which it was committed; or

"(2) the prosecution of the offense against State law has been impaired by the willful failure or refusal of the attorney general of the State or the governor of the State to exercise his authority with respect to such prosecution; and a sufficient time has elapsed since the offense against section 245 was committed to enable State law-enforcement officers to begin the prosecution of the offense against State law."

SEC. 4. This act shall take effect on January 1, 1950.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENDERSON LANHAM

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

February 14, 1949

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, we have been commemorating the birthday of one of America's true noblemen, Abraham Lincoln. I am glad that we of the South can join with those of you from the North in paying tribute to this great American. We now see that had he lived many of the unspeakable indignities we had to suffer would not have been our lot.

At one time when some of the more violent men of ill will were urging harsher treatment for the South, Mr. Lincoln

replied that he had not suffered at the hands of the South but with the South. Were he alive today I am sure that again he would suffer with the South at the threat of the enactment of force laws that would inevitably bring another tragic era for our beloved Southland.

A few days ago the gentleman from Arkansas, the Honorable BROOKS HAYS, spoke from the well of this House words of such reasonableness and sanity that I wish every one of you would study and heed them. I am not prepared to say that I would agree in every detail with the proposed plan for the settlement of the so-called civil-rights question. But I do commend to you the spirit of good will and understanding that pervades Mr. HAYS' proposals. It is from this approach that a fair and equitable settlement of the issues involved can be evolved.

A few days ago I heard a friend gently chide the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HAYS] with the charge that he was "always floating around on a cloud." He admitted that occasionally the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HAYS] parked his cloud and came down to earth. In this age of materialism and cynicism I am sure we need more cloud floaters. For "without a vision my people perish." Fortunate are we to have a man in Congress like he gentleman from Arkansas, BROOKS HAYS. His head may be in the clouds where the winds of God's truth can reach him, but his feet are firmly planted upon the ground. His is that rare combination of vision and practicality.

It is in this spirt of good will, of idealism, and at the same time of practical compromise that the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HAYS] has attacked the problem of race relations that cries out for settlement.

The distinguished gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HAYS] has proposed a sane and calm approach to the vexing problem. I call upon the Members on each side of the aisle to study his proposals, and to approach the problem with the same degree of sanity and reasonableness that characterizes Mr. HAYS' thinking on the subject.

With the Speaker's leave, I include with my remarks an editorial from the Atlanta Constitution commenting on the HAYS' plan, and an article by Gladstone Williams that appeared in the same newspaper:

[From the Atlanta Constitution]

Southerners are planning to introduce in Congress this week their own version of a civil-rights program.

It is being introduced by men of good will and good intent. The plan is to get it before the Congress ahead of any administration bills.

We urge thoughtful southerners to have a look at it. In brief it would do these three things:

1. It would provide for a constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax. Since 41 States, including Georgia, have already abolished it and others are preparing to do so, there is no doubt but that the poll tax will go and that it would do so without any Federal coercion. Since even the most ardent supporters of poll-tax banning agree there is grave doubt as to constitutional authority to do so, an amendment would seem the most sensible plan.

2. Lynching would come under Federal statute. This newspaper has always opposed Federal coercion, and still does. But there can no longer be any doubt but that failure of local peace officers to enforce laws against such violence properly has created so much national anger and opinion that it is not longer possible to avoid some such measure. We are then, from the practical viewpoint, up against the problem of what sort of legislation we will get, not whether we will have it.

The honest southerner must admit that local law-enforcement agencies, because of the peculiarities of our political methods, frequently are powerless to proceed against a prominent family or one politically powerful when such is involved in a lynching case. This is wrong, but it is a fact. The southerners propose to remove a lynching case from the county where it occurs and try it in a county where the local passions and political blocs would not apply.

3. The southerners plan to introduce legislation which would establish in the Department of Labor a board which would have the power to investigate, conciliate, arbitrate, and recommend in cases involving discrimination in employment. This avoids the Federal police feature, and it bypasses the unconstitutional proposal that a man may be told he must hire someone whether that person is acceptable or not. It was exactly this system which worked so well during the recent World War in cases involving thousands of workers from minority groups. There is no reason to think it will not work even better now when the national conscience is so much more aware of the evils and wrongs of discrimination. A standing army could not enforce the provisions of the FEPC as proposed by the more radical makers of civil-rights legislation.

We recommend this plan to thoughtful southerners as reasonable and as being possible of excellent results. At least it is a

starter, and it is a positive action. We will be offering something that we are for, and not appearing as merely against something, a role which has brought the South much of its present trouble.

[From the Atlanta Constitution of February 7, 1949]

HAYS' RIGHTS PLAN A TEST OF GOOD FAITH

(By Gladstone Williams)

WASHINGTON.—In an effort to remove civil-rights legislation from the field of bitter controversy, Representative BROOKS HAYS, Democrat, of Arkansas, has come forward with a well-reasoned compromise program that should appeal to moderates on both sides of the question. Without a compromise there is danger of Congress being split wide open on the issue. The Senate Rules Committee is now wrestling with the problem of strengthening cloture rules in order to give President Truman's civil-rights program a fair chance of passage. Southern Senators are determined to wage a last-ditch fight against any change in the rules which would deny them the right to unlimited debate in discussing controversial legislation of the kind.

What may result is a prolonged filibuster against proposed changes in the rules aimed at ending filibusters. That could tie up Senate proceedings indefinitely, blocking other important legislation that may be pending.

Mr. HAYS, a southerner himself, calls for concessions from extremists on both sides of the racial question. If the moderates on both sides will approach the problem in the spirit of compromise, he believes it will be possible to work out a civil-rights program that will be acceptable to all concerned and generally meet the objectives sought by the President.

Four major items are involved in the President's civil-rights program. They are (1) segregation, (2) anti-poll tax, (3) antilynching, and (4) fair-employment-practices legislation. The compromise Representative HAYS proposes calls for this:

First, he would limit Federal segregation policies to movements in interstate transportation—travel.

Second, he would repeal poll-tax requirements for voting by constitutional amendment, rather than by statute.

Third, he would have enacted a modified antilynching law which would leave primary responsibility for dealing with mob violence to the individual States and local communities, with the Federal Government empowered to step in only when the State and local authorities failed to act.

Fourth, he would abandon all proposals for a Federal law for coercion in employment, and instead would set up a counseling service in the Department of Labor to work for nondiscrimination in industry.

As the Arkansas man points out, there seems no need for further legislation to achieve the President's objective of nonsegregation in interstate travel because of the Supreme Court decision invalidating a Virginia statute requiring the segregation of white and Negro passengers in interstate travel. That decision had the effect of sustaining a nonsegregation policy in all interstate travel.

So far as the poll tax goes, Mr. HAYS is entirely willing to have Congress submit the question to the various States in the form of a constitutional amendment. Other southern members have taken a similar stand all along. Only seven States still retain the poll tax now, anyway.

On antilynching measures, he reminds that that is an evil that has practically been extinguished, so that it is no longer the issue it once was. He sees no reason why a compromise should not be reached whereby the Federal Government would step in only after local authorities had failed to do something, and with the penalties and fines now proposed being eliminated.

The HAYS program is certainly worthy of careful consideration by all those who honestly would like to see some effective civil-rights legislation enacted. It opens the way for a meeting of minds among the moderates, though the extremists may be expected to raise their voices in opposition on both sides.

It will probably offer the test of whether the extremists are really interested in seeing a constructive program adopted, or whether they merely prefer to keep the issue alive for its political effect.

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Hays, Brooks
Civil Rights Legislation
comments

March 1, 1949

The Honorable Brooks Hays
The House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brooks:

Thank you for your letter. I know you are a busy man.

The only public statement of the Council's position on the whole matter of civil rights is this which I enclose (which I hope you have already long since read).

My letter to you will have to stay private as a letter, but the excerpt about lynching shown on page 5 of your typescript of comments is perfectly all right with me, and you are free to use it as you will. If you propose further use of what I said on lynching, I would hope that a sentence or two of the next paragraph of my letter to you of February 10, particularly the last sentence of that paragraph, would be used.

I do want to come to Washington, and I have something to say. Is there still some little gathering of the sort that we used to have--thoughtful southern members? I have a speech I do with a map of the South which lays out the four great sub-regions of it, and comes out with the moral that we need both legislation in the field of rights and appropriations in the fields of health and housing and farm ownership and industrialization and education. I can't print the speech yet because I am still pinning down the census facts, but I am close enough to the true pattern to feel safe in laying it out to small groups.

I can come up there almost any time in March, except the middle of the month, or from the 24th to the 28th.

I would be perfectly happy to come and do my conferring with any two or three that you may gather together.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
514 FEDERAL BUILDING

MEMBER
BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
CLAUD D. CURLIN

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

February 24, 1949

RECEIVED
FEB 28 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you so much for your fine letter. I would like to quote part of your statement if you do not object. Please let me know if I may use it. I have used it already in a confidential way with Roscoe Drummond, who is greatly impressed by your statement on my anti-lynching proposal. Honestly I am convinced that this is the answer, although a stronger measure may go through the Congress.

I think you could do a lot of good here by conferences with some people who respect your views and who know that your conclusions as to legislative strategy would not be influenced by expediency, at least to the extent that it influences us politicians. You know what I mean of course. Do you have any plans to come to Washington? The situation is deteriorating and I fear we will wind up as heretofore, with nothing achieved and with sectional bitterness intensified. I hope I am wrong. A great deal depends upon what is done on the Senate side. We have managed on the House side to create a pretty good atmosphere.

Please let me know if I may use your letter. You will be interested in some of the reactions to my speech and I am sending you some quotes.

With highest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Brooks -

Can you use a few hundred copies of my speech for distribution — or supply a list for my use?

Geo Mitchell

Governor Sidney McMath of Arkansas:

"I think that you have submitted the best solution to this problem which has been thus far advanced. Our state press has almost without exception supported the plan.....I hope that you can win Congressional support for your views. I certainly agree that this issue must be settled quickly with a reasonable, workable formula such as you have proposed."

William W. Leigh, Little Rock insurance man and presidential elector on the Thurman-Wright ticket:

"I wish to commend you for your efforts toward brining about a compromise of of the so-called civil rights issue. I think that it should be perfectly obvious to everyone that there is very little hope of this issue being settled on any other basis and if your efforts meet with any degree of success you will have done your country and your state a distinct service."

A. D. Stewart, Amory, Mississippi, farm implement dealer:

"Your proposal, in my opinion, could not be considered a matter of expediency but a fair, just and sensible solution of a problem that should have been solved many, many years ago. It is not fitting nor proper to expect the South or even the nation as a whole to go along with all phases of Mr. Truman's civil rights program. The FEPC as written would be abominable."

Frank H. Parke, President of Little Rock printing company:

"I have just read the report of your proposals on the race question and wish to compliment you on suggesting what I hope will be a practical way out of a very dangerous situation. Unfortunately, most Southerners do not stop to think of the change that has taken place during the 80 years since the Civil War, nor do they realise that this change will continue to take place

regardless of anything that they can do about it. No intelligent person can argue against all this in theory, but from a practical standpoint it simply cannot work if pushed faster than people's minds can adjust themselves to it. I certainly hope you have something."

Harry S. Ashmore (telegram), executive editor of Arkansas Gazette:

"We are planning big play for your elequent and persuasive civil rights address which wounds like the voice of reason to me. If your colleagues remain unimpressed, they can't be reached."

Frank Cantrell, managing director, Arkansas Economic Council-State Chamber of Commerce:

"This is a fine and broadgauged effort on your part and you richly deserve the many expressions of praise which I am sure you have received."

Honorable Chase Going Woodhouse, M.C.:

"I only hope that everyone on both sides of the issue will be as moderate and intelligently tolerant, as then we will bring out a program of which this Congress and the President can well be proud."

Wallace M. Milton, Ozark, Arkansas, manager of rural electric cooperative:

"I think your compromise plan is an excellent one and it is refreshing to know that we at least have a few representatives in Congress who are not narrow-minded bigots. Regardless of how wer have been taught, the colored minority in our country deserves better treatement than we have accorded them in the past."

Joshua K. Shepherd, Little Rock, insurance executive and Masonic leader:

"If the Congress will adopt this method, it will result in a great strengthening of the bonds of friendship between the white and colored races. I congratulate you on the persuasive reasoning and the thoroughness with which you are dealing with the problem and I hope that you and your associates will continue your earnest efforts to the end that we may both heal sore spots and promote further economic and social development of our Nation."

Elmer J. Rauschkolb, Little Rock business man:

"I venture to predict that it (the compromise) will go down in history as the finest and most Christian-like approach to one of the most vexing problems of this era."

Tom Johnson, University of Arkansas student:

"I personally am in accord with your views on the civil rights program and congratulate you on your efforts to compromise. I hope others will become aware of the wisdom of such a move."

Ed McCuiston, Director, Division of Negro Education, Arkansas Department of Education:

"(The message is) one of the outstanding statements coming out of Washington in the last two or three years."

Charles A. Stuck, Jonesboro, Arkansas, owner of a large lumber mill:

"I find it difficult to express in words my appreciation for the fine spirit and wonderful message you brought to the House yesterday. When the sober, serious minded and intelligent people of our country come together to discuss any controversial question they can settle it sooner or later. I commend you agains for your spirit and usunusally fine presentation."

Henderson Lanham of Georgia, N.C., (in the House, February 14):

"A few days ago the gentleman from Arkansas, the Honorable Brooks Hays, spoke from the well of this House words of such reasonableness and sanity that I wish every one of you would study and heed them. I am not prepared to say that I would agree in every detail with the proposed plan for the settlement of the so-called civil rights question. But I do commend to you the spirit of good will and understanding that pervades Mr. Hays' proposals. It is from this approach that a fair and equitable settlement of this issue can be evolved."

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, excerpt from editorial:

"The Arkansas proposal is a piece of combined idealism and realism which we commend to Congress' attention as compared with legislative proposals which may or may not contain idealism but are not realistic enough to have a chance of enforcement even if passed."

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION:

"We recommend this plan to thoughtful Southerners as reasonable and being possible of enforcement and productive of excellent results. At least it is a starter and it offers positive action. We will be offering something that we are 'for' and not appearly as merely 'against' something, a role which has brought the South much of its present trouble."

ARKANSAS GAZETTE:

"It (the address) was a far cry from the ranting debates which have been touched off all too frequently by civil rights legislation. Mr. Hays presented a calm and closely reasoned defense of what he called the 'South's traditional

attitudes.' And, by offering a positive counter-proposal aimed at admitted inequities, he took the offensive for the settlement of the continuing differences in Congress, a welcome change from the stand-pat attitude which has generally characterized the Southern reaction in the past."

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia:

"On the lynching thing. You have come out with what is to my mind the very best idea brought forward in recent decades. Putting the responsibility on the chief executive of each state is a fine thing to do. I know from experience here in Georgia that when a lynching or near lynching takes place, various of us can go to the Governor for the time being and be told on his behalf that the matter must be handled by the sheriff and the judge for the county affected, and that the Governor is without power in the matter, and so forth and so on. The United States hold the Governor respoinsible. The Governor gets out of it by holding the county officials responsible. You are exactly right to put the responsiblity for action and prosecution on the Governor."

Herbert L. Thomas, life insurance executive, Little Rock, Arkansas:

"I know from my experience with the racial questions that have arisen in the University that our people can be sold reasonable compromises that mean a progressive solution of some of these problems."

ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT:

"Congressman Brooks Hays is thinking along sound lines in proposing a compromise on 'civil rights'."

Dr. Robert A. Leflar, Dean, School of Law, University of Arkansas:

"The sort of compromise which you discussed must be recognized by everyone as a bona fide effort to take a forward step. I want to congratulate you."

Honorable Chauncey Sparks, former Governor of Alabama:

"It is one of the best and fairest discussions of these vexing problems that I have seen or heard come out of the South."

Dr. John H. Buchanan, Pastor of the Southside Baptist Church, Birmingham, Alabama:

"I believe that you have offered the only solution to the difficult problem. While there can be no compromise on the principle of the right of the states to handle their own affairs, yet I think that the suggestions you make on each of the four issues are sound and feasible."

Dr. J. M. Dawson, Executive Secretary, Public Relations Committee, Baptists of the United States, and former Pastor of First Baptist Church, Waco, Texas:

"In regard to the anti-lynching plank, I am pleased to see you speak out so strongly. I have never been able to see any objection to an act of Congress in regard to lynching, for while past lynchings have been largely confined to the South, such a law would apply to the whole country, and as such should not be thought of as striking specifically at the South."

TUPELO JOURNAL:

"Mr. Hays' approach to the civil rights controversy is a display of statesmanship which offers the South its only hope of preserving freedom of action at the state level without federal dictation.....And if our southern congressmen are smart, they will see to it that the amendments to the President's civil rights program are written by themselves along lines Congressman Hays proposes rather than by northerners who seek to make the federal laws even stiffer."

BROOKS HAYS
3rd District Arkansas

Little Rock Office:
514 Federal Building

Member
Banking and Currency Committee

Secretary:
Claud D. Curlin

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

March 29, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I continue to hear good things from the eight M.C.'s who heard you in my office and they are interested in pursuing the matter further. I hope you will be getting back to Washington before long.

In the meantime, give me your impressions of what might be done in the way of statements here by some of us who have an interest in the problem. Do you think a statement could be worked out to be issued jointly by a few of us regarding the relationship of the economic and social problems you mentioned to the civil rights agitation? We must not let the enthusiasm that developed from your talk be dissipated.

Sincerely yours,

Brooks

RECEIVED
MAR 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

Civil Rights
Legislation

April 1, 1949

The Honorable Brooks Hays
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brooks:

I mail you up fifteen more copies of the Council's statement of last September on the whole civil rights controversy. If your friends could be got to read that, it might strike some sparks.

If you think another meeting would do some good, I would be glad to come up. My first available time would be any date you might hit upon between April 12 and 16. I suggest a dinner meeting in the evening. I could probably arrange a private dining room at the Cosmos Club.

But the main thing is not at this stage a meeting, but the drafting of something that Southern members might find they could agree on. Toward that, I offer the attached memorandum. It would be necessary to have a small committee, probably with some secretaries to members on it, to get up something.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Civil Rights Legislation

STATEMENT OF REP. BROOKS HAYS, D-ARK. FOR RELEASE A.M. MONDAY, DEC. 26, 1949

I regret to learn that the Administration has scheduled the FEPC bill for immediate consideration by the Congress and has determined upon an all-out fight for it. The inclusion of coercive and punitive provisions advocated by the Administration would if carried out impair and even destroy in some industries the basic freedoms of both management and labor unions. Further it would be a great disservice to racial and religious minorities whose grievances and aspirations I concede are very real. This issue is fundamental and it must not be evaded either for political reasons or through a desire to avoid offense to those pressing for this legislation.

It is easy for the Administration to propose these bills but very difficult for Congress to do a good job in the atmosphere which the agitation has created. I am not blaming the minorities except that I think it is fair to say that the consequences of this extreme measure have not been carefully weighed by them. For the minorities sake I have pleaded with the Administration spokesmen not to force this issue.

One fact would undoubtedly be a discouragement to employment of Negroes is the fear that if the need for cutting down payrolls should arise pressure from Washington would force retention of minority employees regardless of economic situations. Many employers would conclude, "if I cannot discharge employees of a minority group, why should I hire them?"

I am convinced that FEPC has become a symbol of minority rights, and largely for that reason unrelenting pressure is being applied. Again, I do not blame the minorities for their devotion to a cause they deem just. What I am insisting upon is an honest confronting of the issue by the Congress and a constructive approach in this crucial year of 1950. We ought to be honest

enough to say it simply will not work and if forced upon American industry will cause the most bitter and tragic reaction since the days of reconstruction. In those areas in which enforcement would be impossible the only result would be the lessening of Government's prestige.

The argument that the mere passage of a law would disarm the communists, here and abroad, is ridiculous on its face. It will certainly not stop the communists from lying about American attitudes and policies, and is an insult to the very minorities it is designed to help, for it implies that they would turn to communism if denied this particular form of legislative relief.

I grant, of course, that we need to strengthen the foundations under those spokesman for the minority who have patiently fought for justice for minority workers and for the progress of their groups. They are indeed entitled to consideration. Our differences pertain to methods but these differences are deep and fundamental. The Administration will be convinced of it before the debate is concluded.

For many months I have advocated the adoption of a non-coercive FEPC and other civil rights measures. There is a limited field for Federal functions in the strengthening of minority rights. At the same time, it should be apparent that substantial progress is being made in every part of the United States particularly in the South which is still the home of our largest minority. The Administration's move threatens to interrupt that progress. We need aid in rural rehabilitation and in school and health facilities. Here the Federal Government can be of real assistance. The Administration wisely seeks to promote progress in these fields. To assume however that the Federal Government may impose group patterns upon people is to obstruct the program itself.

In opposing an extreme force bill, those of us who believe that still further gains must be made by the Negroes in the South are not renouncing our goal of the elimination of discrimination in employment. We believe that the principle of equal pay for equal performance should be applied and that wider job opportunities for Negro workers must be sought. We will continue to insist on the extension of the franchise to the Negro in the South and the equalization of school facilities and services. We do this because it is our duty and justice demands it.

Political bids for support of minority groups outside the South will not stop this progress; however, they will make the task more difficult and will play into the hands of the extremists who, masquerading behind the claim of states rights, would arrest the social and economic progress that has been so marked in the South in recent years.

I have not given up hope that the Administration will agree to the Arkansas Plan of providing a greater degree of economic justice through a counseling service rather than a penalty program with its damage to our liberties and to the spirit of good will between the racial and religious groups.

We who have responsibility for a Federal policy must resist the temptation to play politics with human rights and aspirations. How we handle the FEPC matter will determine whether or not the standards of statesmanship are as excellent as these times require.

Human Rights: The Test of Our Democracy

Address by

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

of Minnesota

In the Senate of the United States

June 25, 1951

Introducing a Comprehensive Program of Civil Rights Legislation

Sponsored by

Senators Hubert H. Humphrey (Minnesota), William Benton (Connecticut), Paul H. Douglas (Illinois), Herbert H. Lehman (New York), Warren G. Magnuson (Washington), Wayne Morse (Oregon), James E. Murray (Montana), Matthew M. Neely (West Virginia), and John O. Pastore (Rhode Island)

*"Mr. President, once again I stand before this great democratic body, the United States Senate, to make a plea for an end to discrimination against American citizens because of their race, religion, color, or national origin. Again I ask the Congress for action on a legislative program for human rights. * * **

" * * democracy is more than achievement, more than material progress, more than elections and government. Democracy is essentially a faith of freedom, of equality, of human dignity, and brotherhood.*

*"It is the spirit of democracy that we need to strengthen. That spirit has been the victim of a lingering and stubborn infection which saps our strength. I refer to the infection of discrimination. * * *"*

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Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 82d CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

A Civil Rights Legislative Program

ADDRESS

BY

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 25, 1951

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, once again I stand before this great democratic body, the United States Senate, to make a plea for an end to discrimination against American citizens because of their race, religion, color, or national origin. Again I ask the Congress for action on a legislative program for human rights, and I humbly join with a distinguished array of my colleagues in presenting such a program.

I do this today for a reason. I do this today rather than tomorrow or last month or a week from now because it is essential to dramatize, in every way we know how, the historic importance of the anniversaries which this day represents. One year ago today the Communist forces of North Korea invaded the Republic of South Korea.

Ten years ago today the first national Fair Employment Practices Committee came into existence by Executive order of our late President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

The relationship between these two events is an important one for us to understand. This relationship affects the very roots of our national security.

We have been drawn into a global struggle against the communistic and totalitarian forces of Stalinism. All over the world, from central Europe through the Near East and into Asia, we stand opposed to a ruthless group of men who espouse doctrines denying the dignity of men and their right to develop to the best that is within themselves. The North Korean attack on South Korea, on June 25, 1950, represented an attempt by the totalitarian world to begin its program of world conquest by the use of force. Our support through the United Nations in resisting the Communist invaders in Korea has symbolized our resolve to resist Communist attack wherever it may occur. Thus, on both the military and political fronts, we stand as opponents of Communist aggression. However, it is on the political or in a more comprehensive sense, the ideological front that we are weakest. The conflict with Stalinism is not merely of a military character. Equally important, it is political or ideological in nature. Ideologically, as the great protagonists of democracy and freedom, we stand opposed to those doctrines which enslave and reduce men to mere machines. We believe in the inherent dignity and worth-whileness of man, that man is an end in himself, that only in a genuinely free society can man attain his true nature. We believe that, given equality of opportunity each individual irrespective of color, religion, national origin, or race, can realize his true self. These are the great values for which we are currently engaged in the struggle against communism.

Yet, while we may be winning the conflict in military terms, I believe—and this is a view supported and confirmed by the observations of many—that we are losing ground on the ideological front. We are in danger of losing the political and ideological fight for many reasons, but I believe that the most important of them lies in the fact that there are occasional practices at home which conflict with the values in which we believe and which we are trying to spread abroad.

Newspapermen, travelers, and others who have visited many areas of the world report that communism at present has its greatest appeal in those areas of the world inhabited by dark-skinned peoples. These areas—Africa, the Near East, Southwest Asia, Asia itself—house two thirds of the world's population, a population which, in the main, is non-Caucasian. Needless to say, China is already gone and sections of southeast Asia may be on the way.

Theory and Practice

To these people our exhortations about democracy and equality of rights seem hollow and empty; they are not taken seriously. How can they be? They point to the peoples of dark skin such as Negroes, Oriental-Americans, Mexican-Americans, Indians, and others who all too often are treated as second-class citizens right here in the United States. They do not have equality of opportunity—for jobs, for education, for medical care, for housing. While much has been done in the past decade to guarantee these rights to all Americans, there is much that has yet to be done. The extent to which these things are not done does irreparable harm to our international policy.

Soviet propagandists point daily to the discrepancies between the American theory of democracy and its practice at home. I have been analyzing the kind of information about the United States brand of democracy which Soviet broadcasters beam daily to all areas of the world, and I should like to bring some of these items to the attention of my distinguished colleagues.

Thus in a broadcast last October to India in Hindustani, Moscow radio stated that there is "a world of difference between the Soviet Republics and the imperialistic republics. The imperialist republic is designed to conceal the rule of the imperialists and to suppress the common people. In America, most Negroes cannot participate in elections. According to the laws of the Soviet Republics, all adult citizens can participate in elections and the opportunity is offered to all citizens to take part in social, economic, and political activities."

This is the kind of "news" that the Kremlin dins daily into the startled ears of those whom we hope to have as our friends. We know this propaganda is a gross exaggeration, but nevertheless, it is effective.

The lack of equality of rights accorded to our Negro citizens has furnished the Soviet propaganda machine with valuable and effective items. In news stories circulated in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Hungary, and China, there is a steady repetition of the lowly status of our Negro citizens. For example, in an item circulated in Czechoslovakia on March 14, 1951, the Soviet-controlled news agency stated:

> In the United States a person who has black skin cannot forget that he is a Negro. He is continually reminded of his race and in various ways: from the warning of the train conductor that the coach for Negroes is in the rear; to the poster on the church which says that services are reserved to whites; from election booths protected by white gangsters to prevent the admission of members of an inferior race; to the factory which has no jobs for colored people; from the judge who proceeds according to the unwritten law of Negroes always being guilty; to the masked Ku Klux Klan members who with rifles and whips put into practice the theory of alleged white supremacy.

While these statements are distortions, particularly because they leave the wholly false impression of unbridled discrimination in America, nevertheless the fact that discrimination against our colored citizens exists at all, makes it difficult for the United States to refute absolutely the statements made by the Moscow radio.

I should like to mention another development in Soviet propaganda techniques since the Korean War. Negroes, according to Soviet releases, are being used "as cannon fodder in this Korean adventure." In an article disseminated in Czechoslovakia on March 14, 1951, entitled "United States Negroes do not intend to fight for MacArthur," the Soviet-controlled press alleged that—

> Even on the battlefields of Korea, Negro soldiers feel that they belong to an oppressed and persecuted race, although President Truman cunningly promised them that in Korea they would be equal to whites. The United States imperialists know that they placed in MacArthur's mercenary army an excessive proportion of Negroes. As the old Romans used mostly members of conquered peoples in their wars of expansion, as Hitler put the armies of his allies on the most dangerous sectors of the eastern front, the rulers of America of today use "allies" and "inferior colored races" to gain mastery in the Far East and to enslave the people of China and Korea. They husband their white men and send instead to the Korean front an excessive number of Negroes.

The United States has used Negro troops, according to the same report, for another reason: to hide from the colored far-eastern peoples the repelling fact of United States imperialism and feign unity and concord of all races in the freest nation of the world. The black skin of the wretched victims who have been ordered into MacArthur's army serves as a camouflage for the colonial character of the expedition

against the people of Korea. By playing on the Negro question in this utterly falacious manner, the Soviet propaganda is directed toward creating disunity within this country and toward breaking up the unity of the free world which includes many countries with non-Caucasian populations.

Do some persons protest that this is merely Soviet propaganda and worthy of no respect because it lies? All right. But while these examples which I have just cited may appear farfetched and incapable of acceptance, I should like to indicate to my distinguished colleagues in the Senate that this kind of Soviet propaganda is not without considerable success. Not so long ago I had an opportunity to talk with an Indonesian friend. He questioned the fact that the United States was a democracy. "After all," he said, "were there not 486 lynchings in the United States in 1949? Did not white mobs exploit and hunt down colored men?" I pointed out that there had been only three lynchings in the United States in that year, that the figure which he cited was much exaggerated, and that this small number reflects in reality the extensive progress we have made in this country toward civil rights for all. But I had to admit to myself that my answer was not at all what I should have liked it to be, that even one lynching was one too many, and that its commission impairs our position as the great leader of democracy and freedom.

Sometime later, in talking to a man from Nigeria, educated in Cambridge, England, I was amazed to hear the same query, down to the exact number of lynchings mentioned by my Indonesian friend. The use of the identical number made me realize the effectiveness of the Communist propaganda blared out into those areas of the world inhabited by dark races.

There was another angle to the comments made to me by the Nigerian which I believe is of significance. To him the lack of equality of opportunity in the United States for colored peoples was only one aspect of American attitudes toward all colored peoples everywhere in the world. The United States, he said, regards colored men as peoples it can exploit, and to carry out this program the United States has become the greatest imperialist power in the world. It is bent on preserving the status quo of colonialism and imperialism in Africa, the Near East, and southeast Asia. The United States, in the view of this man from Nigeria—and mind you, a highly-educated person—has no genuine interest in supporting social and economic change in Africa and Asia. It desires only to exploit as it exploits at home, so goes the propaganda.

Soviet propaganda has done an effective job of putting American democracy on the defensive. It seems to me a sad commentary that Americans have to be apologetic for the weaknesses in our great democracy, that so far we have been unable to face the Soviet propaganda machine squarely disproving absolutely the statements which it makes.

Unfortunately the charges of discrimination can be validated even by visitors to this country. There are many people from all over the world who come to this great land to study, to see what makes America a world leader. All are impressed with America's industrial strength, its material power and wealth, and its scientific approach to the solution of man's conflict with nature. They visit our mammoth river projects—the TVA and Hoover Dam; they tramp through our gigantic automobile factories in Detroit; they learn of the tremendous advances in atomic energy production, and in the fields of medicine, sanitation, child and health care.

People everywhere respect, honor, and accept America's great leadership in the field of science and technology. Here we are strong. We can and do face the world with pride and assurance.

In the area of self-government, of representative government, we again set the pace—lead the field. We have proven our ability to govern and to maintain a strong economy. People everywhere respect America for its political organization and processes.

But democracy is more than achievement, more than material progress, more than elections and government. Democracy is essentially a faith of freedom, of equality, of human dignity, and brotherhood.

It is the spirit of democracy that we need to strengthen. That spirit has been the victim of a lingering and stubborn infection which saps our strength. I refer to the infection of discrimination. This is the skeleton in our closet. Our enemies have exposed it. They parade our sin before the world.

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To people stirred with the spirit of nationalism, seeking to establish their own independence as free and equal people and nations, human relations are paramount. Acceptance as equals is the prerequisite to friendship.

A basic criterion for leadership is that leaders must set an example of righteousness and benevolence if they are to expect support. Only by proper behavior can they command the allegiance and respect of their followers.

Recently a friend told me about a speech he had just heard an Egyptian make to a large audience. During the question period one of the listeners asked the speaker what he thought of the United States. He replied, "The United States has made great material progress." Period. The implication was clear. A reference to American ideals, values, and democracy was conspicuous by its absence.

To cite another especially pertinent incident. The State Department informs me that not long ago there was in a Nigerian newspaper, published in Lagos, a news report involving a Nigerian citizen named Dr. Obi, with advanced degrees from London and Canterbury, who represented Nigeria at the Foreign Summer Seminary of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the International Congress of Mathematicians, and the Congress of Fluid Mechanics at Harvard University in 1950. Here is an able, experienced, educated man. According to the newspaper report, Dr. Obi was refused service in a restaurant on Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, only a 10-minute walk from the State Department and close to the White House. Our sin of discrimination in this instance, here in the Nation's Capital, severely damaged our prestige abroad and lost us a friend.

There are other incidents like the ones I have brought to the attention of the Senate which make it easier for the Soviet propagandists to demonstrate to the peoples of Africa and Asia whom we want as our friends, that America does not really believe in democracy and freedom for all. At the United Nations in New York, many foreign delegates find it difficult to secure housing because of their color. Indian visitors and students wear their native costumes in the United States largely for the purpose of being recognized as Indians from India so they will not be subject to the humiliation of discriminatory treatment in restaurants and other places.

Those responsible for the conduct of our foreign policy are aware of the danger to our prestige and standing in the world as a result of discriminatory practices in America. In May, 1946, speaking for the Department of State, Dean Acheson, who was then Under Secretary of State, said:

> The existence of discrimination against minority groups in this country has an adverse effect upon our relations with countries. An atmosphere of suspicion and resentment in a country over the way a minority is being treated in the United States is a formidable obstacle to the development of mutual understanding and trust between the two countries. We will have better international relations when these reasons for suspicion and resentment have been removed.

Mr. President, I repeat that every visitor to foreign countries who comes back to our country, every representative of our Nation who returns to report to our officialdom, in Congress and in our executive branch, says that our No. 1 problem in the underdeveloped areas of the world is the problem of racial discrimination.

Fortunately, we live in a country where it is possible to institute change by democratic progress. We can make improvements and correct weaknesses in the American society. We do not live in a frozen society where change is due only to the whims of a few. We can establish ourselves as an example of a dynamic, functioning democracy so that our ideas are tested by actual experience.

At no time in the history of the United States has our country been in such a precarious international situation, and at no time in our history has it been so imperative to make America a strong practicing democracy, setting the example for others in the world and earning the loyalty and regard of free men.

Justice Is Winning

I do not cite these stories and examples of Communist propaganda being spread into every village and hamlet of the world where Soviet tentacles can reach for the purpose of acting as an oracle of despair. This would be not only foolish and wrong but would be a disservice to those millions of people in this country who have worked diligently and with towering success to end the menace of discrimination wherever it

crops up. Justice for all our brothers—black, white, yellow, red, or brown—is winning in America. And I am overjoyed to stand before this great parliamentary body, so genuinely symbolic of the democracy which is America, to report that the end of discriminatory practices, which have been such a tragic blight on our democracy, is at least in sight.

Mr. President, we spend a great deal of time in America and elsewhere in the world pointing out that the United States is a democratic nation. Let me say right here that there can be no legitimate question that this is a true and accurate statement. America is a great democracy, as any fair and observant person will know who goes into its highways and byways to talk to its people and to observe its activity.

The people of America believe in freedom—believe that all alike should have the opportunity to develop themselves in the manner in which they choose and to the degree which is within them. These are not idle words or false words of half-truth. They are words that reflect the fundamental attitude and deep feeling of those who live within the confines of the United States and who know what it means to be a part of a society which is based on these values. Deep within the individuals who make up our democracy lies a sense of justice which no one who has any understanding at all of what this means can disparage or treat lightly.

An American Dilemma

Some few years ago the brilliant Swedish social scientist, Gunnar Myrdahl, was responsible for an exhaustive study of precisely this seeming conflict in American values. His conclusion in his book, the American Dilemma, showed a remarkable insight into what America is in terms of values and mores. He showed that there can be no question but that Americans are sincere in their democratic faith. Individually, in informal group, in organizations, in governmental institutions, in the daily activity of individual lives, Americans evidence their basic faith in the democratic way of life.

The inconsistency between the American creed and much of the American practice is what Dr. Myrdahl calls the American dilemma. The American people, he says—all the people north, south, east, or west—have feelings of guilt about the inconsistency of their faith and practice. They are not, however, he continues, a hypocritical people. The inconsistency is not hypocritical because Americans constantly talk about their shortcomings and constantly strive to eliminate them. The American history is one of a relentless effort to harmonize our faith in human brotherhood with practice.

Our humble effort on the floor of the Senate at this time, Mr. President, is an example of that American characteristic.

No objective student of our people can deny that the story of America is one of an expanding democracy opening up new opportunities to more and more of our citizens to take their place as full and equal partners in a free society without discrimination.

Voice of the People

We have seen changes take place before our very eyes and within our own lifetime. These changes have been in our mores, in legislation, and in judicial decisions. We are all aware that this striving for full democracy has become a matter of real concern to all of us. Altogether, organizations representing more than 65,000,000 citizens have gone on record favoring legislation assuring full civil liberties to minorities. These organizations varying in purpose and composition have loaned their name, their time, and their effort to the promulgation of legislation at all levels of Government—Federal, State, and local. Churches of all denominations, veterans' groups, labor organizations, chambers of commerce, civic and community organizations, racial and ethnic groups—all are in the midst of the effort. The platform of each of the major political parties contained planks calling for an end to discrimination and the enactment of civil rights legislation. The voice of the American people is being unmistakably heard.

Our courts are making it possible to end segregation and other forms of discrimination in the field of higher education. Antilynching legislation has been enacted throughout America in recent years, particularly in the South. Eleven cities, for example, in Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, and Florida

have recently passed antimask or anti-cross-burning ordinances. These were in: Wilmington, Hickory, Greensboro, Reidsville, Tarboro, and Raleigh in North Carolina; Claxton, Eatonton in Georgia; and West Palm Beach, Orlando, and Hialeah in Florida; Suffolk, Virginia.

Today, as a result of fair employment practices legislation passed in our cities and States, 50,000,000 Americans, more than one-third of our Nation's population, live in communities which have proclaimed by law their opposition to discrimination in employment. This is a particularly noteworthy fact to mention since we are today commemorating the establishment of the first Federal Fair Employment Practices Committee 10 years ago. As a result of the significant strides made by the first FEPC, there were by the end of 1950, 10 States and 19 municipalities with FEPC laws. I am proud of the fact that during my term of office as mayor of the city of Minneapolis, our community was one of the first to enact FEPC ordinances.

We are today making significant strides in the elimination of segregation in the Armed Forces. In 1948, the President created a Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, stating that the policy of the Federal Government was to establish full equality in the Armed Forces. That committee recommended in 1950 the complete integration of minority racial groups in the armed services. I am proud that steps in this direction have already been taken, and are continuing. I commend the leaders of our Armed Forces for the very sensible and forward-looking program which they have inaugurated, which is making steady and noteworthy progress. It remains now for the Congress to act in accordance with the wishes of the vast majority of the people of America. It is only in the Congress, particularly in the Senate of the United States, that the area of civil-rights progress in America is ignored. It is altogether fitting and proper that on this day of commemoration and anniversary, the Senate of the United States may make itself again aware of the need to face up to its responsibilities. In the interest of the continued free existence of our Nation, we must blunt the criticism leveled against our country and, indeed, use our dedication to civil rights as a weapon to turn against the enemies of the free world.

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A Legislative Program

For all these reasons, we have chosen this day to present to the Congress a program for civil rights fully consistent with the traditions and wishes of the American people.

On behalf of myself, the junior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BENTON], the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS], the junior Senator from New York [Mr. LEHMAN], the senior Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], the junior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY], and the junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], I introduce a series of bills designed to carry out such a civil-rights program. These are:

First. A bill to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, or national origin.

Second. A bill to protect persons within the United States from lynching.

Third. A bill outlawing the poll tax as a condition of voting in any primary or other election for national officers.

Fourth. A bill to strengthen the Federal Government machinery for the protection of civil rights by establishing a Commission on Civil Rights in the executive branch of the Government; creating a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights; and by reorganizing the civil rights activities of the Department of Justice through establishing a Civil Rights Division in the Department under an Assistant Attorney General.

Fifth. A bill to provide relief against segregation and other forms of discrimination in interstate transportation.

Sixth. A bill to strengthen existing civil rights statutes.

Seventh. A bill to protect the right to political participation, by effectively protecting individuals against intimidation, coercion, and other interferences with the right to vote; and

Eighth. A bill to strengthen the criminal laws relating to peonage, slavery, and involuntary servitude.

I ask unanimous consent that there be incorporated at the conclusion of these remarks brief statements in connection with each of the bills.

A Wind Is Rising

Our beloved first lady of the world, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, in September 1949, quoted a famous phrase from the

late Thomas Wolfe, ending, "a wind is rising and the rivers flow."

The distinguished American, Mr. Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, used that quotation as the title of a book. There is no doubt in my mind but that a wind is rising in America—a wind that will blow from our shores every particle of the dust of discrimination and then reach in hurricane force spreading the seeds of democracy so that men all over the world can be free.

I send to the desk at this point the series of bills to which I have appropriately referred or mentioned in the course of my remarks. I ask that statements accompanying the bills be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the bills will be received and appropriately referred, and the statements will be printed in the RECORD.

I. FEPC

The bill (S. 1732) to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, or national origin, introduced by Mr. HUMPHREY (for himself and other Senators), was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

The statement presented by Mr. HUMPHREY is as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HUMPHREY ON S. 1732, TO PROHIBIT DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT BECAUSE OF RACE, COLOR, RELIGION, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN

I am particularly proud to propose this bill today, Mr. President, because today is the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the first Fair Employment Practice Committee in the Federal Government. It has been 10 years since this Government went on record in a concrete way with a statement of national policy that there shall be no discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, or national origin. In historical terms, I suppose 10 years is a very short period of time. But in the fast-changing world in which we live today, 10 years is like forever, especially for those in our society who have lived the days of those years in the seemingly unending reality of discrimination. Today on this tenth anniversary of the first Fair Employment Practice Committee, I call upon this Congress to right the wrongs against the minorities and bring to them the justice which is the basis of our democracy.

We are in a period of national emergency. So far, the emergency has not developed into the seriousness of total war and we all, of course, devoutly hope that total war will never again come to the nations and the peoples of the world. But, unfortunately, hoping is not sufficient to quiet our troubles, nor is it a sufficient defense against those nations that have avowed themselves again and again to be our enemy, and the enemy of all who believe in true democracy.

The knowledge that the Allied democracies are regarded as the natural enemy of those governments which practice the evils of totalitarianism is knowledge that cannot be ignored. While we must be ever alert to peaceful solutions, we must also prepare to defend ourselves and our friends against aggression. We are all agreed that the time for preparation is long since past, and so we hastily draw our forces together in the belief that should attack come, we and our allies can, with God's help, withstand it. We face, however, a serious problem in our effort to strengthen ourselves against totalitarian aggression.

A mere glance at population figures reveals a startlingly serious situation. As of today the Soviet Union has under its direct and indirect domination 752,000,000 people, spreading from Peiping to Berlin. Against this 752,000,000, the United States has a population of 152,000,000. Adding the population of our allies that are bound by mutual defense pacts to join us in the struggle, we can still count on a population of 508,000,000. In sheer numbers of people alone, we are clearly outmatched by the Communist world.

I do not quote these figures to bring unnecessary distress and a sense of futility to the democracies, for the statistics need not mean this. Although the population differential is significant, it does not tell the whole story. Unlike the Soviet Union and its satellites, we are a highly industrialized nation, as are many of our allies, with a power potential far above that of the Soviet Union. At the same time, the manpower of the United States is free manpower with all the advantages that come with freedom. This is an asset that can never be paralleled by regimes which depend on coercion and slavery to achieve their ends.

But the population figures do mean that we must plan the use of our manpower with meticulous care and must employ our labor force as efficiently as we possibly can. We have entered a period of tightening labor supply which is becoming more and more pronounced as defense contracts are let with increasing rapidity. By March of this year, 60,179,000 people were employed. Unemployment dropped from 4,700,000 in February of 1950 to 2,147,000 in March 1951. At the same time the Armed Forces had absorbed more than a million men and were continuing to expand.

During the course of this year, we are going to need a shift of at least 5,000,000 men and women into defense production or into the Armed Forces. This is the estimate

of the Labor Department's Defense Manpower Administration. One million of these will go to the Armed Forces to reach the announced goal of 3,500,000, and the other 4,000,000 will have to be shifted into defense production.

Secretary of Labor Tobin assures us that these 4,000,000 workers will be secured and our manpower needs met in this defense period. He says we can turn to the more than 2,000,000 unemployed, to the new workers entering the labor force who are attracted by the good wages in defense production. He counts on more extensive employment of women, of older workers, of handicapped workers, of youth. And he counts on the maximum use of members of minority groups.

But can our manpower resources be stretched even further should the need develop, should there be total war? It is estimated that our 1952 defense program manpower needs will reach 8,500,000 without war. Thousands of men and women are now working at jobs which do not fully use their skills. The President recognized this in his manpower mobilization policy when he called on each individual to "serve in the capacity in which he can contribute most to the total mobilization program." At the same time it is possible to develop more efficient use of manpower through widespread training, upgrading, scientific personnel methods, and progressive handling of labor and human relations.

Consideration of these facts about our labor force, both actual and potential, bring to mind our experience with manpower in World War II when labor supply was short after the unemployed millions were used up. As the supply of labor became tighter, we found that we had to turn to measures never before used in order to assure sufficient supply. We found that we had to assemble statistics on where the manpower in the United States was located and where it was needed. We had to use our United States Employment Service with its 1,700 local offices to guide workers to defense jobs. We had to offer incentives to women to invite their entrance into the labor force. And we had to set up a Fair Employment Practices Committee in order to assure that minority workers would be used efficiently and fairly.

Now we are in a like situation. Labor is short; the international problem is serious; we are in a defense economy. And we are beginning to use much of the equipment and knowledge that we found so necessary and, in fact, indispensable a decade ago when we needed defense manpower. We have agencies collecting, assembling, and analyzing manpower information. We have a public employment service guiding workers to defense jobs. We have the National Security Resources Board acting as the over-all manpower planner. The Department of Defense is recruiting for the Armed Forces. But there is an agency that we lack, that we need, that we once had—a Fair Employment Practice Commission.

We cannot afford to waste manpower in this country any longer. But we are wasting it. Discrimination in employment is a waste. This would seem to be clear merely on the face of it. When a skilled mechanic is unable to assume his rightful place as a member of his craft simply because of his color, the economy suffers. His skill as a mechanic is not utilized, his education and training is wasted, and because he cannot earn he cannot consume the economy's goods. We all know the dire consequences to an economy when its people cannot consume its goods. This I call waste of human resources.

Think of the enormous cost to an area such as we have in the United States where a large segment of the population is thus discriminated against. Responsible estimates have put the total cost of discrimination in America at more than $15,000,000,000 a year. This is not only waste—this is tragedy.

And it may very well be that this is a tragedy that can pay off in the very near future in dividends for the Soviet Union.

There are, of course, other considerations, sociological and psychological, which have been treated exhaustively in the more than 5 years of legislative history on proposed measures similar in content and purpose to the one we are now introducing. When jobs are withheld from a minority group, that group is forced to a lower economic level, to a lower level of health, housing, and education. We know that the average life of the Negro is 10 years shorter than that of the white population. An appalling statistic—one which has within it the pitiful question, "How could this happen in America?" Negro women die three times more often in childbirth than white women. We who dare not estimate the value of a single life should ponder this incalculable cost to our society.

Some persons argue that while the place of minorities in our society is unfortunate, this cannot be changed or alleviated except by education and persuasion. I have no quarrel with the argument tht these are useful devices, and, indeed, our bill relies extensively on the use of investigation, conference, conciliation, and community organization as tools for the elimination of discrimination in the employment field. But these are not sufficient; they are not nearly sufficient.

Many oppose legislation because they say you cannot legislate against intolerance. This is manifestly true. But it overlooks the distinction that while intolerance or prejudice is a state of mind which laws cannot reach, discrimination, such as denying a qualified man the right to earn a living, is a separate act which law can effectively regulate.

Five years ago in its letter of resignation to the President, the wartime Fair Employ-

ment Practice Committee stated the need for legislation firmly and clearly. It said:

"Conformity to the national policy of nondiscrimination will come only when fair employment practice legislation has been adopted by the Congress. We recommend, therefore, that you continue to urge upon the Congress the passage of legislation which will guarantee equal job opportunity to all workers without discrimination because of race, color, religious belief, or national origin."

President Truman, in submitting his request to Congress in 1946 for legislation establishing a new FEPC, stated:

"The degree of effectiveness which the Fair Employment Practice Committee was able to attain has shown once and for all that it is possible to equalize job opportunity by governmental action, and thus eventually to eliminate the influence of prejudice in the field of employment."

So too, the President's Committee on Civil Rights, a nonpartisan group of distinguished citizens representing all segments of American life which did as exhaustive and authoritative a study of civil rights practices in America as has yet been done by a public body, recommended the enactment of a Federal fair employment practice act prohibiting all forms of discrimination in both public and private employment.

But would passage of an act such as the one I am proposing really alleviate the problem of discrimination against minority groups in employment? Fortunately, we have actual experience in this country to which we can look for an answer. The experience begins with Executive Order No. 8802, whose anniversary we commemorate today, which was issued on June 25, 1941, by President Roosevelt who stated: "No nation combating the increasing threat of totalitarianism can afford arbitrarily to exclude huge segments of its population from its defense industries."

Executive Order 8802 said in part: "I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or Government because of race, creed, color, or national origin." The order was to be enforced by the Committee on Fair Employment Practice which was to "receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in violation of the provisions of this order and * * * take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be valid."

In May of 1943, Executive Order 8802 was followed by Order 9346 which set up the committee as an independent agency in the Executive Office of the President with a full-time salaried chairman and six part-time members from management, labor, and the general public who served without compensation. Fifteen regional and subregional offices located in major industrial centers began active operation.

In the 3 years during which this Committee was in existence, some 8,000 cases were docketed, the largest portion of which originated in the industrialized East. The West came second, the South last in number of cases. After careful screening, two-thirds of the cases were dismissed, either for lack of valid complaint, or because the Committee had no jurisdiction over them. The Committee reported that about 800 employers never knew that they had been charged with discrimination, since FEPC, without notice to them, persuaded the complainants to withdraw their charges for one of the reasons indicated.

It soon became clear that the minority group against whom discrimination was practiced most frequently was the Negro-American. In fact, Negroes filed 80 percent of FEPC complaints. Other minority groups most frequently subjected to discrimination during the war were Jews, Mexican-Americans, and a scattering of religious creeds, as well as Japanese-Americans, aliens, and citizens of recent origin in foreign countries.

The discriminatory practices faced by minority group workers were rated in order of importance as follows: Refusal to hire, unwarranted dismissal, refusal to upgrade, discriminatory working conditions, and refusal to refer qualified workers for employment.

During its most active 2 years, FEPC closed an average of 250 cases each month. What was the result? Some war-plant gates were thereby opened to minorities hitherto refused admittance. Government and industry were persuaded to advance many minority workers to their established skills. Members of religious sects were permitted to celebrate holy days under arrangements that they would make up the lost war work. A number of newspapers were persuaded to discontinue discriminatory want ads. Many worker groups withdrew their objections to working side by side with minority group members.

In adjusting discrimination cases, the Committee came upon a very interesting and useful fact. It was found that the majority of all discrimination cases could be settled by informal negotiation, when there is a third party in attendance with authority to act if necessary. The Committee, in transmitting its final report to the President, concluded:

"The Committee's wartime experience shows that in the majority of cases discriminatory practices by employers and unions can be reduced or eliminated by simple negotiation when the work of the negotiator is backed up by firm and explicit national policy."

It went on to say that two fundamentally hopeful facts developed out of the Government's efforts to open wartime opportunities to all workers:

"1. Employers and workers abandoned discrimination in most cases where Government intervened.

"2. Once the barriers were down, the workers of varying races and religions worked together efficiently and learned to accept each other without rancor."

The committee did find, however, that there were occasional cases which could not be settled by any amount of persuasion and negotiation. Although few in number, these cases received wide publicity, thus giving the impression that FEPC normally met with unyielding opposition. This wholly false impression was emphasized through the public hearings which were held and the public expressions of defiance by some recalcitrant employers and unions. It was these cases which authority alone could settle.

But final authority was never given to this Federal Fair Employment Practice Committee, and this was its great weakness, a weakness which we propose to correct in our bill. FEPC's unsolved cases show that Executive authority is not enough to insure compliance in the face of stubborn opposition. Those employers and those few unions which successfully defied the national policy of nondiscrimination proved that persuasion must be backed by legislative authority. Legislative authority must provide for an enforceable penalty in order to assure full compliance with the law. As Daniel Webster put it—"A law without a penalty is simply good advice."

But even without enforcement powers and without an adequate budget and sufficient staff, the record made by FEPC proves conclusively, if proof be needed, that the authority of Government can succeed in bringing an end to the blight of employment discrimination. During the war years, Jews, Negroes, and members of other minorities gained a foothold in industries and occupations which previously had been denied them. Although the acute manpower shortage set the stage for these gains, they were in large measure directly attributable to the work of FEPC.

Hundreds of cases disproved the assumption of the inexperienced that it can't be done, that white workers would not work side by side with workers from minority groups. Threats to strike if minorities entered the plant evaporated when responsible employers and unions took firm positions against discrimination.

With the cessation of hostilities and the liquidation of FEPC, it became abundantly clear that the wartime gains made by the members of minority groups in employment were threatened by a revival of discriminatory employment practices. As early as 1947 the Department of Labor's Labor Market Reports showed a widespread tendency on the part of American industry to return to earlier discriminatory practices of last hired, first fired for the member of minority groups.

During reconversion, FEPC made a study of seven war centers, all of which, except Chicago, showed a heavier loss of jobs by Negro than by white workers to accept the lowest paid jobs. The Census Bureau's unemployment rates between July 1945 and May 1946 showed a consistently higher rate of unemployment among Negroes. Negro income, generally lower than white income, took a sharp over-all cut during the year that saw the war's close.

Despite this return to prewar employment practices on the part of many industries, it cannot be accurately said that all the effects of FEPC were short-lived. Undoubtedly the greatest advance, that with long-range effects, was the arousal of the conscience of the Nation against the maintenance of underprivileged racial and religious groups within our own borders.

That the Nation has been aroused is evident when one considers the activity that has been taking place in the field of minority rights since the end of the war.

I have mentioned previously in my introductory remarks some of the accomplishments in the fair employment practices field. But I should like here to analyze them a little more thoroughly.

Private organizations of all kinds and of varied purposes have lent themselves to the promulgation of law—Federal, State, and local—to the end of fair employment practice. Churches of all denominations, labor organizations, veterans' groups, civic organizations, racial and ethnic groups, all have gone on record for a new national fair employment practice act. All together these groups amount to upward of 65,000,000 citizens, after discounting the overlapping of the various organizations.

The organizations have been effective. Fifty million Americans today, or more than one-third of our country's population, live in communities governed by State and municipal FEPC laws. Congress, from the seventy-eighth session on, has been made well aware of the problem by the large number of bills introduced proposing a permanent fair employment practice act. The President has repeatedly urged upon the Congress adoption of civil-rights legislation, including Fair Employment Practices Committee. Through two Executive orders in July of 1948 the President used the powers of his office to realize the objectives of some of his program.

One of the Executive orders, that establishing a policy of nondiscrimination on account of race, color, religion, or national origin within the Federal service and directing the establishment of a Fair Employment Board within the United States Civil Service Commission, followed on the heels of a study of one Government agency by the National Committee on Segregation in the Nations' Capital. In this study samples of Negro and white workers were matched for the variables of age, sex, marital status, educational level, length of services, job title, and grade when inducted.

In April 1947 a check on promotion and resignation for the sample was made. The

results were shocking. The whites had received 12 grade promotions in a total service of 22 years. This was an average of one promotion for each two man-years of service. The Negroes had received two grade promotions in a total service of 28 man-years. This was one promotion for each 14 years. In other words, it took the average Negro seven times as long as the average white to get a promotion, in spite of the fact that almost all of the variables which could effect promotion were exactly the same.

To carry out the President's Executive order, the Fair Employment Board has issued instructions requiring each Federal department or agency to designate officers in their department and field offices, vested with full operating responsibility for carrying out the President's fair employment objectives. Under these instructions each department or agency is required to make known the names of these officers to all of its employees.

The second 1948 Executive order established a President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services. The order, in addition to setting up the committee, provided:

"It is hereby declared to be the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed forces without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin. This policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morals."

The report of the committee was submitted in 1950 and recommended a complete integration of minority racial groups in the armed services. By the time of the report, steps in this direction had already been taken, and the movement for integration was well underway. This is not to say that there is no room for improvement in the practices of the armed services, for there is much still that must be done to end discrimination there, but the beginning has been made and the policy has been set.

As I have said previously, both houses of Congress have, since 1944, been considering legislation establishing a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission. Each session new bills are introduced by Members from both sides of the aisle. In the Seventy-eighth Congress, three identical bills were introduced in the House, hearings were held and the House Committee on Labor reported favorably. In the Senate a companion bill was introduced, hearings were held, and a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare reported favorably. No further action was taken.

In the Seventy-ninth Congress, 13 bills creating a permanent FEPC were submitted in the House. A bill was reported out of committee and referred to the House Committee on Rules which refused to report it. A discharge petition failed for want of sufficient signatures. In the Senate, a bill very similar to the House bill was introduced and reported favorably by committee. This time the bill was called up, but was filibustered for 3 weeks. A vote on cloture was taken and defeated, thus ending discussion of the bill during that Congress.

Even in the great "do-nothing" Congress, the Eightieth, there was some activity on FEPC. Sixteen bills were introduced in the House, but the Committee on Education and Labor failed to take action. Hearings were held by a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and a bill was reported favorably by the full committee. Characteristic of this Congress, no further action was taken.

Certainly no one will forget the Eighty-first Congress on FEPC. Three bills were introduced in the Senate; the committee reported out one and it was called up. For many long memorable weeks the motion to take up the bill was filibustered and, of course, it was filibustered to death, but not before three votes on cloture were taken and defeated. In the House, 10 bills were introduced and, after great effort, one of them passed the House. It did not do so, of course, until it was drastically amended and reduced in effectiveness, but at least we know now that it is within the realm of possibility for Congress to pass a fair employment practice act. The House which is most responsive to the majority will, acted.

Again we stand before this Congress, the Eighty-second, and call for the enactment of a permanent fair employment practice act. I am a hopeful man, Mr. President, I am ever hopeful. But I am a wondering man, too, and wondering leads to astonishment in the case of FEPC legislation, astonishment over the fact that the Congress still hesitates to enact Federal fair employment practice legislation. With the millions of citizens in this country constantly calling for civil rights legislation, with State and local governments throughout the country setting up State and local FEPC's, with the Soviet Union convincing millions of people all over the world that America does not really practice what it preaches, with a serious manpower shortage developing as we get closer and closer to all-out war, still Congress refuses to legislate. I realize full well, Mr. President, that one of the reasons which prevented the Senate from acting during the Eighty-first Congress was the thoroughly undemocratic rule of the Senate adopted early in 1949, called the Wherry Resolution, which made it difficult for the Senate to apply cloture and protect itself against a filibuster. For these reasons I am proud to be associated with the distinguished junior Senator from Oregon, Mr. MORSE, and with the distinguished junior Senator from New York, Mr. LEHMAN, in resolutions to

strengthen our rules and allow the Senate to stop a filibuster by a majority vote after full opportunity for reasonable debate.

The rules of the Senate must be changed, but the Senate also must commit itself to the enactment of FEPC legislation with conviction and fiery faith that I have not yet seen in this distinguished hall.

In his State of the Union message of January 5, 1949, President Truman stated to the Congress:

"We in the United States believe that all men are entitled to equality of opportunity. Racial, religious, and other invidious forms of discrimination deprive the individual of an equal chance to develop and utilize his talents and to enjoy the rewards of his efforts.

"Once more I repeat my request that the Congress enact fair employment practice legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment based on race, color, religion, or national origin. The legislation should create a fair employment practice commission with authority to prevent discrimination by employers and labor unions, trade and professional associations, and Government agencies and employment bureaus. The degree of effectiveness which the wartime Fair Employment Practice Committee attained shows that it is possible to equalize job opportunity by Government action and thus to eliminate the influence of prejudice in employment."

Now at a time when millions of new workers are entering the defense forces of our Nation, the Congress has a responsibility to assure them an equality of treatment consistent with the principles of democracy which we profess.

The bill which we are today introducing will fulfill that responsibility. It would prohibit discrimination in employment in any establishment of 50 or more workers engaged in interstate commerce. A 5-man commission appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate for a term of 5 years would enforce the bill.

The bill specifically provides that where a State or local governmental agency has adequate fair employment laws, the commission can cede jurisdiction to that local agency so as to centralize the functions of government and resolve the difficulty at a community level. The bill also requires commission to use every voluntary technique of conference, conciliation and persuasion to settle the charges prior to a formal hearing. Adequate provisions for judicial review are also provided.

II. Antilynching

The bill (S. 1733) to declare certain rights of all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States, and for the protection of such persons from lynching, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. HUMPHREY (for himself and other Senators), was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The statement presented by Mr. HUMPHREY is as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HUMPHREY ON S. 1733, TO PROTECT PERSONS WITHIN THE UNITED STATES FROM LYNCHING

The American people have demonstrated by the continued resolutions of church, labor, business, and fraternal organizations that they desire to rid themselves forever of that bloodiest of stains upon the honor of a democratic Nation, the crime of lynching. Proof that we stand united upon that determination is the fact that both the Republican and the Democratic Parties have pledged their efforts in behalf of legislation in the Congress to make lynching a Federal crime. It is time that the Members of Congress who supported that platform pledge when they offered themselves to the American people for election fulfill that pledge and see to it that the Congress acts immediately.

Antilynching legislation is not new legislation. It has been before the Congress for 22 sessions and it has indeed frequently passed the House of Representatives only to fall before the parliamentary tactics of an entrenched minority in the Senate determined to obstruct the bill. I urge the Congress, however, to open its eyes and see the crying need to override sectional and partisan interests. If our Nation is to survive we must practice at home the freedoms we preach abroad, for lynching is systematic mob violence, directed primarily against the Negro but which threatens, in fact, any minority any place in the United States. Until we, as a nation and as a people, have destroyed every vestige of this crime in the United States, we cannot truthfully declare to the world that all Americans know the meaning of that most fundamental freedom, freedom from fear.

Our bill declares, "Every lynching that occurs within the United States discredits this country among the nations of the world." We cannot afford, not only for the sake of the ideals that tie us to the heritage of Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, and the fathers of our democracy, but also for the sake of our national self-interest, to compromise with freedom any place within our borders. To do so would undermine our moral position as the leader of a free and democratic world determined to resist the encroachments of totalitarian aggression.

It is perhaps true, as is sometimes said, that lynching has all but disappeared and that there is no further need for the enactment of a Federal antilynching bill. It is true that the average number of lynchings has declined sharply from the 50 or more who were lynched each year a generation ago. The fact that it is true is a tribute to the deter-

mination of the American people—all our people in every section of the country, North, South, East, and West—to rid their communities of this cruel, lawless, and irresponsible practice. It would be sheer folly and serious error, however, were we to allow this development to terminate or diminish our drive for legislation. In fact, it has been the persistent efforts in behalf of Federal legislation which have played an important role in awakening community consciousness.

There is one other factor, however, of which we must be constantly aware. The statistics with regard to the extent of lynching reflect not only community awareness but also the fact that the techniques of the crime have been modified radically. We have no record of the number of people who have disappeared, the number who have received injuries from mob violence and remain silent, and the vast numbers of families and their friends who heed in silent terror the lesson that a Negro is not yet a free American. The replacement of the noose with the ax handle in no way diminishes the need for Federal action.

Furthermore, even if it be assumed that the actual number of lynchings is small, the ultimate fact remains that in a nation founded on freedom lynching is akin to treason against the democratic way of life. A single lynching, like a single act of treason, is one too many.

It is because the techniques of the crime have changed that we must be particularly wary in the type of legislation we enact. Lynching today is rarely the public demonstration of former years sponsored by the infamous Ku Klux Klan and participated in by leading citizens and public officials. Lynching, 1951 style, as we have demonstrated, tends to be more covert. Let us, therefore be wary of legislation already introduced in the Congress which would in name go by the title of antilynching legislation, but in fact be powerless in its provisions to meet the need.

The present need for effective Federal antilynching legislation was clearly pointed out as recently as 1947 in the thoughtful and painstaking report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. That distinguished committee, headed by Mr. Charles E. Wilson, who was then president of General Electric and is today Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, strongly urged the prompt enactment of adequate legislation. Moreover, the committee made specific recommendations as to the content of the necessary legislation. Our bill conforms in detail with those recommendations.

1. The Committee on Civil Rights urged that lynching be given broad definition. Our bill in section 5 (a) defines lynching as mob violence which is committed because of the victim's race, creed, color, national origin, ancestry, language, or religion, or which is committed against the person accused of crime as a tragic substitute for the ordinary processes of criminal justice.

2. The committee urged that legislation, to be adequate, must condemn both private individuals and public officials who "mete out summary punishment and private vengeance" and must also condemn public officials who are derelict in their duty to bring members of lynch mobs to justice. Our bill in sections 6 and 7 is carefully drawn to accomplish these objectives.

3. The committee urged legislative authorization so that suspected lynchings can be investigated by the Federal Government immediately. Section 8 of our bill directs the Attorney General to institute such full and prompt investigations.

4. The committee urged "adequate and flexible penalties ranging up to $10,000 and 20-year prison terms." Section 6 of our bill provides for a fine of $1,000, or 1 year's imprisonment, or both, for anyone who aids, abets, or participates in a lynching. If, however, the lynching results in death or maiming or serious physical or mental injury or in serious damage to property, penalties up to a $10,000 fine or 20 years' imprisonment may be imposed. Section 7 of our bill deals specifically with governmental officers or employees and provides for fines of up to $5,000 and up to 5-year prison terms for officials who fail to make all diligent efforts to prevent lynchings or who are derelict in bringing members of lynching mobs to justice.

5. The committee, in discussing the general policy of sanctions in civil rights cases, said that "the potential use of civil sanctions * * * is very great." Our bill specifically provides for civil action in behalf of a lynching victim or his next of kin for damages resulting from his injury or death. Any person who violates this law, whether a private individual or a Government official, is to be held civilly liable as well as the State or governmental subdivision thereof in which the lynching takes place, unless the officers responsible for police enforcement have carried out their duties with diligence.

Lynching has robbed thousands of Americans of their lives, millions more of their freedom to walk erect in their own land, and has done serious damage to the prestige of our country here and abroad. The responsibility for lynching is national in scope. The prompt enactment and the vigorous enforcement of this bill will help discharge that responsibility.

III. Poll Tax

The bill (S. 1734) outlawing the poll tax as a condition of voting in any primary or other election for national officers, introduced by Mr. HUMPHREY (for himself and other Senators), was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

The statement presented by Mr. HUMPHREY is as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HUMPHREY ON S. 1734, OUTLAWING THE POLL TAX AS A CONDITION OF VOTING IN ANY PRIMARY OR OTHER ELECTION FOR NATIONAL OFFICERS

This bill would outlaw once and for all the poll tax in national elections. It decreeing that no State shall exact a price of admission to the Federal voting booth, it advances the United States a long step forward on the road to universal suffrage.

The evil of the poll tax has long been recognized. Although Congress has exempted servicemen from the poll tax and the tax has been abolished by State legislatures in all but six States, there are still millions of Americans to whom the priceless heritage of voting is a luxury. Today, when the very meaning of freedom is challenged by the ruthless forces of totalitarianism, Americans can no longer tolerate this excise on democracy.

To eliminate this obstacle in voting, our bill declares it unlawful "to levy, collect, or require the payment of, any poll tax" as a condition of voting in any primary or other election for President, Vice President, Senator, or Member of the House of Representatives. The bill empowers Federal district courts to enjoin or otherwise prevent violations of the act and authorizes the aggrieved voter or the Federal Government to bring civil suit for relief should a violation take place.

The basis of a democracy is that its government rests on the consent of the governed. The machinery for expressing that consent is the right to vote. The history of our Government has been one of an expanding democracy. The efforts of our people have been to enlarge the area of suffrage. We have, with slow and yet deliberate movement, been removing the blights on our democracy. Property, religious, and sex qualifications have all disappeared. Racial qualifications have now largely been abolished and exist only by subterfuge and indirection.

It might be of interest for the Senate of the United States to recall that during our early days immediately following the Revolutionary War our Colonies had many types of suffrage qualifications. The Colonies of New York, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire required the ownership of real estate stated in terms of value as a condition for voting. The Colonies of North Carolina and Virginia required real estate stated in terms of acres as a condition of voting. Delaware, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Georgia, South Carolina, and Maryland required either real estate or other property. In New Jersey it was necessary to possess fifty pounds of proclamation money before a resident could vote. In Pennsylvania it was necessary for an individual to have paid the public taxes before he could vote.

These property and tax-paying qualifications for voting have all been removed. They have been removed as the people have constantly demonstrated their faith in democratic government and as they have come to earn for themselves and gain for themselves the power to rule. It will be observed from a table which I am hereby incorporating in the RECORD at this point that these undemocratic and restrictive qualifications are now all removed and have been removed in most of our States for many years.

TABLE 1.—*Duration of property and taxpaying qualifications*

	Property qualifications ended in—	Taxpaying in—
Connecticut	1818	1845
Delaware	1792	1897
Georgia	1789	1798
Maryland	1810	(1)
Massachusetts	1821	1863
New Hampshire	1784	1792
New Jersey	1844	(1)
New York	1821	1826
North Carolina	1856	1868
Pennsylvania	(1)	1933
Rhode Island	1842	(?)
South Carolina	1778	1810
Virginia	1850	(1)
Tennessee	1834	(1)
Ohio	(1)	1851
Louisiana	(1)	1845
Mississippi	(1)	1832

[1] Had none.

Vermont and Kentucky came into the Union in 1791 and 1792, respectively, and Indiana in 1816 but without property or taxpaying qualifications. After Mississippi, in 1817, no State came in with a property or taxpaying qualification.

One other restriction on suffrage and thus an obstacle to democratic government was the sex qualification on voting. It was not until 1920 when the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was adopted that the full suffrage was granted to women.

The change came about slowly and in parts. Women were first given the right to vote on school matters in certain States. Then they were given the right to vote on tax and bond loans. Finally they were given the right to cast their ballots on the same terms as men.

The most serious obstacle to the suffrage that remains is the poll tax. It has its roots in an attempt by a number of States to prevent the Negro from voting. Its effect, however, is frequently also to disenfranchise the poor white as well.

The fifteenth amendment to the Constitution once and for all prohibited the States from denying the suffrage to any American on account of his race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Prior to that, of course, the Negro had been considered a slave and was thus excluded by law from voting in most States. It is interesting, however, that even prior to the Civil War the States of Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Rhode Island, and Vermont never excluded the Negro from voting.

Poll tax laws were enacted following the period of Reconstruction. There are historical reasons for these laws, Mr. President, and I fully appreciate them. The North must never forget and never ignore its share of blame for the serious injury done the South in the period following the Civil War. All the poll tax laws now in effect were enacted between 1890 and 1903. That sorry era in our national history explains to a large extent the reason for the lingering prejudices which still continue to exist in many sections below the Mason-Dixon Line.

In an attempt to keep the Negro from voting, a number of States used ingenious legal devices. The most famous of those are the "grandfather clause," the white primary, and the poll tax. The one that remains today is the poll tax.

Whatever historical reasons there may be for the poll tax, however, there can be no justification for this undemocratic infringement upon the franchise. The purpose of the poll tax was to limit the electorate and that it has done. In Virginia, for example, one of the six remaining poll tax States, the number of votes cast in the election of 1900, the last election before the enactment of the poll tax, was 266,000. The number voting in Virginia in the election of 1902, the next election after the tax was enacted, was 136,000. The poll tax evidently caused a reduction in the electorate of 49 percent. Another State which illustrates the extent to which the poll tax was successful in limiting the electorate was Mississippi, which enacted its poll tax in 1890. The number of votes cast in the election prior to the enactment of the tax was 117,000. In the very next election the number voting was 52,000, a reduction of 56 percent.

The poll tax continues to disenfranchise American citizens and frustrate the principles of majority representative government. I have asked the Library of Congress to analyze for me the laws which now govern payment of poll tax in the six remaining States, and I include a summary table of the poll-tax-payment requirements and laws in the RECORD at this point:

TABLE 2.—*Poll-tax requirements in 6 States*

State	Annual poll-tax payment	Possible maximum poll-tax payment
Alabama	$1.50	$36.00
Arkansas	1.00	2.00
Mississippi	2.00	6.00
Tennessee [1]	1.00	2.58
Texas	1.00	1.75
Virginia	1.50	5.01

[1] General elections only. Poll tax abolished in primary elections.

Alabama: Payment must be made on or before the 1st day of February preceding the election. Amount, $1.50, payable by persons from 21 to 45 years of age. Back taxes must be paid (constitution, art. VIII, sec. 178, 194; code (1940), title 14, sec. 71; title 17, secs. 12, 136–138; title 51, secs. 237–248).

Arkansas: Payment must be made before October 1. Amount, $1 (constitution, art. III, sec. 1, art. XIV, sec. 3; amendment No. 8; Stat. Ann. (1947; Supp. 1949), secs. 3–104.1, 3–106, 3–108 to 3–109).

Mississippi: Payment must be made on or before the 1st day of February preceding the election. Amount, $2, subject to increase by county supervisors to not more than $3. All persons between the ages of 21 and 60, except those who are deaf and dumb or blind or who have lost a hand or foot, are subject to the tax. Taxes for the 2 years preceding the election must be paid (constitution, art. XII, secs. 241, 243; Code Ann. (1942), secs. 3235–3236, 9751; as amended Laws 1950, ch. 238).

Tennessee: Payment of tax for the year preceding the election must be made 60 days before election. Amount, $1, payable by male inhabitants between the ages of 21 and 50, except those who are deaf, dumb, blind, or incapable of labor and of earning a livelihood (constitution, art. II, sec. 28; art. IV, sec. 1; art. XI, sec. 12; Code Ann. (Williams, 1934), secs. 2027, 4820, 10239).

Texas: Payment must be made before the 1st day of February next preceding the election. Amount, $1.50, payable by persons between the ages of 21 and 60 who resided in the State in the January preceding the levy, except Indians not taxed, and persons insane, blind, deaf, or dumb, or those who have lost one hand or foot, or are permanently disabled. Counties may levy an additional tax of 25 cents, cities an additional tax of $1 (constitution, art. VI, sec. 2; art. VII, sec. 3; art. VIII, sec. 1; Civil Stat. Ann. (Vernon, 1939), arts. 1030, 2955, 2959, 7046).

Virginia: Payment must be made at least 6 months before the election. Amount, $1.50, payable by all persons over 21, except veterans of the War Between the States and the wives or widows of such veterans. Taxes for the 3 years next preceding the election must be paid (constitution, art. II, secs. 18, 20, 21; art. XIII, sec. 173; code (1950), secs. 24–17, 24–22, 58–49 to 58–51).

Today the statistics clearly demonstrate that those States which have the poll tax thus exclude from a meaningful right of citizenship many millions of people who, because of the poll tax, are prevented from voting. This is serious not only to the States involved. It is also serious to the Nation, since Members of the Senate and Members of the House of Representatives elected from those States vote on crucial matters of national importance when they arrive in the Congress and occupy positions of national power.

It will be of interest to the Senate to see certain statistics in connection with the election of 1948 in those States which had the poll tax in that year. This material was supplied to me by the Library of Congress, and is based on reports of the United States Bureau of the Census and the House of Repre-

sentatives. I am hereby incorporating it in the RECORD at this point:

Comparison of voter participation in poll-tax and non-poll-tax States in the 1948 presidential election

	1 United States population 21 years of age and older	2 Total vote for President	3 Percent adult voters voting
POLL-TAX STATES			
Alabama	1,570,000	214,980	13.7
Arkansas	1,101,000	242,475	22.0
Mississippi	1,161,000	192,190	16.6
South Carolina	1,049,000	142,571	13.6
Tennessee	1,846,000	550,283	29.8
Texas	4,360,000	1,147,245	26.3
Virginia	1,807,000	419,256	34.7
Total	12,894,000	2,909,000	22.6
REPEAL STATES			
Florida	1,488,000	577,643	38.9
Georgia	1,776,000	418,760	23.6
Louisiana	1,502,000	416,326	27.7
North Carolina	2,074,000	791,209	38.1
Total	6,840,000	2,203,938	32.2
NON-POLL-TAX STATES			
Arizona	380,000	177,065	46.6
California	6,802,000	4,021,538	59.1
Colorado	730,000	515,237	70.6
Connecticut	1,378,000	883,518	64.1
Delaware	196,000	139,073	71.0
Idaho	318,000	214,816	67.6
Illinois	5,927,000	3,984,046	67.2
Indiana	2,558,000	1,656,214	46.5
Iowa	1,718,000	1,038,264	60.4
Kansas	1,303,000	788,819	60.5
Kentucky	1,635,000	822,658	50.3
Maine	570,000	264,787	46.5
Maryland	1,382,000	596,735	43.2
Massachusetts	3,236,000	2,155,347	66.6
Michigan	3,985,000	2,109,609	52.9
Minnesota	1,907,000	1,212,226	63.6
Missouri	2,624,000	1,578,628	60.2
Montana	321,000	224,278	69.9
Nebraska	849,000	488,939	57.6
Nevada	91,000	62,117	68.3
New Hampshire	367,000	231,440	63.1
New Jersey	3,279,000	1,949,555	59.5
New Mexico	301,000	185,767	61.7
New York	10,053,000	6,274,527	62.4
North Dakota	332,000	220,716	66.5
Ohio	5,196,000	2,936,071	56.5
Oklahoma	1,445,000	721,599	49.9
Oregon	1,109,000	524,080	47.3
Pennsylvania	7,119,000	3,735,149	52.5
Rhode Island	507,000	326,098	64.3
South Dakota	388,000	250,105	64.5
Utah	371,000	276,305	74.5
Vermont	238,000	123,382	51.8
Washington	1,671,000	905,059	54.2
West Virginia	1,104,000	[1] 748,750	67.8
Wisconsin	2,148,000	1,276,800	59.4
Wyoming	172,000	101,425	59.0
Total	73,710,000	43,720,742	59.3
United States	93,444,000	48,833,680	51.9

[1] 10 States give registration figures and the remainder apparently give estimates. In this case, the estimate is obviously too large.

956270—39584

The poll tax is a threat to democracy not only because of its undesirable political consequences but because it has damaging social consequences. It affects that segment of the population which has the lowest per capita income. When those individuals are denied their voice in the choosing of the Government, it is only logical to assume that their desires as to how the Government is to be run will in fact be ignored. We cannot be certain that we indeed have representative government in America so long as we cannot be certain that the Representatives elected to the Congress are chosen by the majority of the people in their respective districts and States.

I think it is fair for me to state that all who have the best interests of our Nation at heart will agree that the poll tax must be abolished. The legislative debate that now takes place in connection with this issue more directly hinges on the question of how the poll tax is to be abolished. Many advocate a constitutional amendment as the means to accomplish this objective. In my honest judgment, Mr. President, I belive that an anti-poll-tax bill enacted by the Congress would be constitutional without an amendment.

There are many who say that the poll tax should be abolished by State action and by State action alone. They, too, condemn the poll tax but believe the most effective way to rid our Nation of its consequences is through local action. Local action, Mr. President, is, of course, always preferable but we have waited too long. These laws have been on the books in most cases for about 50 years. There are resistances to changing the poll tax within the States that now have such a tax because the very forces controlling the instrumentalities in the State government which have the power to abolish the tax are the very ones who benefit most from it. It is expecting a great deal to expect a genuine repeal of the tax by those whom the tax has put into authority.

President Truman in his message on civil rights in 1947 said, "We cannot await the growth of a will to act in the slowest State or the most backward community. Our National Government must show the way." The responsibility rests on the Congress. I pray that the Congress will live up to its responsibilities and accept the challenge.

IV. Strengthen Government Machinery

The bill (S. 1735) to strengthen the Federal Government machinery for the protection of civil rights, introduced by Mr. HUMPHREY (for himself and other Senators), was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The statement presented by Mr. HUMPHREY is as as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HUMPHREY ON S. 1735, TO STRENGTHEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MACHINERY FOR THE PROTECTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS

The Federal Government has a responsibility in all the branches of its Government to protect the civil rights of the American people. To carry out that function, this bill establishes a permanent five-man Commission on Civil Rights to be appointed by the President, sets up a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights, and elevates the existing Civil Rights Unit in the Department of Justice to the status of a division under an assistant attorney general.

Our bill would create a five-man Commission in the executive branch of the Government, to be appointed with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Commission would have the right to conduct studies, investigations, and research necessary to prevent the abridgement and denial of civil rights; to investigate operations and activities of the Government in the field of civil rights; to assist states, counties, municipalities, and private agencies in conducting studies to prevent the abridgment and denial of civil rights; to make an annual report to the President; and to recommend to Congress legislation necessary to safeguard our civil rights. This Commission is designed primarily to be an advisory commission.

Title 2 of our act calls for the appointment of an additional assistant attorney general to be in charge of a civil-rights division of the Department of Justice. If the Federal Government is to live up to its responsibilities to enforce the civil-rights statutes now part of the established law of our land, it is essential its law enforcement agency be strengthened so that it can effectively perform its duties. The protection of civil rights is now and must become further a foremost activity of the Department of Justice. We must be vigilant so that we demonstrate both to the peoples of the world and to our own citizens that our Government is dedicated to the preservation of freedom and democracy. Violations of liberty must therefore be met effectively, immediately, and energetically by the arm of the Federal Government. The existence of a civil-rights division is thus a fundamental part of a realistic program.

Our bill also makes provision for increasing the personnel of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to carry out the duties of the Bureau in its investigations of civil-rights cases. We also provide for the Bureau to include a special training program for its agents responsible for the investigation of civil-rights cases. Here too is an essential plank which should receive the unanimous support of the Congress. Law enforcement is one of the most vital needs of the American society.

Finally, this bill would establish a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights, to be composed of 14 members, 7 Senators, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, and 7 Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker of the House, with due regard for party representation. It shall be the duties of this joint committee to make and conduct a study of matters relating to civil rights and civil liberties; to study means of improving responsibility for and enforcement of civil rights; and to advise with the committees of the Congress who have the legislative responsibility relating to this vital area of our democratic heritage.

It is essential that this joint committee, like any other joint committee of the Congress, should be authorized to hold whatever hearings it deems necessary, with the power of subpena to carry out its functions. One of the important activities should also be that of consulting with representatives of State and local governments and with private organizations vitally interested in the preservation of human rights.

I urge upon the Senate that it act speedily and effectively to enact the provisions of this bill. Whatever considerations there may be calling for further study of other proposals dealing with the area of human rights, there can be no excuse and no justification for further delay as it affects the three basic provisions of this bill. This problem is a serious one and a most complex one which calls for constant study, constant evaluation, and constant effort.

V. No Segregation in Transportation

The bill (S. 1736) providing relief against certain forms of discrimination in interstate transportation, introduced by Mr. HUMPHREY (for himself and other Senators), was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

The statement presented by Mr. HUMPHREY is as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HUMPHREY ON S. 1736, PROVIDING RELIEF AGAINST CERTAIN FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION IN INTERSTATE TRANSPORTATION

Millions of Americans took pride and satisfaction in recent decisions of the Supreme Court declaring segregation and other forms of discrimination in interstate transportation to be illegal. The Supreme Court has again affirmed the basic creed of the American people and their faith in liberty and equality for all men. This bill is introduced to implement and support the existing Supreme Court decisions.

The illegality of racial discrimination in interstate transportation has been conclusively adjudicated in *Morgan* v. *Virginia* (328 U. S. 372 (1946)) and *Henderson* v. *United States* (339 U. S. 816 (1950)). Legislation must be enacted now to provide adequate remedies for such discrimination.

This bill provides that all persons traveling within the jurisdiction of the United States should be entitled to equal treatment in any public conveyance engaged in interstate commerce, without segregation or other discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin.

This bill would also make punishable by fine and subject to a civil suit the conduct of anyone who denies or attempts to deny equal treatment to travelers of every race, color, religion, or national origin in the use of a public conveyance, or carrier.

A final provision of the bill would make it unlawful for the bus, railroad, or other public carrier facility engaged in interstate commerce to segregate or otherwise discriminate against pasengers based on race, color, religion, or national origin. It would also make it unlawful for an officer, agent, or employee of such carrier to so discriminate.

VI. Civil Rights Statutes

The bill (S. 1737) to amend and supplement existing civil rights statutes, introduced by Mr. HUMPHREY (for himself and other Senators), was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HUMPHREY ON S. 1737, TO STRENGTHEN EXISTING CIVIL RIGHTS STATUTES

The need to enlarge the scope of Federal legislation protecting the rights of individuals to liberty, security, and citizenship is very clear. This can be achieved by enacting new legislation and it must also be achieved by strengthening existing civil-rights laws. One such law to be strengthened is a criminal conspiracy statute (18 U. S. C. 241) which has been used to protect rights secured by the Federal Government against encroachment by private individuals and public officers. Section 201 of our bill is designed to achieve that effect. It does so by extending the protection of the Federal Government to any inhabitant of the United States, not just to a citizen alone. Our courts have ruled (*Baldwin* v. *Franks* (120 U. S. 6788)) that an alien does not come within the protection of the statute. In deciding that case the Court stated:

"It may be by this construction of the statute some are excluded from the protection it affords who are as much entitled to it as those who are included; but that is a defect, if it exists, which can be cured by Congress, but not by the courts."

The amendment which our bill proposes would bring the language of the statute into conformity with other supplemental protective statutes (18 U. S. C. 242). Under the broader statutes, the courts have already decided (*United States* v. *Classic* (313 U. S. 299)) that an inhabitant is protected from interference by a State official in his constitutionally protected right to vote in a congressional election or primary. There is more than the need for conformity to support this section, however. The protection of inhabitants is a well-established public policy of our country. We, in fact, subscribed to that policy in the United Nations Charter to promote respect for the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

This bill would make a further change in the existing statute by protecting inhabitants not only when their Federal rights are infringed upon as a result of the conspiracy but also where the infringement is performed by persons acting individually. Whenever a person enjoins, oppresses, threatens, or intimidates any inhabitant of the United States in the free exercise or enjoyment of his rights and privileges, that inhabitant should be protected by our laws.

Our bill would also plug gaps in the existing laws insofar as civil remedies to the aggrieved are concerned. The present statute (sec. 47, title 8) appears to provide a civil remedy whenever a citizen's rights are interfered with as a result of a conspiracy. Even this remedy is inadequate, as demonstrated by a recent Supreme Court decision (*Collins* v. *Hardyman*, June 4, 1951). It appears to me, and I am pleased to report that this and the other recommendations of the bill apparently have the support of the Department of Jutsice, that a civil remedy should be provided the injured person, either where he has been the victim of a conspiracy or the victim of individual action to interfere with his rights and privileges as an inhabitant of the United States. Such an individual, therefore, should have the right to sue those found guilty of violating the law, whether the violators are public officials or private citizens. These suits should be brought in the Federal courts or appropriate State courts, no matter what the sum of money involved in the controversy.

One other question has been raised by the courts (*Screws* v. *United States* (325 U. S. 91)) with regard to the rights, privileges, and immunities which inhabitants of the United States should enjoy. The courts have held (*Pullen* v. *United States* (164 F. (2d))) that our statutes protect inhabitants only against being deprived of their constitutional rights "willfully." The proof of a general "bad" purpose alone may not be enough. We therefore consider it essential to enumerate in some detail some of the rights to be protected by our laws. All of these rights have already been sustained by the courts and are not new. The rights we desire specifically to set forth follow:

1. The right to be immune from exaction of fine without due process of law (*Culp* v. *United States* (131 F. (2d) 93)).

2. The right to be immune from punishment for a crime except after a fair trial and confession after due process of law (*Screws* v. *United States* (325 U. S. 91); *Crews* v. *United States* (160 F. (2) 746); *Moore* v. *Dempsey* (261 U. S. 86); *Mooney* v. *Holohan* (294 U. S. 103)).

3. The right to be immune from physical violence applied to compel a confession of a crime or to exact testimony (*Chambers* v. *Florida* (309 U. S. 227); *United States* v. *Sutherland* (37 F. Supp 344)).

4. The right to be free of illegal restraint such as being detained by a sheriff without jurisdiction (*Catlette* v. *United States* (132 F. (2d) 902); *United States* v. *Trierweiller* (52 F. Supp. 4)).

5. The right to protect the person and property without discrimination by reason of race, color, or national origin (*Catlette* v. *United States; Yick-Wo* v. *Hopkins* (118 U. S. 35)).

6. The right to vote as protected by Federal laws (*United States* v. *Classic* (313 U. S. 299); *United States* v. *Saylor* (322 U. S. 385); *Smith* v. *Allwright* (321 U. S. 649)).

VII. Right To Vote

The bill (S. 1738) to protect the right to political participation, introduced by Mr. HUMPHREY (for himself and other Senators), was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The statement presented by Mr. HUMPHREY is as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HUMPHREY ON S. 1738, TO PROTECT THE RIGHT TO POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The Hatch Act (18 U. S. C. 594) now makes it a crime for anyone to intimidate or coerce an American citizen for the purpose of interfering with his right to vote as he wishes in elections for national office. This law was enacted in 1939, at a time when there was doubt in Congress as to the constitutionality of Federal regulation over nominating primaries. It is clear, however, today that the Federal Government does have the right to regulate the nominating primaries system. This has been so since 1941 and the case of *U. S.* v. *Classic* (317 U. S. 299). It is therefore essential that our laws be clear and unequivocable in this respect.

This bill therefore provides that it is a crime to intimidate or coerce an American citizen and thus interfere with his right to vote in primary and special elections, as well as general elections for Federal office. This bill also makes certain minor technical changes in the existing laws so as to unequivocably declare it to be the right of citizens to vote at any election without distinction as to race, color, religion, or national origin; and that interfering with that right by anyone is a crime. These changes have been requested by the Justice Department, which has been responsible for carrying out the provisions of the law and protecting the rights of the citizens.

It is clear that discrimination against voters on the basis of race or color is a direct violation of the fifteenth amendment (*Smith* v. *Allwright* (321 U. S. 649)), and the equal protection clause of the fourteenth amendment (*Nixon* v. *Herndon* (273 U. S. 536); *Nixon* v. *Condon* (286 U. S. 73)). Our courts have continually ruled that discrimination in voting based on religion or national origin is arbitrary, unreasonable, and "by their very nature odious to a free people whose institutions are founded on the doctrine of equality."

This bill further strengthens the existing civil-rights statutes insofar as voting is concerned by providing in addition to criminal penalties that the party whose voting rights are interfered with can bring a suit for injury against the person or persons who interfered or attempted to interfere with his right to vote. One other provision of our bill would authorize the Attorney General to bring a law suit in the courts to prevent violation of the law or provide relief if the violations take place.

VIII. Peonage

The bill (S. 1739) to strengthen the laws relating to convict labor, peonage, slavery, and involuntary servitude, introduced by Mr. HUMPHREY (for himself and other Senators), was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

The statement presented by Mr. HUMPHREY is as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HUMPHREY ON S. 1739, TO STRENGTHEN THE CRIMINAL LAWS RELATING TO PEONAGE, SLAVERY, AND INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1950, the Department of Justice received 85 complaints concerning possible peonage and involuntary servitude. I am informed that during the current fiscal year, the number of complaints received will probably equal that amount. Peonage, of course, is a form of involuntary servitude rising out of a payment of a debt. It is essential that our laws be strengthened so that this form of involuntary servitude will be eliminated once and for all from our society. This is certainly the intent of the thirteenth amendment to our Constitution.

Our existing laws (secs. 1581, 1583, and 1584 of title 18, U. S. Code) declare the following to be a crime: holding or returning persons to conditions of peonage; arresting persons with the intent of pressing them or returning them to conditions of peonage; kidnaping, arresting, or carrying away persons with the intent that they be sold into

involuntary servitude or held as slaves; enticing, persuading, or inducing persons to go on board vessels with the intent that they be made or held as slaves; and knowingly and wilfully holding persons to involuntary servitude or selling a person into any condition of involuntary servitude.

There are two basic changes which must be made to strengthen these laws. First it is essential to make clear that to hold an individual in involuntary servitude is punishable; secondly, it is important that not only the acts described above be considered criminal, but an attempt to commit the acts be in itself criminal. Every human being must have the right to be protected in this most vital area of his personal security and human diginity.

I am chairman of the Subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. I have had brought to my attention specific evidences of peonage which have been most shocking and disturbing. I have asked the members of my staff to investigate those instances of peonage and to have them brought to the attention of our subcommittee. Their tentative report to me shows that the persons reduced to peonage are impoverished, uneducated colored men, and that all persons having knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the peonage are for one reason or another extremely reluctant to discuss it. The evidence so far accumulated shows this peonage to be associated with a bold and forthright antilabor and antiunion campaign being waged by certain irresponsible employers. The system apparently calls for certain law enforcement officers to release prisoners to the custody of employers when those employers pay the fine or post the bond necessary. The prisoners remain with their employers until the fine is repaid through payroll deductions. When the bond is posted, employment continues until the time of trial. If the accused leaves employment before the time of trial, the bond is withdrawn and the accused is again put in jail.

This is an outrageous state of affairs. There is evidence of conspiracy with police officials which the Justice Department must investigate. Our laws must be strengthened to deal with this problem, and our enforcement offices must be reawakened to the need for firm and serious activity.

956270—39584

Statehood

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The tenor of the Senator's remarks prompts me to call his attention and the attention of Senators who have been listening to his speech to the fact that there are pending upon the calendar of the Senate, approved by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, two bills, the so-called statehood bills. One bill is to admit the Territory of Alaska as a State, and the other to admit the Territory of Hawaii as a State.

Both those bills would accord the full status of citizenship to the citizens of Alaska and Hawaii. In the case of Alaska, of course, there are many native Eskimos and Indians who would thereby be admitted to full status as citizens. In the case of Hawaii there are innumerable citizens of that Territory—Hawaiians, Chinese, Japanese, and other oriental peoples—who, if the Territory were admitted as a State, would be able to carry to all the oriental world the knowledge that the United States means what it says when it talks of equality among the various people.

I hope—in fact, I know—that the Senator from Minnesota will give his support to those bills.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Let me say to the distinguished Senator from Wyoming that as one of his stalwart admirers in this body, I know that he has worked tirelessly and persistently in an effort to have passed the bills providing statehood for Alaska and Hawaii. I will say very frankly that from my point of view the passage of those bills would be equivalent to a revitalization of our foreign policy, in terms of its effectiveness particularly in the Far East. I feel that their passage constitutes a fundamental part of the weapons of democracy as we try to throw back the onrush of Communist ideology.

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The Emancipator

3305 WEST ASHBY
SAN ANTONIO 1, TEXAS

April 5, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
Exec. Dir.,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I try to be careful and at the same time cooperative. I am puzzled by the numerous appeals, usually from some New York Committee with reference to an atrocity committed in the South.

The latest is from the Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, 112 East 19th St., New York 3, with which I have been cooperating. It has reference to a terrible story of rape, sodomy, and assault of a 17-year-old Negro girl by men whose names are given, in Decatur, Ga. I am urged to wire Gov. Arnall. This I am unwilling to do without investigation. It is alleged that in less than six minutes one of the criminals, who confessed, was acquitted. That does not make sense.

Kindly let me have the facts.

Faithfully yours,

John C. Granbery.

John C. Granbery

Civil Rights

April 24, 1945

Dr. John C. Granbery
The Emancipator
3305 West Ashby
San Antonio 1, Texas

Dear Dr. Granbery:

I am sorry to be so late in replying to your letter. Our load of work, instead of getting easier, seems to get heavier every day, and, as you know, it is very difficult to get the right sort of help in this work.

We have followed the case which you mention, and we are still trying to get something done about it. The facts about the case are in brief as follows:

About December 26 three white men (one sailor, two civilians, both of the latter married) accosted a colored man and woman who were on their way home from a church meeting in DeKalb County. The white men had been drinking. They attacked the man, stabbed him seriously. They then put the girl in their car, and assaulted her. Later they took her across the county line in Gwinnett County. They held her there all night, and all attacked her. Next morning they began to discuss what they would do with her. They were all pretty drunk, and the girl realized that she might have a fair chance of fooling them, so she told them that if they would not kill her, she would go home and get $100 which she had saved up and bring it to them. She went immediately to the chief of police in Decatur, the county seat of DeKalb County. The chief knew her and her family as respectable people, and he went with her at once to the cabin. He arrested the boys and took them to Decatur. However, they were claimed by the Gwinnett County chief because the rape had taken place in Gwinnett County. They were soon let out on bond of $1000 apiece. One of the men, the sailor, was tried in DeKalb County on a charge of rape. Of course the defense lawyer knew it was smart to bring the sailor to trial first, because there would be more public sympathy for him than for the civilians. The sailor claimed that the girl consented to sex relations, and he offered quite a number of strong character witnesses. He was acquitted. Other charges remain against him in

DeKalb County, including driving a car while drunk and assault on the Negro man.

In Gwinnett County, all three men are charged with rape, kidnapping, and one or two other offenses. The prosecuting attorney in Gwinnett County feels that he has a good chance to convict the men there. He will have the help of a very good lawyer. We have just learned that the trials in Gwinnett are scheduled for the June term of court. We hope that these trials will take place before the other two men are tried in DeKalb, because the latter trial is likely to result in their acquittal, also, thus prejudicing the prosecution's chance of getting a conviction in Gwinnett.

I do not know that there is anything to gain by wiring Governor Arnall. (One of our Alabama informants who interviewed the county attorney at Abbeville in the Recy Taylor case was told that the letters and telegrams from "outside" had hindered rather than helped.) The most effective pressure comes from local citizens, and I am glad to say that there are many good citizens in Gwinnett County who are anxious to see justice done in this case. Rest assured that the Council, as well as the Georgia Interracial Committee and the Fulton-DeKalb Interracial Committee, will do everything they can.

I have some hope of getting down to Texas in May. Maybe I'll have a chance to see you.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Air Mail

Civil Rts - Local Activities 1948

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ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

You will recall that your organization very kindly joined with the Southern Regional Council in sponsoring a Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights in Atlanta on February 27. The Council wishes to follow up in getting good coverage over the South through local discussion meetings on the strengthening of human and civil rights in the South.

Will you be good enough to take the trouble to notify the Council of any meetings of this kind which your organization may conduct or take part in?

We should like if possible to have the information asked for in the form hooked to this.

By adding up the results we can make a map and work with others to get full information to areas in the South which may show up as having been little reached.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure

RECEIVED
MAR 9 1948
Southern Regional Council

Bristol, Virginia
March 5, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

As program chairman of the Interracial Council of Bristol, I should like to tell our group what happened at the meeting which took place in Atlanta during the past weekend. I understand that the Southern Regional Council and other groups participated in a discussion of the Civil Rights Bill proposed by President Truman.

Could you send me a report of the proceedings? Any literature or suggestions you may send me will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Hilda Curthoys

Mrs. G. A. Curthoys
Box 34
Bristol, Virginia

March 11, 1948

Mrs. G. A. Curthoys
Program Chairman, Interracial Council of Bristol
Box 34
Bristol, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Curthoys:

Thank you for your letter of March 5 to Dr. George S. Mitchell. We should be happy to have you report the results of the Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights to the members of the Interracial Council of Bristol.

The meeting was attended by approximately 400 white and Negro church, civic, and educational leaders representing eleven Southern states, 72 towns and cities, and 52 organizations. The meeting was, of course, completely non-political, it having been planned at the Council's annual meeting in November. It was simply an attempt to get a responsible Southern body together to consider calmly the status of civil rights in the region and to outline a program of action.

Enclosed are the recommendations passed by the meeting and a copy of the program, which shows the essential details of sponsorship and procedure. Also enclosed are the two textual aids which were used -- the Council's digest of the Civil Rights Report and a mimeographed pamphlet entitled "The Condition of Our Rights -- from the Files on Civil and Human Rights in the South." We hope to have this latter booklet in print soon, and, in the meantime, will attempt to make it available in mimeographed form to interested groups and individuals.

Since one of the major aims of the Southwide Meeting was to stimulate similar meetings on the local level, it would be gratifying if the Bristol Interracial Council could organize a conference for study and discussion of civil rights problems. Should you decide to do so, we shall be glad to help in any way we can.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Enclosures

South Carolina Division of Southern Regional Council, Inc.

A Council to Attain Through Research and Action the Ideals and Practices of Equal Opportunity for All Peoples in the South

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REV. A. J. WRIGHT
BENNETTSVILLE

Special Delivery

Miss Margaret Price
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED
JAN 15 1948
DIRECTOR
Southern Regional Council

Dear Miss Price:

Will you do me a faror? Can you give me a very brief description of the members of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, who each is and where she or he is from? I have a rather difficult group to speak before next Wednesday, and I want to use the fact that this report is the result of a study of reprrsentative citizens of the U.S. and not just a fad of President Truman.

I will be very grateful if you will get me this information by return mail, and maybe I can do something for you some day. I hope so.

Very cordially yours,

Rebecca Reid

Rebecca Reid.

29 E. Calhoun St.
Sumter, S.C.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE—Mrs. F. Clyde Helms, Chairman

Rev. E. A. Adams, Rev. A. T. Butler, Rev. H. H. Butler, Earle R. Britton, Franz Daniel, Mrs. Beautine DeCosta, Marguerite DeVore, Mrs. Louise J. DuBose, Dr. Carl B. Epps, A. C. Flora, Dr. J. E. Grant, Lil Lou Gray, James H. Hammond, Rev. A. W. Hill, J. M. Hinton, Mrs. Leon S. Holley, A. T. Jamison, Mrs. Iola Jones, Mrs. J. Roy Jones, Dr. Peter Kelly, Mrs. Camille C. Levy, Mrs. Norman Lynch, John McCray, Mrs. Sarah McCullough, Juanita Neely, Mary Helen Oetzel, J. F. Potts, Mrs. Maude M. Rogers, Mrs. Audrew Simpkins, Mrs. Albert Simonds, Mrs. T. B. Stackhouse, Dr. Rosamonde E. Wimberly.

Tuesday, 10 A.M.

Thank you so much for your prompt response to my SOS. It has come in ample time and is just what I wanted. If anything worth reporting comes out of the meeting I will let you know.

Gratefully,

R. R.

Rebecca Reid.

RECEIVED
17 1968
Southern Regional Council

~~Interest Report~~
Civil Rts - Local

March 15, 1948

Miss Rebecca Reid
29 Dalhoun Street
Sumter, S. C.

Dear Miss Reid:

Your letter came just as I was leaving the office, and in my desire to get the letter off to you tonight, I am sending along what information I have at hand, with no time to look up additional stuff.

Here's the list:

Mr. Charles E. Wilson, President of General Electric Company, N. Y.

Mrs. Sadie T. Alexander, Negro woman lawyer, Philadelphia

Mr. James B. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer, national CIO, Washington, D. C.

Mr. John S. Dickey, Pres. Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H.

Mr. Morris L. Ernst, lawyer, New York (Jewish)

Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn, N. Y.

Dr. Frank P. Graham, President University of North Carolina

The Most Reverend Francis J. Haas, Catholic Bishop, Grand Rapids, Mich.

Mr. Charles Luckman, President Lever Brothers Company, Cambridge, Mass.

Mr. Francis P. Matthews, Omaha, Neb.

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, lawyer, New York

The Right Reverent Henry Knox Sherrill, chief Episcopal Bishop in US (from New York now, I think) - no, Boston

Mr. Boris Shishkin, economist, AFL, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, church woman, Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Channing H. Tobias, Negro, with Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York.

Hope this meagre information will help you out. Sorry that I do not know who Matthews and Dickey are.

Good luck on your speech. We are trying to keep an account of all meetings on civil rights in the South, and would appreciate your writing us an account of your meeting.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

Dr. George Mitchell
mrs McRoy

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

April 2, 1948

To: National Board Members resident in the Southern Region
Public Affairs State Members

From: Mary June Willett, Correlator, Southern Region, National Board YWCA

I am sending you the summary of the Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights which was held here in Atlanta, February the 27th.

You will recall that the National Board of the YWCA joined with the Southern Regional Council and a number of other religious and educational organizations in sponsoring this meeting on civil rights. The Council has requested information of any discussion meetings that we know of in the strengthening of human and civil rights in the South. Will you send any such information to us in the Regional Office on the enclosed form so that we can pass it on to the Southern Regional Council?

The meeting was an unusually good one. I am sorry it was not possible for all of you to be there.

cc-Miss Elsie Harper
Miss Genevieve Lowry
Mrs. Harrison Elliott
Miss Margaret Burton
Miss Mary Sims
Miss Florence Harris
Miss Kathryn Fasnacht
Miss Leta Galpin
Dr. George Mitchell, Southern Regional Council

Mrs. E. H. Green, Chm. Agri. Council

PITTSBURGH CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Frick School Auditorium

Saturday, April 3, 1948

1:30 P. M.

Sponsoring Organizations

Americans for Democratic Action

Allegheny County Committee on Fair Employment
B'nai B'rith Women's Council of Greater Pittsburgh
Jewish Community Relations Council
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Pittsburgh Council on Intercultural Education
Pittsburgh Section, National Council of Jewish Women
Urban League of Pittsburgh
Western Pennsylvania Council of B'nai B'rtih
Young Women's Christian Association

"TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS"

A Conference based on the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights

Chairman - Rev. Irving R. Murray

Secretary- Mrs. Alexander Lowenthal

P R O G R A M

PRESIDING - - - - - Rev. Irving R. Murray
First Unitarian Church

ADDRESS - - - - - - LILLIAN SMITH
Novelist, journalist
Fighter for human rights

Members of the audience are requested to go to the room assigned to the workshop of their choice. Rooms will be announced by the Chairman and listed on the blackboard in the corridor.

The workshop sessions will start at 2:45 and end promptly at 4:15. The Plenary Session will be resumed in the Auditorium at 4:25.

* * * * * * * *

Answers to Civil Rights I. Q. Test:

1.-C	8.-A,D	15.-B
2.-C	9.-A,B,C,D	16.-B
3.-B	10.-T	17.-C
4.-B	11.-B	18.-C
5.-T	12.-F	19.-A,B,D,E,F
6.-T	13.-B,C,E	20.-F
7.-A,D,F	14.-C	21.-All

2:45 P. M. WORKSHOPS

I. Employment

Chairman - Rev. L. B. Moseley
Secretary - Irving L. Finley, Jr.

Consultants:
Milo Manley, Louis Mason
Arthur Waldman, Boyd Wilson

II. Safety and Security of Person

Chairman - Nathan M. Katz
Secretary - Mrs. Louis J. Reizenstein

Consultants:
Homer S. Brown, Loran L. Lewis
John P. Robin, Morris Zimmerman

III. Health and Housing

Chairman - Everett E. Utterback
Secretary - Alexander J. Stein

Consultants:
Dr. Charles Baltimore, Mary S. Champlin
Marshall Stalley, J. Alfred Wilner

IV. Education and Recreation

Chairman - Prof. Gertrude Wilson
Secretary - Mrs. Lillian A. Friedberg

Consultants:
Margaret Berry, Dr. Mabel Elliott
Edgar W. Flood, James E. Shannon

4:25 P. M. CLOSING PLENARY SESSION

Reports and recommendations from workshops.

Concluding remarks by Miss Lillian Smith

Planning Committee

Rev. Irving R. Murray, Chairman
Mrs. Jack Crown
Mrs. Reuben Fingold
Lillian A. Friedberg
Mrs. Clarkson Hill
Mrs. Charles Hirschman
Sen. Elmer Holland
K. Leroy Irvis
Mrs. Ralph D. Tive
Kate Kolish
Aaron P. Levinson
Mrs. Irving Levy
Mrs. Alex Lowenthal
R. Maurice Moss
Mrs. Louis Reizenstein
Alexander J. Stein

* * * * * *

An exhibit of books, pamphlets, and p posters is on view in the corridor. It has been arranged by the Public Affairs Room, Carnegie Library.

Varied literature may be secured without charge at the literature table.

* * * * * *

Conference registration fee - 50¢

* * * * * *

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION is an organization of progressives, dedicated to the achievement of freedom and economic security for all peoples everywhere through education and democratic political action. In the crusade for an expanding democracy, ADA welcomes as members only those whose devotion to the principles of political freedom is unqualified. Inquiries may be directed to 82 Methodist Bldg., Pgh. 22,Pa.

Bulletin

JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL

541 WOOD STREET · PITTSBURGH, PA. · ATLANTIC 6273

Volume 2 - No. 4 April 22, 1948

"TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS"

Citizens Committee on Civil Rights

One of the most significant meetings of the season took place on Saturday, April 3, in the Frick School auditorium when a community-wide Conference met to discuss the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. The Jewish Community Relations Council joined with Americans for Democratic Action and a number of other communal organizations in sponsoring this popular demonstration of concern with the fundamental problems treated in this now-historic document.

Lillian Smith, author and crusader for civil rights, keynoted the meeting with a challenging address based on her own personal experience as a Southerner whose eyes and mind were opened to the gross injustices and folly of racial discrimination.

The audience then was divided into four workshops on (1) Safety and Security of the Person; (2) Employment; (3) Housing and Health; (4) Education and Recreation. Our own Chairman, Nathan M. Katz, headed the first. The local leaders were assisted by panels of consultants, experts in the respective areas. These groups turned from generalities to the practical application of the Report to conditions in Pittsburgh. Questions from the floor brought out the extent of job discrimination, the inadequacy of health facilities, the gross effects of restrictive housing. School authorities were challenged on the application of Intercultural Education theories and on inadequate recreation facilities. Discriminatory practices in parks and public facilities were described and questioned. From every side came frank and vigorous expression on the inadequate implementation of democratic rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Recommendations of each group were summarized and presented to the full Plenary Sessio Out of the day's program emerged a demand for a permanent Citizens Committee on Civil Rights, which the chairman was instructed to initiate.

It is clear not only from the Pittsburgh meeting but from other similar gatherings all over the country that the Report "To Secure These Rights" is to be rallying force of a popular movement for the assurance of civil rights to all Americans regardless of race or creed.

Civil Rights
Local —

April 8, 1948

Mr. Fred Pieper
Greater New Orleans Industrial
Union Council, CIO
544 Camp Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Fred:

I came across a copy of the Report of the New Orleans Industrial Union Council's Civil Rights Committee. It is a very good job indeed.

I thought perhaps the Committee would find some use for the pamphlets which I am sending you herewith.

Every good wish in your work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: Digest of Civil Rights Report;
GSM:eb "Condition of Our Rights";
March New South

RECEIVED
APR 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

Report of Civil Rights Committee,
Greater New Orleans Industrial Union Council, CIO.
544 Camp Street, New Orleans, La.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS

Every school boy knows that the American Declaration of Independence and the Constitution recognize certain inalienable rights of citizens. Because of these rights, all American boys are told, they shall have equal opportunity to become the tycoons they may wish to become -- or even to become President of the United States.

Such statements sound impressive -- and true -- to white children who have been reared according to tradition. But how do they sound to the Negro pupils of the South, to Indians, to children of Mexican descent in the Southwest, and to Oriental youngsters of California?

These children -- millions of them -- will grow up under injustices utterly alien to basic laws of our land if we, who recognize injustice, shirk our plain duty to stand against that injustice.

We in Dixie can no longer look away!

*****

If what we note hereafter may be termed repetition of the obvious, it is so because all thay may be said for human rights should be obvious.

*****

IDEAL OF HUMAN DIGNITY IS BASIS OF DEMOCRACY

Two basic points, we believe, underline all human freedom:

1. Certain inalienable rights (recognized in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution) are natural rights that belong to EVERY man because he is man --- and they are as old as man himself is old. No law or declaration GAVE these rights. Law merely recognized them.

2. The democratic ideal of human dignity, as we know it today, had its roots in the Christian teaching that the human person is the image of God, and that all men are brothers under the fatherhood of God. From this Christian concept comes the respect for the dignity of the human person which is the foundation of Western Civilization. And religion teaches us that no men may outrage with impunity that human dignity which God Himself treats with reverence.

*****

FRUITS OF DISCRIMINATION: POVERTY, IGNORANCE, DISEASE

Since President Truman's Civil Rights message, we have heard outcry that Southern "traditions" are in dire peril and that "American ideals must be preserved." (That may be passed as so much nonsense.)

But a conspiracy of silence still clings around one most significant fact: It has cost the South millions upon millions of dollars to keep the Negro "in his place."

Some Southern opponents of the Civil Rights bills have pointed (child-like) to bias elsewhere---and there is no blinking the fact that some discrimination against minorities is practiced throughout the country. But if we see discrimination practiced elsewhere in retail-scale, we must admit that it is practiced whole-sale here in Dixie. We know, for instance, that here the Negro, in exercising his right of franchise, too often has to face calculated discouragement.

We know, too, that hand-in-hand with political repressions goes resistance to the Negro's organization in trade unions and resistance to his development of industrial skills. We know that the result is "cheap labor," and that "cheap labor's" attendant evils are poverty, ignorance and disease.

Therefore the urgent need, regardless of legislation, is to help the whole people to see that poverty, ignorance and disease hurt not only the minority, but the majority as well.

--THE MASTER-AND-SERVANT COMPLEX--

All that many Southerners know about the Civil Rights bills is "what they read in the newspapers" ---mostly against those bills. Southern media of expression are status quo --- reflecting editorially the attitudes of those "rugged individualists" of politics, of trade, of industry, and of agriculture who have acted persistently to preserve for Dixie that blighting hangover --- the master-and-servant complex.

And because in its thinking it has habitually identified the Negro with low-cost labor, the traditionally anti-union Southern "leadership" has been habitually hostile to any social legislation which, in its ultimate effect, would help the Negro to advance his economic status -- because any such advance would have to come through job security and a more equitable sharing in the fruits of production.

Hence, if the South still is Economic Problem No. 1, it is so because too many of its "leaders" have not wanted the large Negro segment of its population to enjoy living standards equal to those of the North and West. Thus a preoccupation with "keeping the Negro in his place" has pulled down the economic level -- and with that the cultural level -- of all the population.

*****

INDUSTRIALISTS' CULTURAL
LAG: LUCKMAN'S WARNING

Long before Charles Luckman was appointed to the President's Committee on Civil Rights, he (Mr. Luckman) spoke warningly to Big Business on its attitude toward social legislation. Here, in part, is what he said:

"During the past 20 years American Business has become identified in the public's mind as opposed to everything that spells greater security, well being, or peace of mind for the little guy.....We got the reputation we have because, by and large, we earned it. How? Well, we declared war on collective bargaining. We actually opposed increased taxes for education. We fought health and safety ordinances. The records prove that we battled child legislation. We yipped and yowled against minimum wage laws. We struggled aginst unemployment insurance. We decried Social Security, and currently we are kicking the hell out of legislative proposals to provide universal sickness and accident insurance.

"We did all these things without making one single constructive suggestion which would assure the American people of our desires to achieve the same results for them on a basis which would be more businesslike and less political. Where on the records is there a single example to show that Big Business ever initiated a legislative program of benefits for the workers?"

No few industrialists, Mr. Luckman indicates, still are of the persuasion that profits, and not human beings and human welfare, should be the primary concern of the socio-economic order. And, considering their outbursts against the Civil Rights measures, we may well conclude that some Southern business statesmen are like-minded. Unfortunately for all of us, their cultural lag is costly.

--DIXIE'S "CURTAIN"--

For instance, Joseph Axelrod, president of the Crown Manufacturing Company of Pawtucket, R.I., said March 19 in a speech at Providence, that his company chose a New England location partly because organized labor in the North is "approaching maturity."

Explaining reasons for deciding against a Southern location, he said: "It is hard to conceive of any section of the country ringing about itself an iron curtain for the purpose of shutting out organized labor. The greater the struggle, the greater the dissension between employers and employes. Under such conditions there is dissension even between groups of employes -- those who want the union and those who don't want the union.

"Those conditions seem to us a definite detriment to maximum efficiency in operations. Management must have a clear understanding of its labor problems and a cooperative attitude must be build up between management and labor, so that friction and controversy may be avoided. We thought there was a better chance to achieve this relationship in New England."

Back of the "iron curtain" Mr. Axelrod mentions is, of course, the master-and-servant thinking that too often has characterized Dixie's industrial statesmanship.

Its net effect is a socio-economic pattern that has denied the Negro

majority incomes sufficient to provide a minimum level of health and a minimum decency of living. And that is the ultimate test of the morality of any economic pattern or order.

*****

GOVERNMENT'S RIGHTFUL
AIM: WELFARE OF ALL

Because the gap between our promise and our performance in certain particulars has been all too wide, it now becomes the duty of Congress to reassert and to effectuate the principle that governments are instituted among men to further the welfare of all citizens -- not SOME of them, but ALL alike; not merely to sustain that welfare passively, but resolutely to further the welfare of ALL.

Opponents of the Civil Rights bills endlessly have invoked the name of Jefferson -- America's great advocate of human rights. They ignore two important facts: First, during the early days of this republic, the man who owned his own tools likewise owned a measure of control over his economic destiny. Second, during the last century-and-a-half, a vastly complicated economic system has arisen.

--BOTH -- OR LITTLE OF EITHER--

This age of hired capital and combines, etc., put instruments of production under control of the few, and the great masses of men must come to the few for employment. They must work for others, or exist by dole.

Clearly, then, for a "democratic way of life" there must be a rebirth of freedom and equality for all on the economic plane, as well as on the political plane. The propertyless wage-earner cannot long enjoy one freedom without the other; he must have both, or he will have little of either.

--EQUAL WORK-EQUAL PAY--

To that end, we believe that Congress, acting with goodwill and in good faith, can write a law that will go far toward effectuating the right to equal pay for equal work and equal opportunity for and in work, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin.

Job discrimination would be evil enough if confined to sections, but unfortunately the evil is a nation-wide one. And whereas there is no doubt that opposition would be less if the solution were possible always on local or state levels, it is an inescapable conclusion that nation-wide evil can be mitigated only by national action. It is questionable if any demand to confine such solutions to state levels could be offered in good faith, unless the states themselves already were doing everything possible to eliminate such evil within their confines.

Therefore, in common decency, we believe that Congress has the duty and the obligation, at this session, to declare that no wage-earner shall be discriminated against -- because of race, color , creed or national origin, in his struggle to provide for his family a decent home, and for his children adequate educational advantages and opportunity to lead useful and meaningful lives.

(How to achieve continued prosperity with maximum production is a question confronting us no less than the rest of the country. Right now economic discrimination directly is causing loss of a huge, potential market for goods, Here is how it works:

(Discrimination depresses wages of minority groups. As a result their purchasing power is limited, and markets are limited in proportion. Reduced markets cause reduced production -- sooner or later. This lessens employment, which in turn means still lower wages. Then prejudice and rising fears of insecurity aggravate the very discrimination in employment which sets the vicious circle in motion.)

-- FREE ELECTIONS--

We believe that Congress should prohibit artifices designed to restrict the right of citizens to vote. We believe it has that authority in this Amendment XV clause: "The Congress shall have power to enforce provisions of this article by appropriate legislation." While removal of the poll tax (as a requirement for voting on federal offices) would eliminate one of the barriers to free elections, we believe the job will be only half-done unless undue obstacles to registration likewise are prohibited.

--RIGHT OF PERSONAL SAFETY--

"States' Rights" opposition to an anti-lynch law can hardly be offered in good faith, unless the states themselves wholeheartedly have done everything possible to prevent lynching or threat of lynchings. On the face of their records, have their citizenries actively and willingly done everything possible to bring lynchers to justice?

--FREEDOM OF TRAVEL--

None will deny that compulsory segregation in interstate travel offends the dignity of those forcibly segregated. We believe that calculated indignity is inconsistent with the public policy of the United States -- and that free Americans cannot, by law or by custom, systematically humiliate a people without being completely false to the ideals enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and in the preamble to the Constitution.

*****

(The Greater New Orleans Industrial Union Council March 23 adopted resolutions on the civil rights bills, and also recommended that President Truman be urged to take executive action for elimination of segregation in the nation's armed services.)

*****

"EDUCATION," SUBTERFUGE
FOR DOING NOTHING?

"Education" has been advanced by status quo folk as the only "practical" means of meeting (they mean eventually) the racial problem. Those who are sincere are perhaps confusing knowledge with virtue. Too, they are far from definite on the how, when and where of the "education."

But the Mississippi Legislature knew the "education" it didn't want. In that state the elector theoretically must be able to read or explain the state constitution "satisfactorily." But at the 1948 session, the Mississippi Legislature killed bills to require study of the constitution in high schools. Lawmakers raised the point that, to be graduated, students would have to have proved ability to read and explain the constitution. Then, said the lawmakers, "Negroes graduating from high schools could use their diplomas as evidence to meet voting qualifications."

In the face of the Mississippi action, the argument for "education" falls somewhat flat. If such attitudes and actions prevail, it becomes all the more doubtful that "education" can be done with real effect until federal legislative justice has been done. The law itself then would have powerful educational force.

*****

"DO UNTO OTHERS:" MERE
NEGATIVE ATTITUDE OF
"TOLERANCE" NOT ENOUGH

Perhaps because they are conscious of a moral bankruptcy of their position, the anti-civil rights spokesmen seem to have skipped over the moral aspect of the issues.

For preservation of the moral order, laws alone will not suffice, as education alone will not suffice. Religion still is the only force that can form a decent, unselfish conscience.

Our Declaration of Independence ends with "a firm reliance on Divine Providence" and our coins say, "In God We Trust." The time has come to give meaning to those words.

*****

Lynn Hogan, Chairman
Hazel Behonna
Lucille Savoie
W. M. Smith
Ernest Wright

1948

Panel Discussion SECURING THESE RIGHTS

Brief summary contained in minutes of Southern Regional Conference of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity held at Alabama State Teachers College, Montgomery, Alabama, on April 16, 17, and 18.

Saturday Morning, April 17

The Second Business Session was called to order in Paterson Hall, Room 37.

Brother Leonard R. Ballou played a medley of Greek hymns. The medley was culminated with the Alpha Hymn sung by the brothers, led by the Vice-President, and the Alpha Prayer was prayed by Brother M. G. Miles.

The Vice-President turned the meeting over to Brother W. D. Hawkins, who presided at this session. Brother Hawkins, in introducing the panel discussion, SECURING THESE RIGHTS, stated in effect that we, as members of a minority group, "ought to be the first to stand behind everything to make it possible for all of us to secure these rights." He further stated that we should return to our communities and work to "bring about the full fruition of securing these rights."

Brother Carleton L. Lee, Alpha Nu Lambda Chapter, served as discussion leader for the panel and made a statement to this effect: "The complaint of a large number of people who oppose the spirit of the Commission's study has been something like 'You can't legislate morals.' I am certain that none of us here is going to be led to the philosophy that to move forward towards securing Civil Rights for legislation is going to hinder the achievement of Civil Rights. In its simplest form, the framework of legislation provides a structure for the expansion of moral gains. If you set up a framework, then you have provided the conditions under which people will be more moral. I believe very firmly that morals can be legislated to some degree. One of the major roles of our religiousactivities with reference to this matter of securing these rights is: the task of religion is to enable the type of ethical maturity that will make legislation unnecessary. It also has as a parallel task the matter of providing the kinds of experiences in which people can put their religious faith in action. Therefore, one of the first functions of the religious agency in the matter of Civil Rights is to imbue its communicants with the conviction which has been expressed over and over again in Juddhaism and Christianity concerning the essential dignity of man--that is the task of religion--to imbue its believers with the conviction that by the very act of his existence as a being, man cannot excape the kind of dignity which is basic in all men and by virtue of that dignity, imposes certain kinds of responsibilities. It is the task of religion to get this across to and into the hearts of its men. But the heart needs a little help--and that is the point of which the police power of the state and all the other instrumentalities come into play. Particularly is this true, that is the effort to imbue men with the idea of essential dignity, in the total church life among Negroes of this country. Our churches have never been merely places of worship. ...as long as there is a discrepancy in the society in general which permits of the denial of any man's essential dignity. If you have doubts concerning the religious basis for this concept, I recommend that you read again the eighth Psalm "Thou has made him but little lower than the angels and have crowned him with glory and honor". It puts us all on the same level and we all want to feel that we are on a level a little higher than somebody else. It means that the most destitute person cannot be denied that essential dignity which is his, except it be putting in jeopardy the essential dignity of all men."

Brother David N. Howell, Eta Lambda Chapter, lead the discussion SECURING THESE RIGHTS THROUGH RELIGO-CIVIC ACTIVITIES and stated in effect that:

"There is a trite saying that we are in a period of decay. In this world the Negro is seeking a sense of security as the old order goes to pass. And perhaps the thing that comes out of Civil Rights most is the challenge for that security. I should like to suggest that the answer is that we find security and that we work through and in small groups of people. Perhaps here the best results will come from the sort of thing that Jan Smutts of South Africa calls "holism"--a uniting of parts and bringing them together to get concerted action. It is the holistic process which unites atoms to form molecules and molecules to form bodies. In the cells, life itself, we are going to get the results. Our institutions have talked about creating a new society and we have talked about bringing the Kingdom of God on earth. ...we should bring this Kingdom where you and I can feel it. Rothenberg says the Kingdom of God is a real social order in which men have relationship with one another. The coming of the Kingdom of God will not be peaceful...but will conflict with the Kingdom of evil. This political and social revolution may shake down the fortifications of evil.

"We begin with the individual working with small groups of people and from them the larger groups to achieve what we want. I conceive our task in these agencies to be the utilization of small groups of people--and out from that reaching the whole society. Why cannot we establish a demonstration center? Why should not Alpha men take an active part where three or four get together and demonstrate what can be done and go from there forward? Professional cells--composed of professional persons only and develop certain techniques which can be used in handling problems. Research cells--that come together to settle community problems--not a lot of people, but just a small group. Here I am suggesting that in small cells that maybe some church people will be in them. Some who are not church people will be in them. They are the civic cells where men of affairs come together--groups of young men and businessmen who are exposed to the community problems and come up with answers. Breakfast clubs--all of this--Alpha men can in any community build up a group of other people who can sit around in secret--certainly out of such groups as these there will develop techniques: community forums, panels, and discussions. Invite leaders of the community. There are other techniques like writing letters and mass letters organized around a group. Even newspaper writing ought to bring to some of us the chances we want. We can use the propagandizing method of dropping "throw aways"--things that can be dropped where people can read them.

"With a number of cells throughout the South in a direct and conscientious effort, with Alpha men in strategic positions and giving leadership to it, because we know how and why. Under the guise of religion, segregation has been participated in and a lot of evil has been done, but I also think that under the guise of religion, where people object to having organizations come to them, a religious organization can get much more done than other organizations can achieve."

Brother F. O. Woodward, Alpha Epsilon Lambda Chapter, substituting on the panel SECURING THESE RIGHTS THROUGH RECREATIONAL PROGRAMS stated in effect that:

"In the state of Mississippi: Mississippi represents one-twelfth of the Negro population in America. I know how this Civil Rights bill flashes over the state of Mississippi. We have tremendous problems--one more than anything else

is getting Negroes to go to the polls. Gentlemen, if you don't know it, Alpha Epsilon Lambda had a great deal to do with doing away with Senator Bilbo. The Negro in Mississippi is no longer afraid. Alpha Epsilon Lambda is encouraging Negroes to go to the polls and vote in the larger cities of the state. We are sticking to the saying that "A voteless people is a hopeless people" and we are trying to do and will do all that is possible in that section."

Brother Noah E. Wills, Sr., Omicron Lambda Chapter, substituting on the panel SECURING THESE RIGHTS THROUGH POLITICS stated in effect that:

"All of us are aware of the fact that there are legal and formal methods that are used for disfranchaising our group and other minorities. We are aware of the fact that intimidation is used to prevent members of our group from using the ballot even when they have secured the right to vote. We are aware of the fact, in this particular state (Alabama), that among the legal and formal methods that are present to prevent our full rights are the matters of the poll tax and the Boswell Amendment. We are aware of the fact that intimidation is still practiced...which tends to imbed a feeling of fear within members of our group. I think that it is our responsibility, as members of Alpha, to share in the getting over to the members of our group that voting is necessary. I think that that is an essential point because in my opinion there are, I am sure, in many of your communities who have the ballot within their hands and do not exercise it--they do not go to the polls when voting time comes around. Let us get over to the members of our group that voting is necessary--that is, they should exercise this right to vote when they have the privilege. The point of letter-writing to our Congressmen--the organization of pressure groups to get things done. Let us seek to get the members of our racial group to vote--that is an all-time job--not a part-time job--and once they are qualified to vote, impress upon them the need for exercising the use of the ballot. Then such pressure methods as we can through inter-group cooperation. I feel that we, as men of Alpha, will have made a distinct contribution towards bringing about that time when these rights that we want are actually ours."

Brother Ralph L. Pruitt, Gamma Omicron Lambda Chapter, substituting on the panel SECURING THESE RIGHTS THROUGH VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE AND WORK stated in effect that:

"I should think that as men of Alpha Phi Alpha, we need charge ourselves with the responsibility, in our several communities and locations, of doing something about the lack of individual consciousness of responsibility among our people towards securing for themselves the rights we deserve, in shops. I think we can start up from the focal point, as far as vocational guidance is concerned, with that idea in mind. Establishing cooperative effort among workers. There is a plan fostered by the Urban League for organizing workers. These groups go out and perform duties--services--for the community in group fashion. One thing I like to think about in securing these rights is that in a group of this sort, we might establish within the individual what his responsibility should be towards securing these rights. With such group organization, it seems that we could establish within the individual that we

will never achieve any rights until we get to the point that we will go on and suffer, whatever the case and whatever the difficulties that arise, there must be some suffering. We will arrive at some of the rights we want by working together--by trying to set up in our communities certain vocational guidance programs towards securing these rights--by getting a mass effort among our people to seek the rights they deserve in whatever vocation he may have."

Brother Aaron L. Allen, Jr., Tau Lambda Chapter, substituting on the panel SECURING THESE RIGHTS THROUGH VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE AND WORK stated in effect that:

"When Booker T. Washington propounded his theory of industrial education there at Tuskegee, it was nothing more than vocational education. As years went on, it was through Booker T. Washington that the entire coultry looked upon him for a philsophy of life that was fit, not only for the Negroes, but for the whites as well. We later came to know industrial education in our schools as vocational education. After his theory was so well taken, the schools of the country began to think about it. The white high school, in order to feel that they were not patterned after Washington's schools, became known as high schools. The high schools for Negroes were called training schools. ...the Negroes, by training as carpenters, brick-masons, a race relationship began to creep up to the point of progress. The white schools of the country started thinking about it. The white schools of this country began to offer courses which they called vocational guidance. As the theory kept on into the colleges, the Negroes were led to believe that we must not pay so much attention to these skills..."

Brother Dr. W. E. Anderson, Alpha Upsilon Lambda Chapter, substituting on the panel SECURING THESE RIGHTS THROUGH EDUCATION, stated in effect that:

"As far as the role of education is concerned, this matter of obtaining civil rights is a well-agreed upon proposition. Thus, the question would quite obviously be raised "What would be some of the functions of education in a civil rights program?" Near the end of Part I there was a proposal submitted to the President that there be impaneled a group of people who would--the... being that a knowledge of the condition and of the problems would be necessary if we would make any significant changes in the problems. Because people have been conditioned over the years to certain practices, the fact that they know that these practices are correct or incorrect does not necessarily mean that they are going to change these practices...from the minority group's point of view there arise certain questions: (1) Shall we proceed on the basis of compromise and acceptance in terms of the exigency of the moment? (2) Shall there be a program, what would be the best thing for a particular section of the country and to what extent would these conflict with the social pattern? (3) Shall we again say that a right is a right and the manner of achieving these rights shall be based upon the validity of these rights? (4) Shall there be the position that we shall not compromise on any program of achieving social justice--that educators are traitors to their trust if they advocate any type of program which is short of first-class citizenship?

"Perhaps that is the price that we shall have to pay. If these are possible types of approaches that we must use in the matter of securing these rights, then education has its function in removing the condition and

and the purpose of education in a democracy is that we shall encourage and direct all persons engaged in secondary education to participate fully in citizenship activities. There are provided all kinds of activities which bring forth full participation. For many years, we have run away from the term politics. We sometimes think that people in education should stay out of politics. The precint-man who carries out the vote determines the direction of the vote. Our program of education should be designed to reach the man down there. In certain sections of the country in which people do not participate fully—people have been conditioned for a good number of years to not using the ballot or doing anything to offend those who would control our destiny. We need a program of adult education to go along with this program of adolescent education. What we are seeking to inculcate is that we need to direct our attention towards the adults of our population so that we can get them wherever they are. As long as that is a legal condition, as long as we are going to participate in order to eradicate those things which reflect themselves negatively in participating action means that we must undergo those practices necessary. If there is a property qualification for voting in a state, then it should be our obligation to remove that as a barrier. In the meantime, we should encourage people to be property holders in order that they might participate in elections. If there is an educational requirement, again it should be among our initial moves to bring people up on the level of education for citizenship. We have met a great deal of poll tax issues in the South. As long as it is the law, then as a matter of information and as a matter of condition, then that is one of the things that we are forced to meet. Education should concern itself to the practical aspects of the program. Finally, education ought to get together about democracy and give some real implementation to the democracy. We need to stop saying that all men are created equal and begin to practice that in terms of our activities. I think that this would be effective if we can become members or if we would become consultants for these groups working in the community trying to find a way out. It seems that educated people ought to find some way of identifying themselves...ideal of all up and none down."

Brother Dr. Robert P. Daniel, Chairman, Budget Committee, in summarizing the panel discussion, stated in effect that:

"...know the four major sections of the report: the right to safety and security of person; the right of citizenship and its privileges; the right to freedom of conscience and expression; and the right of equality of opportunity.

The major oppositions to the report have been in the field of generalizations. The argument against the whole thing is that you cannot legislate morals. Another objection is that things cannot be changed over night and time along cannot bring changes. The third objection is that the Civil Rights procedure proposed interferes with states' rights. Do states' rights have priority over human rights? The matter of states and government have their rights only if they serve the human rights. We, ourselves, who leave this meeting ought to be sure that we are aware of the fact that resolutions or

any general over-all statement of a mass group will not compensate for individual decision and action. Everyone who wants equal opportunity themselves must be willing to grant equal opportunity to everyone else."

SPAN

STUDENT PUBLIC AFFAIRS NEWS

In a democracy each citizen is responsible for the course the nation takes. Christians have additional responsibility to judge all issues in the light of their faith and to influence our common life in the direction of those judgments. Each month SPAN brings information concerning a public issue demanding the attention of students. Christian judgment and action constitute one SPAN in the bridge between ethical insight and a more just society. Action suggested by SPAN follows general policies determined by the National Assembly of the Student Christian Association Movement. Issued by the N.I.C.C. Program Commission of the:

NATIONAL STUDENT COUNCIL, YMCA, 347 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
NATIONAL STUDENT YWCA, 600 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

April, 1948

SUPPORT PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM

President Truman's program for civil rights, outlined in his address to Congress on February 2, is the subject of great controversy. He proposes ways in which the United States can make more secure the civil rights assumed in basic American beliefs. He said:

"We believe that all men have the right to freedom of thought and of expression and the right to worship as they please.
We believe that all men are entitled to equal opportunities for jobs, for homes, for good health, and for education....
Unfortunately, there still are examples, flagrant examples, of discrimination which are utterly contrary to our ideals. Not all groups of our population are free from the fear of violence. Not all groups are free to live and work where they please or to improve their conditions of life by their own efforts... We cannot be satisfied until all our people have equal opportunities for jobs, for homes, for education, for health, and until all our people have equal protection under the law."

THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM: To secure these rights, the President proposed the following specific legislative objectives:

1. Establishing a permanent Commission on Civil Rights, a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights, and a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice.
2. Strengthening existing civil rights statutes.
3. Providing federal protection against lynching.
4. Protecting more adequately the right to vote.
5. Establishing a Fair Employment Practice Commission to prevent unfair discrimination in employment.
6. Prohibiting discrimination and segregation in interstate transportation facilities.
7. Providing home rule and suffrage in presidential elections for the residents of the District of Columbia.
8. Providing statehood for Hawaii and Alaska and a greater measure of self-government for our island possessions.
9. Equalizing the opportunities for residents of the United States to become naturalized citizens.
10. Settling the evacuation claims of Japanese-Americans.

(over)

SOME THREATS TO CIVIL RIGHTS ARE:

Financial power thwarts civil rights. The President's recommendations are based on the report of his Committee on Civil Rights, To Secure These Rights. The committee findings indicate that though we have far to go to realize completely our freedoms, no other country has ever been freer of governmental tyranny. But many Americans, accustomed to regarding government as the only threat to liberty, have not yet learned that dominant economic groups can wield sanctions as strong as physical force, and that these may be used to destroy our liberties. The press, for example, is largely controlled by powerful financial interests which can effectively silence opinions they do not like. Without money, candidates for public office cannot effectively present their programs to voters. Too often, this means that money wins elections.

Hysterical fear of "Reds" leads to the denial of civil rights. Fear of communism has led the government to arrest, for deportation, aliens who are leaders in the Communist Party. The Deportation Act of 1940 allows for deporting members of an "organization which advocates overthrow of the government by violence", but does not mention the Communist Party. The civil rights of aliens who are communists should be scrupulously observed. The strength of democracy lies in its protection of minority conviction.

Colleges abridge civil rights. In recent years, much pressure has been put upon schools and colleges, threatening their right of free expression. Education is stifled and becomes indoctrination when any viewpoint is summarily silenced. Many Americans do not understand that an educational institution must be free to search for truth wherever it is to be found. Teachers have been fired, student groups denied meeting places, presidents and faculties frightened into silence on controversial questions -- just at the time when the judgment of enlightened men is most needed on crucial issues. Teachers have been required to sign humiliating loyalty pledges in which they were forbidden to discuss certain subjects; research grants have been denied and advancement has been discriminatory. Christian Association members have special concern for these infringements upon academic freedom, for the quality of their education will be affected if opinions are silenced. Indoctrination cannot contribute to understanding, peace and human welfare.

SUGGESTED ACTION:

1. Study the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, To Secure These Rights. (Obtainable in book form from Simon and Schuster, $1.00; or in newsprint from PM newspaper, 10 cents.) Study President Truman's speech to Congress, on page 22 of the New York Times for February 3, 1948.

2. Hold a series of meetings to discuss the implications of civil rights in America and in the world. Survey the practice of your campus to see if it lives up to democracy's guarantee of civil rights for all people, using the accompanying guide.

3. Make the CA meeting rooms a place where all student groups may meet and express their opinions freely.

4. Protest strongly when campus facilities are denied student groups.

5. Freedom is everybody's job! Make it your business to speak and act courageously in defense of civil liberties wherever they are menaced on your campus.

6. Write your convictions to President Truman and your Congressmen on the President's Civil Rights program. Watch the progress of individual bills -- anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and for a permanent F.E.P.C. and write your Congressmen. Send them clippings reporting meetings you hold on civil rights.

6 - Civil Rights - Local Activities

July 13, 1948

Report on Human and Civil Rights Meetings
in the South since February, 1948

The Southern Regional Council requested all persons who attended the Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights, held in Atlanta on February 27, to report any subsequent meetings dealing with civil rights.

As of this date, 47 such meetings have been reported. Some of them grew, directly or indirectly, out of the Southwide Meeting; others were sponsored by groups which co-sponsored the Southwide Meeting; and still others were independently planned and carried out by other organizations or individuals. In each case, the meeting was attended and reported by some person who was present at the Southwide Meeting.

Meetings Influenced by the Southwide Meeting

In this rough category are included such meetings as were reported to have (a) heard a report on the Southwide Meeting, (b) discussed the findings of the Southwide Meeting, (c) been planned and carried out at the request of the Southern Regional Council, (d) used the material prepared for the Southwide Meeting.

TOTAL NUMBER OF MEETINGS - 20

TOTAL REPORTED ATTENDANCE - 2,100

Place	Date	Sponsoring Group
Athens, Ga.	March, 1948	Athens Interracial Committee
Atlanta, Ga.	April 20	Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation
Macon, Ga.	March 15	Macon Interracial Committee
Macon, Ga.	April 16	Macon Branch, NAACP
New Orleans, La.	April	Committee on Race Relations
Jackson, Miss.	May 6	Jackson Chapter of AVC
Charlotte, N. C.	April 26	N. C. Commission on Interracial Cooperation
Swannanoa, N. C.	March 1	Swannanoa Chapter of AVC
Columbia, S. C.	March	Sociology Depts. of Furman Univ. and Univ. of S. C.

Place	Date	Sponsoring Group
Columbia, S. C.	April 29	S. C. Division of SRC
Columbia, S. C.	May 13	Richland County Division of SRC
Greenville, S. C.	March 23	YWCA Business Women's Club
Sumter, S. C.	March	Sumter Book Club
Knoxville, Tenn	March 14	Pan-Hellenic Council
Dallas, Texas	March 2 - 4	Texas Council of Church-women
Dallas, Texas	April 2 - 3	Dallas Council of Church-women
Houston, Texas	March 10	Texas Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation
Houston, Texas	March 24	Houston Interracial Committee
Bristol, Virginia	Unknown	Bristol Interracial Council

Additional Meetings Reported

TOTAL NUMBER OF MEETINGS - 27

TOTAL REPORTED ATTENDANCE - 1538

SPONSORS--

Florida Conference, Womens Society of Christian Service, Methodist Church
Women's Union, Unitarian Church, Atlanta
Tennessee Conference, WSCS
Executive Board, Baptist General Convention of Texas
Young People's Missionary Volunteer Society, Seventh Day Adventists, Atlanta.
YMCA, University of Virginia
Hungry Club, Atlanta
Alabama Student Conference on Civil Rights
Study Group, Atlanta League of Women Voters
Columbia, S. C., YWCA Business Women's Club
County Council, Crossville, Tenn.
Industrial Co-Ed Club, Atlanta YWCA
Richmond, Va., Committee on Civil Rights
Student YMCA and YWCA, Austin College, Sherman, Texas
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
Florida State Teachers Association
Students at Bethune-Cookman College
Students at Florida A & M College

Comments by Persons Reporting

Charlottesville, Va. - "Many white persons challenged the anti-legal position. [Speaker had taken position against legal enforcement of civil rights.] [They asked] 'If no law can guarantee civil rights, why can the law discriminate against Negroes?' "

West Palm Beach, Fla. - "Very good results -- group led to see that the report [of the President's Committee on Civil Rights] agreed with the teachings of the Bible, the U. S. Constitution, and the pronouncements of the Methodist Church. Lack of resistance and melting away of prejudice when the main items of the Report were really made plain to them."

Sumter, S. C. - "The Civil Rights Report was presented and aroused great interest, with full, frank discussion and requests for material for further information... People have stopped me on the streets to ask questions and get points cleared."

Nashville, Tenn. - "We feel as an outgrowth of this meeting many things have improved -- the attitudes of people being one of the most important. Negro policemen have been added to the Police Force. This meeting was an ice-breaker for many such groups."

By: Dr. Walter H. Beck
Dean of Students
Texas Lutheran College
Seguin Tex.

4.8 9/23/48

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP and the CIVIL RIGHTS of MINORITIES

Dr.Walter H. Beck, Texas Lutheran College

Introd.- An Age-Old Problem

- Human relationships and the brotherhood of men. - Jews and Gentiles; Greeks and Barbarians. - White and colored(non-white)

- Every citizen has "inalienable" rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, to equality before the law, equality in opportunities. These Constitutional guarantees are derived from Christian-Biblical principles concerning the nature and person of man, the brotherhood of all men, and the equality of all men before God.

I - THE BIBLICAL BASIS of Human Relationships and Rights

a) We must respect the divine image in every human being - Gen.1:27; Malachi 2:10
b) There are no biological, inherently "racial" differences between humans (thus also modern biologists and sociologists) - Acts 17:24f "one blood...all nations"
c) Discriminations, suppressions, denial of rights violates the law of universal brotherhood - Job 31:13ff; 1.John 4:11; James 2:8-Therefore violate civil laws
d) Christians are forbidden to be judges over their fellowmen, to hold any men in contempt, or to put hindrances in their way:- Math.2:21f; Math.7:1f; Acts 10:28
e) God does not discriminate nor segregate, neither on earth nor in heaven, and his children are not to do otherwise- Acts 10:34; Romans 2:11; 1.Peter 2:17
f) Christians must be just and considerate in all their dealings with others - Mark 12:31; Romans 12:3-5,18,21; 1.John 3:18
g) In all human relationships Christians are not to be guided by human opinions and prejudices and traditions, but by Jesus' law of love and service

- -

II - The REPORT of the Truman Commission on CIVIL RIGHTS

1. Why a special Commission and Report?

a) War accentuated questions of human rights throughout the world. People everywhere look to the US for leadership and protection, but distrust American sincerity because of conditions throughout the US concerning denial and/or limitation of fundamental civil rights of minority people: Indians, Negroes, LatinAmericans, Filipinos, Chinese and Japanese,-any "colored" persons, even though native Americans and full citizens
b) All CHURCH bodies have for many years passed official resolutions condemning public attitudes and practices over against racial minorities, demanding proper enforcement of existing laws, new legilsation to clarify Constitutional guarantees of citizenship, definote action bynboth State and Federal governments
c) Leadership of Southern Regional Council(Interracial Commission), since 1918 the most active and constructive agency in US to promote better understanding and practices through interracial councils in all States and in many communities
d) Organizations of Church Women throughout the US, but especial in southern states, demanding specific action to wipe out disgraceful acts
e) Demand of organizations among minority groups for something more than pious verbal expressions, for action that reflects honest and real purpose

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2. The REPORT of the COMMISSION and its FACTUAL BASES

Note- Following data from pamphlets published by Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave NE, Atlanta: "To Secure These Rights" (Summary 26 pages of Report by Commission); "The Condition of Our Rights" (Notes, 48 p.) by Council on this section of the Report)- Both available at 20cents each; Many other valuableand informative pamphlets are issued free by Council

Report of the Truman Commission on Civil Rights and Its Factual Bases

I. THE AMERICAN HERITAGE -- The importance of the individual person and his rights

II. THE CONDITION OF OUR RIGHTS

1. The Right to Safety and Security of the Person

a) Crime of Lynching: Still ancestral serious threat; many lynchings(murders) of nonmob type, constant intimidation of entire Negro population;few convictions

b) Police Brutality :- Violent attacks and unnecessary shootings, discriminatory and unjust arrests, forced confessions, brutality against prisoners

c) Unfair Administration of Justice:- Exclusion from juries; unfair and perfunctory trials; relatively heavy penalties for minor crimes and offenses

d) Involuntary Servitude:- Abuses of parole system,farming our prisoners for exploitation by labor contractors and graft for officials

2. The Right to Citizenship and Its Privileges

a) Right to Vote:-- Denial of suffrage on wide scale;restricting Negro vote results in similar denial to 25-50% of white southerners. Total southern voter s only a fraction, results in bad machine politics and demagogery

Unfair devices:- poll tax for voting; manipulation of registrations;literacy tests to some and not to all; challenging Negro voters; intimidations; KKK

b) Right to Bear Arms :- No Negro National Guard units;discriminations in armed services with regard to officers,advancements, type of service

~~c)xRightxtoxFree~~ 3.The Right to Freedom of Conscience and Expression

Intimidation of labor groups; intimidation of witnesses; interference with racial meetings, with interracial activities. - Inflammatory headlines, articles,features in newspapers playing up any law violations by colored people

4. The Right to Equality of Opportunity

a) The Right to Employment - Low-paying,menial jobs for colored;few chances given for skilled occupations, business, manufacturing. - Unjust wages for work done

b) The Right to Education - Wide discriminations on all educational levels in programs, buildings and equipment, salaries

c) The Right to Housing- High rents in slum areas and for low-cost housing(much owned by whites); restrictive covenants preventing moving into better areas

d) The Right to Health Services - High death and disease rates due to lack of sanitary facilities; few hospitals open to Negro patients and physicians

e) The Right to Public Services and Accommodations - Discriminations by State and Federal governments:- Old age and survivor's insurance often denied,since most Negroes excluded from jobs with such protection. - Few public libraries. Bad condition of streets and sanitation. No public meeting places, poor recreation facilities(usually none); poor transportation

III. SEGREGATION RECONSIDERED - Now practiced in all states throughout US

IV. CIVIL RIGHTS IN NATION'S CAPITAL -*Vote denied to all residents to prevent Negro residents from voting. Segregation and gross discriminations in government employment,in education,housing,employment,health services,accommodations

V. GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY: SECURING THE RIGHTS

State governments and local communities are failing to carry out state laws to protect and tompromote the interests of minority groups.- New laws should not be necessary,- but public is inactive, unwilling,prejudiced,abusive,intolerant

VI. CONSTITUTIONAL TRADITIONS

VII. THE CIVIL RIGHTS SECTION EXPERIMENT - Work of Federal Dept.ofJustice handicapped by weak civil rights laws which do not adequately define the specific rights they are supposed to protect. -Low appropriations made to prevent work

VIII. The PROBLEM OF SANCTIONS - Prejudices and opposition against FEDERAL administration of laws(except when Fed.Govt.spends money in States)

IX. The CLIMATE OF OPINION - Enforcement of laws(old and new)not sufficient to establish rights: we must make efforts to create an appropriate NATIONAL outlook -No one peson or group must be kept at a disadvantage for our own personal gain,advantage,convenience,-which is poor democracy,a denial of Christian justice

X. A PROGRAM OF ACTION - Moral,econpmic,and international reasons

XI. The RECOMMENDATIONS of the Comission :- Specific steps to be taken through legislation,law enforcement,and education to improve the conditions set forth in each of the above sections

544 Camp Street,
New Orleans, La.
October 10, 1948.

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Southern Regional Council

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Southern Regional Council

To Delegates,
N.O. Industrial Union Council:

Questioning
A Dixiecrat Equation

It was Sunday. The Church was Uptown, and the large congregation had filed out. Two children lingered -- whispering their prayers.

Ordinarily one sees worshippers in a mechanical sort of way, with no thought of the color of their hats, the color of their hair, or their complexion.

But this time one noticed -- remembering a statement made on September 29 by Gov. Fielding Wright, "Dixiecrat" candidate for vice-president of the United States:

> "If you don't want to have Negroes in your hotels, your churches, and your schools (said Gov. Wright, as quoted in the press) you can't vote for Truman," etc.

So -- one noticed the two children longest at prayer. Piously they were whispering, "Our Father."

They were Negro children.

*****

That equation of hotels and churches (quoted) may explain something --- to some persons. It may explain why Gov. Wright's statement shocked no one --- why it didn't even surprise. But some of us do remain puzzled.

It may be presumptuous, but some of us are wondering how status quo Dixiecrats reconcile that attitude with the pronouncement of St. Peter:

"God is not a respecter of persons, but in every nation he who fears Him and does what is right is acceptable to Him." (Acts X, 34).

Too, we who are puzzled recall these words of St. Paul: "There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither slave nor freeman; there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Galatians III, 28). "For in one spirit we were all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether slaves or free, and we were all given to drink of one Spirit. For the body is not one member, but many.....And if one member suffers anything, all members suffer with it....." (1 Corinthians, XII, 13-26).

And finally, we're wondering how status quoers reconcile their attitudes with Christ's prayer for unity of mankind: "I pray ... that all may be one, even as Thou, Father, in Me and I in Thee; that they also may be one in Us..... (St. John XVII, 20).

These questions, we believe, are not out of order, because Gov. Wright raised the point. And Gov. Wright, let us not forget (and let him not forget) is a candidate for the high office of vice-president of all the people of the United States.

******

2. Questioning a Dixiecrat Equation---

******

Gov. Wright's words presumably were official views of the Dixiecrat "party." He launched the movement. And some Louisiana political professionals have leaped to follow ---- for "white supremacy" and "against Truman and his racial equality program", as Leander Perez puts it.

These politicos we understand.

But we cannot understand the silence of some politically-wise Louisianians who are not of the Perez-Hebert-John U. Barr persuasion. Elsewhere in the South voices have been raised in opposition. Elsewhere in the South some men have said, in effect:

1. That the Dixiecrat movement is political folly----a political fraud being perpetrated upon the gullible; that it is, at least on the part of some of its advocates (status quoers and Republicans in disguise), a conspiracy set off as a "party" with the sole intent of taking electoral votes away from the National Democratic party because that party has a hard core of opposition to exploitation of human and natural resources.

2. That the Dixiecrat movement springs from (and blindly would defend the results of) master-and-servant thinking, the net effect of which has been a repressive socio-economic pattern. (That pattern has denied to the Negro respect for his dignity as a human person. It has denied to a large segment of the population incomes sufficient for minimum levels of health, culture and decency of living. And that, as we have said before, is the ultimate test of the morality of any socio-economic pattern.)

******

And as we also have said before:

Perhaps some realization of the moral bankruptcy of their position (against the Negro) has prompted Dixiecrat status quoers to gloss over grave moral issues at stake --- to ignore grave offenses against basic principles of human dignity.

In this connection, let us not forget to turn, for words of guidance, to men to whom moral issues are of primary concern. These are men who will tell us that the likeness of God is the same in all men, regardless of race, color or national origin. These are men who will tell us that upon man's likeness to God are founded man's natural rights -- that these fundamental rights are, in consequence, the same in all men. These are men who know that if they recognize injustices, and remain silent, they themselves become accessory to those injustices. They will tell us, too:

".....If these keep silent, the stones will cry out." (St. Luke, XIX, 40).

******

It may be presumptuous, but we believe that men try the Lord's patience when calculatedly they incite others to make outcasts of their fellow men.

And had "tradition" barred praying children from His Church Sunday, we believe the Lord's patience with that "tradition" would have been sorely tried.

******

Lynn Hogan, chairman,
Civil Rights Committee,
GNOIUC

6 - Civil Rights — Local Activities

October 14, 1948

Civil Rights Committee
Greater New Orleans Industrial
Union Council
544 Camp Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Gentlemen:

I appreciate your release to delegates of October 10.

Here is a recent statement of our Council's Executive Committee which backs you up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure "Honest Answer"

3/21/51

HCF:

This (read both sides) was attached to dues received this a.m. from Mrs. C. C. Alford, 632 Chickasaw, Jackson 6, Mississippi.

nh

Con or. Equal
~~A Model~~ Penalty

March 21, 1951

Mrs. C. C. Alford
632 Chickasaw
Jackson 6, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Alford:

Thank you for the clipping, which came in with your kind check for dues.

The reference to Mrs. Tilly is completely unfounded.

We have thought the Willie McGee matter was one for Mississippi to handle, and have on principle taken no part in all the letters and wires and so on. Certainly we agree with Mr. Justice Black, that attempts to pressure a judge violate the whole spirit of American jurisprudence.

I do, however, feel that the several recent instances in which a differential penalty has been applied to white persons and to Negro persons for the same offence are damaging to our country's own deep belief in equal justice, and lay us open to criticism from abroad. And with that in mind I wrote some weeks ago to Mr. Long, and suggested that he consider whether any representation should be made to Governor Wright, by responsible persons within the State, looking toward withholding the death penalty.

It will take some years, but our own forces could do a good deal to get it made policy in our courts to enforce the law with equal stringency, for all. I know you share this wish, and will do your part to help the whole South draw from all this the broad lesson.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Klan
Fla

UNIVERSITY of TAMPA

Tampa 6, Florida

7-6-51

DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY
JESSE WALTER DEES, JR.

RECEIVED
JUL 9 1971
Southern Regional Council

S.R.C.
If the enclosed is useful to you -Please feel free to use it in any way it will help your purposes.
If you do print anything or make a reference, I will appreciate a copy.

Sincerely,

Prof. J.W. Dees

There were several Tampa Tribune clippings on this meeting and an editorial
J.W.D.

THE FIZZLE OF "THE HOODED JERKS"

by Prof. J.H. Dees
Head, Dept of Sociology
University of Tampa, Fla.

ON JUNE 30, 1951 less than a week before the day celebrating American Independence- 64 white-robed Ku Klux Klansmen referred to by Gov. Warren as "the hooded jerks"; "the sheeted cowards" "the covered goons" and the like met on vacant private property to the south-east of the city of Tampa, Fla. It was estimated that there were about 300 people present, but as the Tampa Tribune wrote in their editorial the majority of the crowd were curiousity seekers. The crowd included hardly more than the 64 robed clansmen an was a fizzle similar to the well advertized meeting in Miami, Fla. in which only 100 showed up to hear the latest scapegoating of the "hooded jerks".

The Tampa meeting as was the Miami meeting was primarily a political rally and an effort to raise funds for Bill Hendrix of Tallahassee; the self styled grand ("jerk") dragon of the Southeren Knights of the K.K.K. Who is running for the governor of Florida on a collosial program of hatred and scapegoating. Hendrix said his platform would be : segregation, no sales tax, ridding the state of "KIKE" (Jewish) bootleggers and gamblers, putting the state in the wholesale liquor business, making every one in the state "colonels" and to tear down the miami sea- walls built by the "KIKE" Jews and to give them back to the gentiles who paid the taxes to build them.

The focus of the meeting was scapegoating and anti-semitism. The "KIKE" Jews were blamed for everything and the word "KIKE JEW" was used as synonomous with Red or Communist. There was a deliberate attempt to take the focus off the Negro questions and Catholics to lend an air of respectability of fighting communism via the KIKE Jews. Ironically the meeting had a semi- religious atmosphere with the Lord's prayer being read twice,;several biblical references being made- all

amidst profanity and a steady flow of hatred and scapegoating. This travesty of democracy so near the Fourth of July celebration was well timed for the Russian Propagandists. Undoubtedly the Kremlin rejoiced at the news of the hooded jerks in Tampa but for the people of Tampa and the state-- it was considered another FIZZLE.

Civil Rights
Baseball

March 26, 1952

Dr. T. Stanton Dietrich
Department of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Fla.

Dear Tommy:

Very nice to see you yesterday. I got safely back with several hours' sleep in the city of Pelham, Georgia.

That's a good thing in Jackson County, and I do hope you will all work to keep it going.

I remind you of the clipping about police matters you were going to send me from the Tallahassee paper.

We look forward to your being in Atlanta. Do come to the Council's office if you can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

Pi, misc.

The Florida State University

Tallahassee

T. Stanton Dietrich
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

April 9, 1952

RECEIVED
APR 10 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am sorry we did not get to see you in Atlanta, but John and I were glad to see Anna and Katy.

I am enclosing a clipping on the Negro police from the Tallahassee Democrat. You might be interested to know that this week the Boston Braves and Philadelphia Phillies played here in Tallahassee and that two or three of the Negroes played the entire game with almost no comment or public reaction. There was talk about Brooklyn playing here next year. So I guess we are making a little progress down here after all.

Sincerely yours,

Stanton

TSD:ms

A many thanks. Nice article.

Sorry I was away!

Best

G S M.

Mr Fleming

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College
Department of Technical Journalism
STILLWATER

RECEIVED
APR 12
Southern Regional Council

April 9, 1948

George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Dr. Foreman of our sociology department has referred your assignment to me with the suggestion that we might care to fulfill it. Let me say that I would be glad to do what I could within the time limits and the amount of reference necessary.

You mention that you have a summary of press comment that might be helpful. I will also check the chief state papers for such comment as is available, as well as check with other sources close at hand.

I trust that we will be able to summarize some material that will be helpful although there have been no outward signs of Oklahoma "revolt" such as have made sensational reading in other states.

Sincerely,

J. C. Stratton

James C. Stratton
Assistant Professor
of Journalism

Civil Rights
1948
Polit Reactions

April 15, 1948

Mr. James G. Stratton, Asst. Prof. of Journalism
Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Stratton:

Dr. Mitchell has referred to me your letter of April 9. It is very kind of you to agree to help us present the reaction in Oklahoma to the President's civil rights proposals.

As you suggest, Oklahoma has not joined in the "Southern revolt" to any noticeable extent. A check of our press clippings reveals only one item directly bearing on the question; namely, that Senator Thomas has announced he will support the civil rights program when such legislation reaches the floor of Congress.

Undoubtedly, the reactions in the State, pro and con, have been reflected more completely in the local press. Anything you can supply us about the background of Oklahoma's non-participation in the "revolt" would be most helpful.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

5/19

FROM THE DESK OF

Alex Miller

TO George Mitchell

Attached will interest you — Regards

Alex

RECEIVED
MAY 20 1948
Southern Regional Council

Civil Rts - Polit. Reactions

NORTH CAROLINA CATHOLIC

Friday, May 14, 1948

Civil Rights

Catholics resent prejudice born of ignorance. Few things irritate them more than hearing the Catholic Church misrepresented in an authoritative manner only to find that the would be authority is repeating hearsay begun and perpetuated by enemies of the Church. When a man, especially a professedly educated man, presents as facts falsifications which he has never attempted to verify, Catholics are tempted to righteous anger.

The injustice of the situation, the smug refusal to give the Church an opportunity to speak for itself by going to Catholic sources to find out exactly what the Church teaches grates on Catholic sensibilities. It is not hard to be tolerant of a man who has studied the Catholic position and has formed what he considers conscientious objections to it, but it is very difficult not to become provoked when a person berates or denounces something about our faith which he has not studied or tried to understand. The very thought of anyone condemning something he has never taken the trouble of investigating at its source disgusts the thinking Catholic. He abhors it as unjust and illogical and wonders how intelligent people can give such unscrupulous hate-mongers a hearing.

Yet, today, many Catholics find themselves in the position they rightly abhor. Like the vicious anti-Catholic authorities on the Catholic Church they are condemning a bill which they have not taken the trouble to read and decided that they were not in sympathy with some of its provisions, it would be understandable, but to condemn it on hearsay is both un-American and un-Catholic.

We refer to President Truman's Civil Rights Bill. We urge that you read it before you condemn it. Refuse to let shallow minds or wily politicians make your decision for you. Faith and patriotism demand that you study and think before you act on a matter of such import. Make an effort to understand it in the light of your Catholic faith. Pray for God's guidance. Then, state your opinion with honest conviction.

###

FELLOWS WHO COULD DO THE JOB:

Father Jerome A. Drolet
St. Matthias Church
3924 General Taylor Street
New Orleans, La.
(only fellow in La.)

Chester Cowart
610 West Duval Street
Jacksonville 4, Fla.
(only fellow in Fla.)

The Rev. Mr. Samuel F. Freeman, Jr.
Pulaski Heights Christian Church
Hillcrest and Spruce Streets
Little Rock, Ark.

~~Asa T. Spaulding~~
~~North Carolina Life Ins Co.~~
~~Durham, NC.~~
~~or~~
~~Mrs. Annie Laurie McDonald~~
~~1527 12½ Street~~
~~Hickory, N.C.~~
or
Cyrus M. Johnson
Box 1208
Raleigh, N.C.
or
R. E. Jones
A . & T. College
Greensboro, N.C.

Dr. V. L. Wharton
Millsaps College
Jackson, Miss.

Leo J. Zuber
2794 North Decatur Rd.
Decatur, Ga.

Charles G. Gomillion
Box 31
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Dr. I. Ruth Brett
Box 445

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

October 27, 1947

Dear Friend:

To acquaint you with the work of the Southern Regional Council we have, for some months now, been sending you copies of our publication, New South. We very much hope that you will want to join us in the constructive work that we are trying to do, and to this end we are extending a most cordial invitation to membership in the Council

Such membership, we believe, will become a source of deep satisfaction to you, for through it you will be aligning yourself with other liberal individuals for the development of our South, socially and economically. Your signature on the enclosed card together with yearly dues ($2.00) will establish you as a member of the Council.

May we not hear from you?

Sincerely,

Margaret Price
Membership Secretary

Mr. W. Barton Beatty
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Va.

Miss Josephine Hamilton
Chattanooga High School
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Mr. Jackson Valtair ~~(don't know his race)~~
5201 Belmont Street
Dallas, Texas

Mr. John F. Potts, Director
A very Institute
Charleston, S. C.

Mr. G. D. Wilson
3344 Grand Avenue
Louisville, Ky.

Dr. Paul B. Foreman
Oklahoma A. & M. College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

~~(not a fellow, we have none in Okla.)~~

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

As you know, the so-called "Southern Revolt" against President Truman's civil rights proposals has had widespread repercussions in the Southern States; the Virginia Assembly has adopted legislation calling for uninstructed delegates to the Democratic Convention; several counties in South Carolina have "seceded" from the Democratic Party; a mass protest meeting has been held in Mississippi; and so on. Even those States which have stood pat politically have experienced considerable internal agitation over the President's request for Federal legislation.

It would be helpful if we could present a round-up of these reactions in the various Southern States, in the May issue of NEW SOUTH. Would you be willing to assemble for us, by April 25, the pertinent information about ? Following are some of the points that might be covered:

(1) What State legislation has been passed as a result of the "Revolt"?
(2) What moves have been proposed by the Governor, Democratic Executive Committee, or others to nominate a candidate acceptable to the South?
(3) What steps have been taken to "secede" from the National Democratic Party?
(4) Has the "Revolt" affected attitudes toward Negro voting, Negro education, or the availability to Negroes of other rights and privileges?
(5) What are the internal causes for the reactions, or lack of reactions, within the State?

Perhaps the one best source of information would be the political reporter of one of the newspapers in the capital city of the State. Such a reporter should have all the necessary information at his fingertips. If it is possible for you to undertake this for us, we will furnish you with a summary of such material as we have culled from the press.

I will greatly appreciate an early reply.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE

December 5, 1946

CAUTION: The following Statement by the President and Executive Order MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE UNTIL RELEASED. Release to all regular editions of newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 8:00 o'clock P.M., E.S.T., today, Thursday, December 5, 1946.

The same hour of release applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

PLEASE EXERCISE CARE TO AVOID PREMATURE PUBLICATION OR RADIO ANNOUNCEMENT.

CHARLES G. ROSS
Secretary to the President

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Freedom From Fear is more fully realized in our country than in any other on the face of the earth. Yet all parts of our population are not equally free from fear. And from time to time, and in some places, this freedom has been gravely threatened. It was so after the last war, when organized groups fanned hatred and intolerance, until, at times, mob action struck fear into the hearts of men and women because of their racial origin or religious beliefs.

Today, Freedom From Fear, and the democratic institutions which sustain it, are again under attack. In some places, from time to time, the local enforcement of law and order has broken down, and individuals - sometimes ex-servicemen, even women - have been killed, maimed, or intimidated.

The preservation of civil liberties is a duty of every Government - state, Federal, and local. Wherever the law enforcement measures and the authority of Federal, state, and local governments are inadequate to discharge this primary function of government, these measures and this authority should be strengthened and improved.

The Constitutional guarantees of individual liberties and of equal protection under the laws clearly place on the Federal Government the duty to act when state or local authorities abridge or fail to protect these Constitutional rights.

Yet in its discharge of the obligations placed on it by the Constitution, the Federal Government is hampered by inadequate civil rights statutes. The protection of our democratic institutions and the enjoyment by the people of their rights under the Constitution require that these weak and inadequate statutes should be expanded and improved. We must provide the Department of Justice with the tools to do the job.

I have, therefore, issued today an Executive Order creating the President's Committee on Civil Rights and I am asking this Committee to prepare for me a written report. The substance of this report will be recommendations with respect to the adoption or establishment by legislation or otherwise of more adequate and effective means and procedures for the protection of the civil rights of the people of the United States.

The members of this Committee will be:

MR. C. E. WILSON, Chairman; President, General Electric Company; formerly Executive Vice-Chairman of the War Production Board.

MRS. SADIE T. ALEXANDER, lawyer, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Assistant City Solicitor, City of Philadelphia; member of the Board of Directors, National Urban League; member of the Inter-Racial Committee of Philadelphia.

MR. JAMES [illegible] of Washington, D. C.; Secretary-Treasurer, Congress of Indus[illegible]nizations; Chairman, CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimina[illegible]

(OVER)

MUTILATED PAGE (s)

MR. JOHN S. DICKEY, President of Dartmouth College; formerly Special Assistant to the Secretary of State.

MR. MORRIS L. ERNST, lawyer and author, of New York City.

RABBI ROLAND G. GITTELSOHN of New York City; Spiritual Leader of the Central Synagogue at Rockville, Long Island; recipient of the Navy Commendation Medal for his services as the Jewish Chaplain of the Fifth Marine Division at Iwo Jima.

DR. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina; formerly member of the War Labor Board.

THE MOST REVEREND FRANCIS J. HAAS, Bishop of Grand Rapids, Michigan; formerly Chairman of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

MR. CHARLES LUCKMAN of Cambridge, Massachusetts; President of Lever Brothers; formerly consultant to the War Loan Division, United States Treasury.

MR. FRANCIS P. MATTHEWS of Omaha, Nebraska; Former Supreme Knight of the Knights of Columbus; Vice-President of the National War Fund; designated Papal Chamberlain by Pope Pius XII.

MR. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR., lawyer of New York City; Chairman of the Housing Committee of the American Veterans Committee.

THE RIGHT REVEREND HENRY KNOX SHERRILL of Boston, Massachusetts, Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church; member of the Governor of Massachusetts' Committee on Racial and Religious Understanding.

MR. BORIS SHISHKIN of Alexandria, Virginia, Economist for the American Federation of Labor; formerly a member of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

MRS. M. E. TILLEY of Atlanta, Georgia; Secretary, Department of Social Relations, Women's Society of Christian Service, Methodist Church.

MR. CHANNING H. TOBIAS of New York City, Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund; formerly Senior Secretary of the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association.

- - - - - - - - - - -

EXECUTIVE ORDER

9808

- - - - -

ESTABLISHING THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WHEREAS the preservation of civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution is essential to domestic tranquility, national security, the general welfare, and the continued existence of our free institutions; and

WHEREAS the action of individuals who take the law into their own hands and inflict summary punishment and wreak personal vengeance is subversive of our democratic system of law enforcement and public criminal justice, and gravely threatens our form of government; and

WHEREAS it is essential that all possible steps be taken to safeguard our civil rights:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. There is hereby created a committee to be known as the President's Committee on Civil Rights, which shall be composed of the following-named members, who shall serve without compensation:

Mr. C. E. Wilson, Chairman; Mrs. Sadie T. Alexander; Mr. James B. Carey; Mr. John S. Dickey; Mr. Morris L. Ernst; Rabbi Roland G. Gittelsohn; Dr. Frank P. Graham; The Most Reverend Francis J. Haas; Mr. Charles Luckman; Mr. Francis P. Matthews; Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.; The Right Reverend Henry Knox Sherrill; Mr. Boris Shishkin; Mrs. M. E. Tilley; Mr. Channing H. Tobias.

2. The Committee is authorized on behalf of the President to inquire into and to determine whether and in what respect current law-enforcement measures and the authority and means possessed by Federal, State, and local governments may be strengthened and improved to safeguard the civil rights of the people.

3. All executive departments and agencies of the Federal Government are authorized and directed to cooperate with the Committee in its work, and to furnish the Committee such information or the services of such persons as the Committee may require in the performance of its duties.

4. When requested by the Committee to do so, persons employed in any of the executive departments and agencies of the Federal Government shall testify before the Committee and shall make available for the use of the Committee such documents and other information as the Committee may require.

5. The Committee shall make a report of its studies to the President in writing, and shall in particular make recommendations with respect to the adoption or establishment, by legislation or otherwise, of more adequate and effective means and procedures for the protection of the civil rights of the people of the United States.

6. Upon rendition of its report to the President, the Committee shall cease to exist, unless otherwise determined by further Executive Order.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,

December 5, 1

file

carbon already sent to file

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

1712 G Street NW., Room 208, Washington 25, D. C.

CHARLES E. WILSON, CHAIRMAN
JOHN S. DICKEY, VICE CHAIRMAN
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Jr., VICE CHAIRMAN

MRS. SADIE T. ALEXANDER
JAMES B. CAREY
MORRIS L. ERNST
RABBI ROLAND B. GITTELSOHN
FRANK P. GRAHAM
MOST REV. FRANCIS J. HAAS
CHARLES LUCKMAN
FRANCIS P. MATTHEWS
RT. REV. HENRY KNOX SHERRILL
BORIS SHISHKIN
MRS. M. E. TILLY
CHANNING H. TOBIAS

ROBERT K. CARR, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

RECEIVED
MAR 3 1947
Southern Regional Council

February 20, 1947.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The secretariat of the President's Committee on Civil Rights has now been organized and offices have been established at the address given above. The Committee hopes to make rapid progress with its studies and would like to report to the President at an early date. At present, the major work is being done by subcommittees. One of these is conducting a study of existing laws for the protection of civil rights, and is considering the desirability of strengthening this legislation. Another subcommittee is concerned with the economic, social and educational aspects of the civil rights problem in America, and hopes to be able to recommend a program of action in this direction.

I am taking the liberty of writing your organization at this early stage in the Committee's work to seek your cooperation. The Committee is interested in hearing from you with respect to such matters as the following:

(a) What is the nature of your own program of activity in the civil rights field? With what degree of success do you feel your various efforts are meeting?

(b) What recommendations do you have to offer the Committee concerning the areas it should study, or the methods it should employ in making its investigations?

(c) Do you have any reports or specific findings that you would like to bring to the Committee's attention?

Perhaps Atlanta study

At a later date we may well wish to call upon you for specific help or suggestions, but at the moment the purpose of this letter is to invite your cooperation and to call for whatever suggestions or offers of help you may care to make at once. No decision has yet been made concerning public hearings. It is quite possible that the Committee will decide at a later date to hold such hearings and to give interested persons and organizations an opportunity to appear. I will be glad to notify you of such a decision when made, if you so desire.

Sincerely yours,

Robert K. Carr. Robert K. Carr

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

1712 G Street NW., Room 208, Washington 25, D. C.

CHARLES E. WILSON, CHAIRMAN
JOHN S. DICKEY, VICE CHAIRMAN
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Jr., VICE CHAIRMAN
MRS. SADIE T. ALEXANDER
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MOST REV. FRANCIS J. HAAS
CHARLES LUCKMAN
FRANCIS P. MATTHEWS
RT. REV. HENRY KNOX SHERRILL
BORIS SHISHKIN
MRS. M. E. TILLY
CHANNING H. TOBIAS

ROBERT K. CARR, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

April 25, 1947.

RECEIVED
APR 30 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia (3)

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am very happy to have your letter of April 21st and the accompanying documents dealing with the transportation problem and the separation of races in Atlanta. I am sure that these materials will be very helpful to us.

When the police manual is completed we would very much like to see the copy.

May I take this opportunity to express the appreciation of the President's Committee for the assistance you have been giving to us.

Sincerely yours,

Robert K. Carr

Robert K. Carr.

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
ON CIVIL RIGHTS
1712 G Street, N. W., Room 208
Washington 25, D. C.

RECEIVED
MAY 9 1947
Southern Regional Council

TO: Witnesses Appearing Before the President's Committee on Civil Rights

FROM: Robert K. Carr
Executive Secretary

SUBJECT: Reimbursement for Travel Expenses

Persons requested to appear before the President's Committee on Civil Rights may be reimbursed for the cost of transportation, lodging, meals and incidental expenses as follows:

1. Per Diem Allowance

A flat rate of $10.00 without receipts or itemization for each day or fraction of a day spent away from home. The per diem will be computed from the time the train or plane leaves the home city until the hour of return thereto.

2. Transportation Allowance

Actual cost of transportation by air or rail, pullman accommodations, taxi fares between residence and station at each end of the trip and station to hotel and back in Washington. It is desirable to submit pullman ticket stubs to show the type of accommodations used and round trip tickets should be purchased whenever possible. If for any reason a ticket is not used in its entirety, refund may be secured for the unused portion.

Cost of telephone calls or telegrams in connection with the Committee's business also may be reimbursed. A copy of each telegram sent must be furnished to the Executive Secretary.

For your convenience, a form is enclosed on which notations may be made of the hours of departure and arrival, taxi fares

and other pertinent information. At the end of a trip, these slips may be submitted to Mr. Robert K. Carr, Executive Secretary, The President's Committee on Civil Rights, Room 208, 1712 G Street, N.W., Washington 25, D.C. (self-addressed, franked envelope attached for your convenience) where the proper voucher forms will be prepared for the traveler's signature. As soon as the voucher is signed and returned to Mr. Carr it will be placed in line for payment. A check will be mailed to the traveler as soon as the necessary audit is completed.

Attachments (2)

IMMEDIATE RELEASE JANUARY 15, 1947

Informal Remarks of the President to the Members of the President's Committee on Civil Rights:

You have a vitally important job. We are none of us entirely familiar with just how far the Federal Government under the Constitution has a right to go in these civil rights matters.

I want our Bill of Rights implemented in fact. We have been trying to do this for 150 years. We are making progress, but we are not making progress fast enough. This country could very easily be faced with a situation similar to the one with with it was faced in 1922. That date was impressed on my mind because in 1922 I was running for my first elective office — County Judge of Jackson County — and there was an organization in that county that met on hills and burned crosses and worked behind sheets. There is a tendency in this country for that situation to develop again, unless we do something tangible to prevent it.

I don't want to see any race discrimination. I don't want to see any religious bigotry break out in this country as it did then.

You people can, I think, make a real contribution here, with the assistance of the Attorney General and the Office of the President, that will get us tangible results. Our work has got to start at the grass roots, and in starting at the grass roots, it has got to start in the hearts of the people themselves.

I appreciate highly your willingness to spend your time on a matter of this kind. You may get more brickbats than bouquets. Your willingness to undertake the job shows that your hearts are in the right place.

I know you will go to work in earnest and I hope that you will bring me something tangible by which we can accomplish the purposes which we have been trying to accomplish for 150 years, ever since the adoption of the Constitution.

MR. WILSON: We will do our utmost, Mr. President. We all realize the complexities of the job that you are giving us, but we will do our best to work something out and hope it will be helpful.

THE PRESIDENT: I am sure it will be. I have been very much alarmed at certain happenings around the country that go to show there is a latent spirit in some of us that isn't what it ought to be. It has been difficult in some places to enforce even local laws. I want the Attorney General to know just exactly how far he can go legally from the Federal Government's standpoint. I am a believer in the sovereignty of the individual and of the local governments. I don't think the Federal Government ought to be in a position to exercise dictatorial powers locally; but there are certain rights under the Constitution of the United States which I think the Federal Government has a right to protect.

It's a big job. Go to it!

- - -

May 9, 1947

MEMORANDUM

TO: Members of the President's Committee on Civil Rights

FROM: Robert K. Carr

SUBJECT: Program for Meetings on May 14 and 15, 1947

RECEIVED
MAY 12 1947
Southern Regional Council

I. Wednesday, May 14:

10 A.M.

Subcommittee No. 1	Room 207, 1712 G Street, N. W.
Subcommittee No. 2	Conference Room, East Wing of the White House
Subcommittee No. 3	Room 210, 1712 G Street, N. W.

1:30 P.M. Conference Room (Rm. 105) National Archives Building, Eighth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.

Hearings:

1:30-2:10	Elmer Henderson, Executive Secretary, National Council for a Permanent F.E.P.C.
2:10-2:50	The Reverend Father John Birch, Executive Secretary, The Bishops' Committee for the Spanish-Speaking
2:50-3:30	John Collier, President Institute of Ethnic Affairs
3:30-4:10	Guy Johnson, Director, Southern Regional Council

II. Thursday, May 15: Conference Room, National Archives Building

9:30-10:00	Business Session
10:00-10:40	Representatives of the National Catholic Welfare Conference
10:40-11:20	Will Alexander of the Rosenwald Fund
11:20-12:00	D'Arcy McNickle, National Congress of American Indians
1:30-2:10	Professor Paul Lazarsfeld, Director of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University
2:10-2:50	Osmond K. Fraenkel, Attorney, representing the American Civil Liberties Union
2:50-3:30	Charles Houston, Attorney

Please note carefully the times at which sessions begin. We have a heavy schedule of consultants for these final hearings and your prompt attendance at meetings will be very helpful.

WASHINGTON IS NOW ON DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

Start

1201

SYMBOLS

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NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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Q WA461 GOVT PD=THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC 9 471MA15A AM 11-3

GUY JOHNSON, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

YOUR APPEARANCE BEFORE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS IS SCHEDULED FOR 330 WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON MAY FOURTEENTH ROOM 105 NATIONAL ARCHIVES BUILDING EIGHTH AND PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE=

ROBERT K CARR EXECUTIVE SECRETARY.

330 105.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

1712 G Street NW., Room 208, Washington 25, D. C.

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JOHN S. DICKEY,
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FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Jr.,
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ROBERT K. CARR,
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

May 16, 1947.

RECEIVED
MAY 20 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

The President's Committee has asked me to let you know how much it appreciated your appearance before it on Wednesday, May 14th. The Committee found your testimony very helpful and feels that you have contributed greatly to its understanding of many phases of the civil rights problem.

I would like to add a personal word of appreciation on my own part. I am grateful to you for your willingness to make the trip up from Atlanta. I think your statement was an admirable one and that it will help the Committee to make some of the difficult decisions that lie ahead of it.

The transcript of the hearings is being reproduced and will be sent to the absent members. I am sure that they will find your testimony very interesting. I will be glad to send you a copy as soon as it is ready.

Sincerely yours,

Robert K. Carr

Robert K. Carr.

File Copy

CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE SOUTH

Remarks by Guy B. Johnson before the President's Committee on Civil Rights, May 14, 1947*

Mr. Chairman and Members of the President's Committee on Civil Rights: I appreciate the privilege of appearing before you today. The appointment of this Committee by the President is a significant step in our progress as a nation toward the enjoyment of full civil rights by all of our people, regardless of race or creed or class. Your deliberations and your recommendations can do much for human progress in the United States.

I speak as an individual, but I believe that most of what I have to say has the support of the Southern Regional Council, with which I am associated, and of progressive-minded Southerners in general. I shall endeavor to set forth briefly some ideas on the problem of civil rights, with special reference to the South, and some suggestions for strengthening the protection of civil rights. You have probably already heard most, if not all, of the suggestions which I shall make, so what I have to say may be more by way of reinforcement than of new ideas.

As a background for my presentation, I wish to say that I conceive of the ultimate strategic recommendations of this Committee as being directed toward the following processes:

1. Strengthening federal legislation, and perhaps the Constitution, so that the federal government may deal more effectively with violations of civil rights.

2. Clarifying certain existing constitutional and statutory provisions through Congressional action and test cases in the courts so that these provisions may become better instruments for safeguarding civil rights.

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*Dr. Johnson was Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, from the Council's founding in January, 1944, until his resignation on April 1, 1947. He is serving as Consultant to the new Director, Dr. George S. Mitchell, for several months before returning to his former position as Research Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of North Carolina.

3. Formulating certain desirable standards of legislation, judicial procedure, police conduct, etc., for the state and local levels, which can be laid on the conscience of state and local governments, bar associations, and all sorts of private agencies interested in civil rights.

Lynching

Lynching is not nearly as common as it used to be, but it has increased in the post-war years and it is likely to increase further unless it is dealt with more vigorously. Furthermore it has changed its characteristic pattern from the old-time big mob to more surreptitious executions by small groups. Any lynching is too much lynching, and anything that can be done by the federal government or by the state governments to wipe it out will be a contribution to human progress.

Most of the Southern states have rather good laws on the subject of lynching, but there have been very few convictions under these laws because enforcement efforts are only half-hearted and because silence on the part of those who are "in the know" is whole-hearted. Nothing would eradicate lynching more quickly than a relatively high certainty of punishment. Since the federal government seems to pursue offenders with more skill and persistence than the state governments, as a general rule, it seems to me to be highly desirable to strengthen the hand of the federal government against lynching to the fullest possible extent under the Constitution.

As I understand it, the present jurisdiction of the federal government over cases of lynching is more or less incidental and rests largely on Sections 51 and 52 of Title 18 of the United States Code. Under Section 51 it is necessary to prove that two or more persons have conspired to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate a citizen in the free exercise of a right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States. The offense which must be proved

is conspiracy, and the maximum punishment, a $5000 fine and imprisonment for ten years, is so drastic that it is discourages convictions. Under Section 52 it is necessary to prove that a person has wilfully subjected another person to the deprivation of a right, privilege, or immunity secured by the Constitution and laws of the United States, etc., etc. The maximum penalty is a fine of $1000 and imprisonment for one year. But the striking fact about these statutes is the way they have been weakened and limited by traditional interpretation. Thus the "two or more persons" in Section 51 and the "whoever" in Section 52 must include some officer clothed with authority of the law. The emasculation of the original intent of such statutes is tragic, but, under our complicated negativistic civil rights structure and the judicial interpretations thereof, this is the practical situation which we face. If these statutes are worth anything, they are worth improving, and they should be improved to the limit. Every possible angle should be subjected to repeated testing. Even the Supreme Court can reverse long-standing traditions. Witness the historic language used in Smith vs Allwright: "Grovey vs Townsend is overruled." Frankly, however, I am doubtful whether they can ever be made much more effective than they are at present. Three Supreme Court justices consider Section 52 unconstitutional. If I may make a drastic suggestion, it is this: what we really need is a constitutional amendment conferring upon the Congress certain specific powers to protect human rights, implemented by a comprehensive new civil rights code.

Next a word about specific anti-lynching legislation. If a federal statute with teeth in it can be drafted so as to stand the test of constitutionality, then we should have it. There are difficulties, as you well know. One is that we have the problem of trying to isolate a particular type of murder or mayhem and bringing it under the jurisdiction of the federal government. Another is the fact that in all probability the statute could cover only those cases in which an officer of the law is involved, and these constitute a minor proportion of all lynchings. I return therefore, to my previous suggestion, namely, that we need a comprehensive revised civil rights code backed by the necessary constitutional revision.

Abuses of Police Power

Much less spectacular than lynching, but far more common and more serious, are the day-to-day abuses of police powers which are practiced by local officers in particular. I am not making a blanket condemnation of our sheriffs and policemen. They have a difficult job, and those who discharge their duties with firmness, efficiency, and fairness deserve our highest commendation. Nevertheless, the fact remains that on the average the level of education, training, official conduct, and administration of our police in the South is considerably below standard. This situation aggravates, and is aggravated by, the relations between whites and Negroes. Any underprivileged person runs the risk of being mistreated by the police, but it is the Negro who suffers most, because he is the most defenseless. The deliberate use of needless force, especially on Negroes is so common that many people take it for granted as a necessary part of law enforcement. The most common abuses of police authority are the following:

1. Insulting and abusive language.
2. Needless beating and shooting of persons being arrested or while in custody.
3. Wholesale arrests or round-ups on slight suspicion. (Many county officers still operate on the fee system, and the Saturday-night round-up of crap-shooters and "vagrants" is the time-worn way of bringing in the fees.)
4. Force and intimidation to gain confessions or information from persons taken into custody.
5. Holding of persons incommunicado.
6. Denial of medical attention to sick or injured prisoners.
7. Jailing of witnesses so that they will be on hand when wanted.

In passing we must take note of the fact that railway conductors, bus drivers, and street-car operators are empowered by law to enforce the laws pertaining to the segregation of the races in public carriers. These men are armed, and some of them are inclined to be much too quick on the trigger. Every year a score or more of Negroes are slain in the South by street-car operators or bus drivers, and most of them are slain needlessly.

The state police in the South operate, for the most part, on a higher level of professional conduct than the local police. However, in those relatively infrequent cases where their services are needed to deal with a race riot or a potential riot, they have a tendency to conceive of their task as primarily one of dispersing or bringing under control the Negro participants in the affair. This is illustrated by the Columbia, Tennessee, incident of February, 1946. That unfortunate affair was handled by local officers with considerable skill up to a certain point. However, the situation took a turn for the worse and the State Patrol was called in. Our investigation led us to the conclusion that if the State Patrol had first dispersed the crowd of white people and had then waited until full daylight to deal with the crowd of Negroes who had assembled in"Mink Slide", the situation could have been resolved without further injury to persons or property.

The police abuses which I have named range from minor items to major infringements on civil rights. The situation is complex, and it calls for several methods of attack. In the first place, the strengthening of federal statutes, which I have already discussed, would certainly be helpful. Not that this would lead to a great many convictions, because it would still be exceedingly difficult to get good evidence, but occasional convictions in the more flagrant cases would no doubt have a salutary effect on the whole picture. In the second place, the state and local governments should be urged to improve their administrative procedures and regulations as quickly as possible. It is up to them to clean their own houses, but I believe that this Committee can focus public attention upon their shortcomings and can offer concrete suggestions for dealing with them. For example, there should be considerable emphasis placed on the selection, training, and personality traits of policemen. No

person with a sadistic tendency or with a race or class chip on his shoulder has any business being an officer of the law. The Southern Regional Council is now working out a manual of human relations for police officers in the hope that some special training of this sort may eventually become standard practice. Finally, the use of Negro police in predominantly Negro areas might be mentioned as a special technique which has already proved its worth. About 38 Southern cities and towns now include Negroes in their police forces, and most of them say that Negro police do a more effective job of dealing with Negro offenders and, furthermore, that in the areas where they serve there are fewer killings of and by the police. I hope that this Committee will look into this matter and will lend its moral and educational weight to the extension of the use of Negro police.

Suffrage Restrictions

The ballot is the backbone of our democracy. When any class or group of citizens is denied the right of suffrage, it is deprived of the tool by which it could do the most to protect its other civil rights. In the South we have made considerable progress toward eliminating suffrage barriers, but much remains to be done. Seven states still require the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting, four or five are trying to hold on to the white primary, and several states have educational or character qualifications which are administered in such a way as to discriminate against Negroes or any others whom the local registrars want to keep off the voting lists. In addition, there are extra-legal devices of intimidation to prevent Negroes from voting and to punish them for having voted. The "best" of the thirteen Southern states from the standpoint of suffrage are probably Kentucky, Oklahoma, and North Carolina;

the worst, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Alabama. It is hardly necessary to point out that the one-party system is strongest where the suffrage barriers are highest.

The poll tax is not as pernicious a scheme as the white primary, but it does undoubtedly keep a great many potential voters away from the polls, particularly when the tax is cumulative. Its revenue function is trivial, but its political function is significant. I do not doubt but that all of the states would eventually do away with the poll tax. But "eventually" may mean twenty-five more years for some of them, so I urge that you recommend federal action to eliminate the poll tax requirement.

The white primary situation is, of course, in a somewhat fluid state. After the Supreme Court decision in the Texas case, Smith vs. Allwright (1944), Texas settled down to an acceptance of the decision. Arkansas set up separate primaries two years ago, one for congressional candidates and the other for state and local offices, on the theory that she could do what she pleased about the latter as long as she permitted Negroes to vote in the former. However, she has recently repealed this law, and presumably she intends to permit Negroes to vote in all primaries. Georgia, after a court test of the applicability of the Smith vs. Allwright decision, fell into line and registered over 100,000 Negroes for the 1946 elections. Then, thanks to that iniquity known as the county unit system, Eugene Talmadge, in second place in the popular vote and with some 90,000 Negroes voting against him, captured the gubernatorial nomination. He had campaigned on a promise to give Georgia a white primary by repealing every reference to primary elections. Then followed his death, the "battle of the governors," the unseating of Herman Talmadge, and the vetoing of

the new white primary bill by the legal governor, M. E. Thompson. The battle lines are forming, and Georgia will have the same fight over again in 1948. In Florida, where there has been considerable progress away from the white primary system, a state senator has waged a vigorous campaign for the repeal of all primary statutes, but all indications are that the present legislature is turning a deaf ear to his proposals.

There are now in effect two definite arrangements which are intended to evade the consequences of the decision of the Supreme Court in Smith vs. Allright. One of these is the South Carolina arrangement. Shortly after the decision, the South Carolina legislature met in special session and repealed every statutory reference to primary elections. The theory behind this move is simple: no laws, no state action, therefore the Supreme Court can't touch us, because the Democratic Party is as private as any other social club. The crucial question now is, can this arrangement be broken down?

The South Carolina plan is now being subjected to a test in the courts. Of course, we are hopeful that the Supreme Court, when it gets the case, will take the view that the placing of the names of primary nominees on the official general election ballot brings the whole system under the heading of "state action" and therefore nullifies it. However, it is quite possible that the Court might find otherwise. In that case, several other states would no doubt adopt the South Carolina plan in the hope that they could hold on to the white primary indefinitely. Therefore, we should be prepared to subject all such devices to every possible test, and as a last resort to promote a federal statute, or an amendment if necessary, providing that no political party which offers candidates for national office shall make race, color, creed, or national origin a condition of party membership.

The second arrangement for preserving the white primary, or at least for preventing Negroes from voting in large numbers, is the Alabama plan. Last year Alabama adopted an amendment to its constitution known as the Boswell Amendment. This plan sets up certain qualifications for voting -- qualifications which in themselves are not very unreasonable -- and gives to election registrars wide powers for applying the tests and for making final decisions. Both opponents and proponents of this measure recognized it for what it is, namely, a device to keep Negroes from voting in substantial numbers. This device will be very hard to deal with. It should be studied carefully to determine whether there are any possible constitutional grounds on which to attack it. Furthermore, a systematic effort should be made, through both civil and criminal actions, to deal with the discrimination which is bound to occur in the administration of the provision.

The extra-legal devices of intimidation and violence are the most insidious and the most difficult to deal with. Stronger civil rights statutes will help to some extent. It would also be desirable to have a wide campaign of popular education which will inform Negroes as to their suffrage rights and instruct them as to the procedures they should follow in trying to exercise those rights. And, of course, the Department of Justice and various civil rights agencies should redouble their efforts to bring to justice those persons who deny others the right to vote.

Before leaving the question of voting, let me refer again to the Georgia county unit system. This thing is so entrenched that many of us see little hope for its repeal by legislative action in our generation. My vote as a resident of Atlanta and Fulton County is worth less than one one-hundredth of the vote of a resident of the state's smallest rural county. If that is "democracy"

or "equality before the law" or"a republican form of government," then I don't know what these terms mean! I hope that this Committee will do everything in its power to bring moral and legal pressures to bear on this pernicious device.

"Separate-But-Equal" Facilities

Under our segregation laws in the South there are numerous public services and facilities which are operated on what is sometimes called a separate-but-equal basis. I refer, of course, to public schools, hospitals, charitable and penal institutions, public carriers, etc. The accent has been almost entirely on "separate," so that we have everything from near-equality to gross inequality, or even absence, of facilities for Negroes. In recent years there has been considerable progress toward equalization (e.g., teachers' salaries and length of school terms have been equalized in a few states), and there has been some obliteration of the color line (e.g., in interstate travel), but the fact remains that facilities and accommodations for Negroes are unequal and inferior. The ultimate disposition of the segregation issue will not take place in our generation, and in the main whatever pressures are applied will probably have the practical effect of reducing the gaps of inequality. Fortunately, the legal mandate is quite clear, particularly since the decision of the Supreme Court in the Gaines case. That mandate is: a state may maintain separate facilities for whites and Negroes, but if it provides certain public facilities for white people it must provide "substantially equal" facilities for Negroes. The N.A.A.C.P. has pressed these matters in the courts with considerable success, and I believe that continued pressure will

accelerate the process by which our Negro citizens will come to equality of facilities and accommodations in fact.

Hate Organizations

Time does not permit me to discuss certain "hate" organizations which seem to have taken a new lease on life in the post-war period. I understand that you have given them careful consideration and are working on methods for dealing with them. My friend Alexander Miller, of Atlanta, has already presented to you an excellent statement on these organizations. Let me say simply that I am in accord with the views which he expressed to you.

Conclusion

There are other subjects which should be discussed, but the time is limited, and I have covered what I consider to be the major problems. However, I am placing in your hands some additional materials by way of illustration and expansion of my remarks. In conclusion let me express again my appreciation of the work and the spirit of this Committee. You have the challenge and the opportunity to contribute significantly to human welfare in our democracy. May your work help to shift the emphasis in our civil rights structure from negative to positive. We need less protection from our government and more protection by our government.

* These were: New South, May 1946. (Report on Columbia, Tenn.)
New South, March 1947. (Education)
Mimeog. Memo on Southern Cities using Negro Police.

GBG

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

1712 G Street NW., Room 208, Washington 25, D. C.

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ROBERT K. CARR,
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

May 16, 1947

RECEIVED
MAY 21 1947
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
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Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Will you please sign the enclosed voucher on the line marked with an "X" and return it to this office, together with your railway and pullman stubs, so that we may submit it for payment.

For your convenience in replying, there is enclosed a self-addressed, franked envelope.

Sincerely yours,

Robert K. Carr

Enclosures

Robert K. Carr

May 27, 1947

Mr. Robert K. Carr
President's Committee on Civil Rights
1712 G Street, NW
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Carr:

Thank you for sending me the copy of the transcript of my remarks before the Committee on Civil Rights.

May I call attention to a couple of minor errors in the record? At the bottom of p. 363, the wording should be "comprehensive survey of the Negro community" instead of "confidential survey of Negro communities." On p. 364, fourth paragraph from bottom, the question on a constitutional amendment was asked by Mrs. Alexander rather than Mrs. Tilly.

Again let me thank you for the privilege of appearing before the Committee on Civil Rights. If I can be of further service in any way, I shall be glad to help.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Consultant

President's Com. on Civil Rights

Civil Rights

10/30/'47.

Mr. Charles E. Wilson,
C/O General Electric Co.,
New York City, New York.

Dear Sir:

I am writing you in your capacity as President of the COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS, appointed by President Truman, and which made its report to the President yesterday. As a citizen of the South, I submit the following comments on your report:

In the first place, your Committee is "packed," since only TWO, of its FIFTEEN, members are from the South. This makes your Committee both Judge and Prosecutor, as well as the Jury. It would be NAIVE, indeed, to expect a fair, and decent, report from such a Committee. Among other things, your Committee recommends: First, enactment of Federal anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and fair employment practice laws; second, Federal and State Laws to prevent racial, or religious, segregation and discrimination in such places as trains, buses, schools, theaters, hotels and restaurants; and, third, State Laws barring RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS in which property owners bind themselves not to sell, or lease, to UNDESIRABLES.

The sum and substance of your above mentioned report is that it is a brazen attempt to re-impose, upon the people of the South, the same type of "carpet-bag government" which was imposed upon them immediately following the Civil War. The only difference, between now and then, is that you now propose to enforce your will by LAW, rather than by bayonets in the hands of ignorant Negro soldiers, as you did after the Civil War. Your evident purpose is to FORCE the people of the South to submit to SOCIAL EQUALITY, between Whites and Negroes: to MONGRELIZE our people. Well, brother Wilson, you are wasting your time and effort, for the following reasons:

The United States Constitution - as it now stands - guarantees to all citizens EQUAL political, religious and economic RIGHTS. I wish to here point out, however, that there are strong legal reasons for contending that the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution - which give to Negroes such equal political, religious and economic rights with Whites - were ILLEGALLY adopted, for the following reasons: At the end of the Civil War, there were 36 States in the Union, counting West Virginia, which was ILLEGALLY formed out of Virginia without its consent, which was clearly un-Constitutional. Since the adoption of the three (3) above mentioned Constitutional Amendments required the approval of Three-fourths (3/4) of all the States (counting West Virginia), they would have never been approved, by the required number of States, had it not been for the fact that "carpet-bag governments" (composed of ignorant Negro ex-slaves and White "trash" from the North) had been forced upon all the Southern States by bayonets in the hands, principally, of Negro soldiers. I cannot believe that you, or any other fair and decent-minded man, will dare contend that the action

of these "carpet-bag governments," in adopting these three Constitutional Amendments, represented the will of the Southern people. While the South has well known that these Amendments were illegally adopted, they have accepted them, in order to maintain peace and unity.

Granting, as I do, that the Three above mentioned Constitutional Amendments are now ACTUALLY a part of our Constitution, I desire to point out that there is not ONE word in the Constitution - as it stands today - even mentioning, much less GUARANTEEING, SOCIAL EQUALITY between American citizens - even as between members of the SAME race - much less between Whites and Negroes. Political, religious and economic equality, between all citizens - regardless of race, color or creed - is a Constitutional RIGHT. SOCIAL EQUALITY is NOT a RIGHT, however (Constitutional or otherwise); it is a PRIVILEGE, and must be earned by proper conduct of the individual. It must be freely granted, or just as freely refused. Any man - White or Negro - who demands social equality from another, proves by such act his own personal, and racial, inferiority to the person upon whom such demand is made. You cannot deny the truth os this charge, since it is self-evident.

I wish to further point out that SOCIAL EQUALITY means MISCEGENATION, and miscegenation violates the law of Both GOD and MAN. The Divine command was: "Go forth and re-produce your KIND." It was not: "Go forth and re-produce HYBRIDS." The beasts, birds, and even insects, recognize and obey this Divine Law, and violate it only when compelled to do so by Man, for breeding and scientific purposes. Man - and ONLY Man - is sufficiently IGNORANT, and PRESUMPTIOUS, to even attempt to violate it.

It is well known that hybrids are almost always inferior - mentally, physically and morally - to both parents, and tend to rapidly become extinct. The mule - offspring of the mare and jack - is a good illustration of the working of this Divine Law. The mule cannot re-produce itself, and becomes EXTINCT in one generation, in accordance with the Divine Law. If God had intended that there should be but ONE race, He would have created but one race, rather than the many which He actually created. Would you - however WISE you may believe yourself to be - presume to improve upon God's plan? Thin it over, my friend.

If you ignorant, prejudiced "do-gooders" from the North and East would attend to your own business, and let Southerners do the same, the so-called "Negro Problem" in the South would be quickly, and easily, solved. Intelligent White Southerners recognize the right of Negroes to political, religious and economic equality with Whites, and Negroes are making rapid headway in acquiring such rights in the full. Intelligent Southern Negroes neither demand, nor desire, SOCIAL EQUALITY with Whites. They possess better sense. If you do not believe this, I suggest that you subscribe for the "The Negro South," a monthly Negro Magazine published in New Orleans, Louisiana. Its present Editor is Leon L. Lewis, and the Street address of the Magazine is 1241-43 Dryades Street, New Orleans, 13, Louisana.

Your Committee would compel Southern Whites, by Federal Law, to do away with SEGREGATION, and admit Negroes to their schools, colleges and universities; sit in the same sets with Negroes on their trains, buses, in theaters, hotels and restaurants, as well as to compel Whites to permit Negroes to reside in White "restricted" residential districts. In other words, you go full-out for SOCIAL EQUALITY between Whites and Negroes; and, presumably, you would also compel Whites - if you could - to entertain every lousy Negro "buck" in their Homes, and to encourage their daughters

to inter-marry with them? If you knew anything about the "Negro Problem," you would know that there are many Negroes who - particularly when perspirong - exude an odor closely akin to that of a skunk. How would you like for your daughter to marry such an "odorous " Negro "buck" and then, when a grand-child arrives, be compelled to put a clothes-pin on your nose when you dangle your grand-child on your knee?

There are many ignorant, criminal-minded Whites whom you do not invite into your home to mingle, as social equals, with members of your family. The same thing applies, with equal force, to intelligent, decent-minded Negroes. There is but ONE CAUSE for friction, between Whites and Negroes, in the South, and that is the insane desire, on the part of a comparitively few ignorant, lecherous-minded Negro "bucks," to consort, and inter-marry, with White women. Being denied this privilege by our women and our laws, these Negro brutes go out and RAPE our women by force, well knowing the penalty for their crime. But, instead of advising your Negro friends to cease raping White women, and thus remove practically ALL cause for friction between the two races, you demand that Congress enact strict anti-lynch and ~~xxxxi~~ F.E.P.C. laws. Yes, you would actually HANG a White man for daring to protect his wife, or daughter, from rape by a Negro brute. Well, my friend, you can "put it in your pipe and smoke it" that just so long as Negro brutes rape White women, just so long will there be lynchings in the South, all your anti-lynch and F.E.P.C. Laws to the contrary notwithstanding. The White people of the South are confronted with a CONDITION; not a THEORY. You should know that you cannot change Human Nature by the enactment of a LAW; Federal or State.

In conclusion, I charge that, in submitting your ignorant, and presumptious, reccomendations, you are only hurting, instead of helping, the Negroes. You are inciting them to riot and bloodshed, rather than to peaceful co-operation with their REAL White Southern friends. If ignorant White and Negro agitators continue to demand social equality, between Whites and Negroes, the Negroes will ultimately lose the support of their White Southern friends in their present fight for political and economic equality, both of which are now making rapid headway. Intelligent Southerners - both White and Negro - do not want this to come about, but it seems that you "do-gooders" are determined to force it upon us. Frankly, however, I actually believe that our intelligent Southern Negroes possess too much sense to follow the idiotic advice of your Committee.

Yours truly,

L. C. Christian

616 West Buikding, Houston, 2, Texas.

Carbon copies to:

Dr. Frank P. Graham,
University of N. Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Mrs. M.E. Tilly, care
Women's Society of
Christian Service,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Civil Rights

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDING BISHOP
281 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
THE RT. REV. HENRY K. SHERRILL, D.D.

RECEIVED
JAN 12 1948

January 8,1948

Mr.George S. Mitchell
Executive Director,Southern Regional Council,Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue,N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell,

Your letter of December 31st has been received. Thank you very much for sharing with me your letter to President Truman.

I am glad that the Report of the President's Committee commends itself to your careful attention.

With every good wish,

Faithfully yours,

Hy K. Sherrill

PRESIDING BISHOP

Civil Rights

RABBI ROLAND B. GITTELSOHN
430 DE MOTT AVENUE
ROCKVILLE CENTRE, L. I., N. Y.

ROCKVILLE CENTRE 6-4300

RECEIVED
JAN 26 1948
Southern Regional Council

January 22, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of December 31, sending me a copy of your communication to President Truman on the work of our Committee on Civil Rights. It is encouraging to know that our recommendations have your support.

Very sincerely yours,

Roland B. Gittelsohn

Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn

RBG/h

Civil Rights - Pres's Comm.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

University of North Carolina at CHAPEL HILL • *North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering at* RALEIGH • *The Woman's College at* GREENSBORO

Consolidated Offices

CHAPEL HILL

RECEIVED JAN 14 1948 Southern Regional Council

FRANK P. GRAHAM, *President*
WILLIAM D. CARMICHAEL, JR.
Controller and Business Manager

January 9, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter enclosing a copy of your letter to President Truman regarding the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights has come during Dr. Graham's absence from the country. He is still on his mission to Indonesia, and we do not know when he will be able to return. Your letter and the enclosure will be placed on his desk so that he may see them when he is back in Chapel Hill.

Sincerely yours,

Helen Reynolds
Secretary

February 13, 1948

Mrs. Sadie T. Alexander
~~1708 Jefferson St.~~ 46 South 19th Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Mrs. Alexander:

Enclosed is a copy of the Southern Regional Council's digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. We thought you might be interested in seeing it.

We hope that wide distribution of this shortened version will make for better understanding of the Report in the South. The Southern Regional Council is encouraging its use by study and discussion groups at state and community levels.

To supplement the Report, we are also preparing a study guide which will give pertinent facts and figures about the status of civil rights in this region. We plan to use the full text of the Report, together with these supplementary documents, at the Southwide Meeting on Civil Rights, which we are sponsoring in cooperation with a number of other organizations, in Atlanta on February 27.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

February 6, 1948

Mr. James B. Carey
718 Jackson Pl., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Carey:

Enclosed is a copy of the Southern Regional Council's digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. We thought you might be interested in seeing it.

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Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

February 6, 1948

Mr. John W. Dickey, President
Dartmouth College
Hanover, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Dickey:

Enclosed is a copy of the Southern Regional Council's digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. We thought you might be interested in seeing it.

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Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

February 9, 1948

Mr. Morris Ernst
~~1393 National Press Bldg.~~
~~Washington, D. C.~~
285 Madison Avenue
New York, NY

Dear Mr. Ernst:

Enclosed is a copy of the Southern Regional Council's digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. We thought you might be interested in seeing it.

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Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

February 13, 1948

Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn
c/o Jewish Center Lecture Bureau
145 E. 32nd St.
New York 16, New York

Dear Rabbi Gittelsohn:

Enclosed is a copy of the Southern Regional Council's digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. We thought you might be interested in seeing it.

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Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Diredtor

February 13, 1948

Dr. Frank P. Graham, President
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Graham:

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Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

February 13, 1948

The Most Rev. Francis J. Haas
2006 Lake Drive, S. E.
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Dear Bishop Haas:

Enclosed is a copy of the Southern Regional Council's digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. We thought you might be interested in seeing it.

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Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

February 13, 1948

Mr. Charles Luckman
Lever House
Cambridge 39, Mass.

Dear Mr. Luckman:

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Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

February 13, 1948

Mr. Francis P. Matthews
Insurance Building
Omaha 2, Nebraska

Dear Mr. Matthews:

Enclosed is a copy of the Southern Regional Council's digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. We thought you might be interested in seeing it.

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Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

February 13, 1948

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.
598 Madison Ave.
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Roosevelt:

Enclosed is a copy of the Southern Regional Council's digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. We thought you might be interested in seeing it.

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Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

February 13, 1948

The Rt. Rev. Mr. Henry K. Sherrill
1 Joy Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Bishop Sherrill:

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Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Civil Rights

Pres. Chron

February 13, 1948

Mr. Boris Shishkin
901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Shishkin:

Enclosed is a copy of the Southern Regional Council's digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. We thought you might be interested in seeing it.

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Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

February 13, 1948

Dr. Channing Tobias
~~347 Madison Avenue~~
~~New York, N. Y.~~

Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Ave
New York 17, NY

Dear Dr. Tobias:

Enclosed is a copy of the Southern Regional Council's digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. We thought you might be interested in seeing it.

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Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

February 6, 1948

Mr. Charles E. Wilson
570 Lexington Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Wilson:

Enclosed is a copy of the Southern Regional Council's digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. We thought you might be interested in seeing it.

We hope that wide distribution of this shortened version will make for better understanding of the Report in the South. The Southern Regional Council is encouraging its use by study and discussion groups at state and community levels.

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Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Civil Rights
Pres.'s Comm

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

WILLIAM GREEN, PRESIDENT
GEORGE MEANY, SECRETARY-TREASURER

TELEPHONE NATIONAL 3870-1-2-3-4

Washington 1, D. C.

February 17, 1948

FEB 20 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the Southern Regional Council's digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. It is indeed a most interesting and comprehensive review which should help to promote better understanding of the Report.

Sincerely yours,

Boris Shishkin

Boris Shishkin
Economist
American Federation of Labor

Civil Rights
President's Comm

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDING BISHOP
281 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
THE RT. REV. HENRY K. SHERRILL, D.D.

RECEIVED
MAR 5 1948
Southern Regional Council

March 2,1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director,Southern Regional Council,Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Thank you for your letter of February 10th and for sending me the copy of the Southern Regional Council's digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

I am delighted that this is being recommended for study because I think it is worth the consideration of all thoughtful Americans.

With kindest regards,

Faithfully yours,

Hy K. Sherrill

PRESIDING BISHOP

Civil Rights
Rec'd to comm

LEVER BROTHERS COMPANY

LEVER HOUSE, CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 3, 1948

RECEIVED

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mr. Luckman has asked me to acknowledge your letter of February 10 and to express his appreciation of your thoughtfulness in sending a copy of your digest of the report of the Civil Rights Committee.

This is a very interesting and concise statement.

Sincerely

Jane J. Thornton

Secretary to
Mr. Charles Luckman

IT:em

AIR MAIL

Civil Rights

March 16, 1948

Mrs. Sadie T. M. Alexander
40 South Nineteenth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Alexander:

It was very kind indeed of you to write us your cheering letter of March 13.

The digest is having a good sale. We are arranging some follow-up local discussion meetings as soon as we can. These come naturally after our February 27 meeting here in Atlanta on human and civil rights in the South, where we gave some training to over three hundred persons from eleven states.

Here is a copy of the study guide to accompany the digest. We have not yet found the money to produce a printed version, but hope we can dig it up.

The digest and the study guide are priced at ten cents each.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures : "Condition of Our Rights";
Publications list.

GSM:eb

RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER
MACEO W. HUBBARD
SADIE T. MOSSELL ALEXANDER
CURTIS C. CARSON, JR.

LAW OFFICES
RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER
40 SOUTH NINETEENTH ST.
PHILADELPHIA 3, PA.

RITTENHOUSE 6-9960

HONORARY CONSUL OF HAITI

March 13, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

I want to express to you and through you to the members of the Southern Regional Council my very deep appreciation for the digest of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. I am quite certain that by making available the report and its recommendations in digest form, you have rendered a great service toward accomplishing the purposes of the Committee. I am most interested in noting that you are going to prepare and that I may expect to receive a study guide giving pertinent facts and figures about the status of civil rights in the southern region. I should be particularly happy to receive a copy of the same as soon as it is received.

May I also ask if additional copies of the Digest may be purchased and if so at what price.

Very sincerely yours,

Sadie T. M. Alexander

STMA:g

Civil Rights

CHARLES POLETTI
MILTON DIAMOND
JESSE FREIDIN
DAVID MACKAY
BENJAMIN POLLACK
JEROME H. ADLER
RUDOLF M. LITTAUER
DANIEL KORNBLUM
FERDINAND J. WOLF
IRVING P. TURMAN
SIDNEY A. DIAMOND
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR.

NATHAN TANEN

POLETTI, DIAMOND, FREIDIN & MACKAY
598 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

TELEPHONE
MURRAY HILL 8-3200

CABLES - POLMOND

March 4, 1948.

Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the Regional Council's digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

It is a very thorough digest, and I hope that you will have much success with its distribution, and that greater understanding will be the result of this distribution.

Sincerely yours,

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

Cont. 6.3.46

Telephone: AShland 4-8578.
Cables: "Stokesfund," Newyork.

February 18, 1948

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

FEB 20 1948
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In Dr. Tobias' absence from the office due to a cold, may I thank you for your letter to him of February 10th and for the digest of the Report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights prepared by the Southern Regional Council. I am sure he will be very glad to have this.

Sincerely yours,

Rachel L. Huntington

Secretary to Dr. Tobias

Civil Rights Conference

Pres's Commission

DIOCESE OF GRAND RAPIDS
265 SHELDON AVENUE, S.E.
GRAND RAPIDS 2, MICHIGAN

OFFICE OF THE CHANCELLOR

March 29, 1948

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Please accept my congratulations on your successful workshop on Civil Rights, recently held in Atlanta. Your report on the meeting is very interesting and I wish to thank you for sending it.

Sincerely yours

+ Francis J. Haas

Most Reverend Francis J. Haas
Bishop of Grand Rapids

RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER
MACEO W. HUBBARD
SADIE T. MOSSELL ALEXANDER
CURTIS C. CARSON, JR.

LAW OFFICES
RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER
40 SOUTH NINETEENTH ST.
PHILADELPHIA 3, PA.

RITTENHOUSE 6-9960

HONORARY CONSUL OF HAITI

March 30th, 1948

Mrs. M. E. Tilley
Southern Regional Council
Room 432 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

My dear Dorothy Tilley:

I do want to thank you heartily for your letter of March 24th telling me about your conference in Atlanta. I presume it is the same conference which Ira Reid invited me but unfortunately my husband and I had made every plan to spend the month of February in Haiti. I had promised to fly back but when I found out the cost of so doing, it was simply prohibitive. However you have given me such a clear picture of what took place that I feel as if I had been present, only I wish I could have been photographed by the Talmadge reporters. I have never had this privilege.

We did not do quite as big a job as you did with representatives from 72 towns but in Philadelphia, we had at the Fellowship Building, a civil rights conference to which we invited two delegates from each of the leading organizations in Philadelphia. You will be delighted to know that we had representatives from 143 organizations including the Philadelphia Bar Association, The Philadelphia County Medical Association, The American Association of University Women. Of the 143 organizations represented, only 27 were Jewish and 13 Negro, the rest were white organizations and they were the most representative in the city. We even had the Bureau of Recreation and the Department of Health represented.

Now, get your breath and let me tell you who addressed our meeting. The principal speaker was none other than the Right Reverend John Knox Sherrill. Milton Stewart was one of our speakers and I was the third. After

the talking we broke up into seminars which were led by specialists in each of the fields. I shall enclose some literature that you may see what we did and as soon as the summaries are completed I shall forward them to you.

I am making my first speech in the South next week, April 4th when I speak at Columbia, S. C. I go with a bit of fear and trembling because I have lived in the South and I know that it is not best for a person who lives in the North to talk about these subjects in the South. But perhaps after I have advised my audience of the fact that I lived and worked in the South and I recognize that we have one common problem in the United States, they may be a bit more receptive to words from the mouth of a person who lives in what they consider North but what I know to be all one land with the same problem.

My husband and children wish to join me in sending our warmest greetings.

Very sincerely yours,

Sadie

STMA:gda

SADIE T. M. ALEXANDER

LEVER BROTHERS COMPANY

Pres. Corres

LEVER HOUSE, CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 2, 1948

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I was so pleased to learn of the splendid job which you did. It did not come as any surprise. Long ago I developed a very healthy respect for your extraordinary capabilities.

More power to you.

Cordially

Charles Luckman

CL:em

Charles Luckman

File

RABBI ROLAND B. GITTELSOHN
430 DE MOTT AVENUE
ROCKVILLE CENTRE, L. I., N. Y.

ROCKVILLE CENTRE 6-4300

April 14, 1948
Dict. April 9th

Mrs. M. E. Tilley,
Department of Social Relations,
Women's Society of Christian Service,
Methodist Church,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

I am so happy that you were thoughtful enough to send me a full account of the Atlanta Work Shop. You have certainly done a magnificent job under the most difficult circumstances. You have my very deep gratitude and esteem for the work you are doing in the South.

When this letter was dictated I said I was eagerly looking forward to the opportutnity of meeting you again in Washington. It is with deep regret that I was prevented by a very severe cold, coupled with laryngitis, from joining you on the Commission this week.

I hope another opportunity will present itself when we shall have the pleasure of meeting again.

Very sincerely yours,

Roland Gittelsohn

Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn

RBG/h

Tilly, Mrs
M.E.
Civil Rights
Corr

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDING BISHOP
281 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
THE RT. REV. HENRY K. SHERRILL, D.D.

March 31,1948

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council,Inc.
Room 432 Auburn Avenue,N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Thank you for sending me that most interesting summary of the Southern Regional Council's meeting.

This is indeed a most enheartening document and I am glad that all went so well though sorry that you had some difficulty with the Talmadge adherents but no doubt that was to be expected.

I am sure a great deal of the success of this is due to your own courageous and untiring leadership.

With every good wish,

Faithfully yours,

Henry K. Sherrill
PRESIDING BISHOP

DARTMOVTH COLLEGE
HANOVER, N.H.
Offices of Administration

THE PRESIDENT

March 27, 1948

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you very much for your March 24 letter telling me about the workshop on civil rights which you recently held in Atlanta.

I have thought of you many times during the past few months and I can only imagine how difficult it has been for you. Congratulations and all best wishes.

Sincerely,

John S. Dickey

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE CALEDONIA 5-1582

March 26,1948.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thanks for your letter. What a grand fighter you are. I would write you at greater length but I am a little rushed because I am off to England for a month.

Best to you,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Sent to: Dr. Charles Johnson
Mr. P. B. Young
Mrs. Eugene Spearman
Chairmen of State Divisions
and Affiliated Interracial Committees of SRC

March 9, 1948

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The enclosed mimeographed pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights," was prepared for use at the Southwide Meeting on Civil Rights here in Atlanta on February 27. We expect to put it into print soon, and are hoping that it will be widely used by study and discussion groups throughout the South.

If you can find time in the next week or so to look through it, we should much appreciate your comments criticisms, or suggestions as to how we might improve the text.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Enclosure

SBC. "Condition of Our Rights"

March 11, 1948

Institute of American Democracy
415 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York

Sirs:

It occurred to us that perhaps a copy of a mimeographed pamphlet which we are sending you would be helpful to you in preparing the broadcasts on civil rights.

We got this together expressly for a Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights here in Atlanta February 27.

I send also a copy of a digest of the Report of the President's Committee, which we use as an accompanying teaching document.

Additional copies of either of these can be had from the Council at ten cents each.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: "Condition of Our Rights;"
Digest of Report of President's Committee

GSM:eb

Civil Rights

MURRAY HILL 9-1450

INSTITUTE FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, *Inc.*

369 LEXINGTON AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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RECEIVED MAR 22 1948 Southern Regional Council

March 18, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm. 432 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am grateful to you for sending me a copy of your mimeographed pamphlet together with the digest of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

I should find them both useful, and again, with thanks and every good wish, believe me to be

Sincerely yours,

William C. Kernan

William C. Kernan
Executive Director

wck/sd

118

INSTITUTE FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, INC.

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Harold W. Darr Associates, Minneapolis

SRC - "Condition"

April 1, 1948

Mr. R. H. Reese, General Secretary
The Daytona Beach Young Men's
Christian Association
115 Second Avenue
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Reese:

We have some more copies of the enclosed study guide, "The Condition of Our Rights--From the Files on Civil and Human Rights in the South." Would you like some?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure "Condition of
Our Rights"
Publications List

GSM:eb

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Green Copy

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Sent to all officers of State Divisions and affiliated Interracial Committees.

April 16, 1948

Dear _____:

Here are copies of our mimeographed pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights." You remember that it is meant as a study guide to accompany the Digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

We think it is useful in getting study groups launched quickly into the problem.

Copies of this edition are available at ten cents each.

We are trying to find the money for a large and better-done edition, printed or offset, which will make use of your improvements or corrections which we requested in a recent letter.

We send you five copies. Can you help us get more of them sold and used? We shall be glad to send you more for promotion purposes.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures : 5 copies "Condition of Our Rights";
"Year of Achievement" (annual report of Virginia Council of Churches"

Civil Rights - SRC - Cond. Our Rights

May 20, 1948

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
The Social Science Institute
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

In preparing material for the mimeographed version of the Southern Regional Council pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights", I drew heavily on RACE RELATIONS: A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends. Credit was given to the magazine in footnotes at the end of the pamphlet.

The Council is now planning to print the booklet, and we should like very much to use the material taken from RACE RELATIONS: A Monthly Summary. May we have your permission to do so? Due credit will be given, of course.

Since we are anxious to print the pamphlet as soon as possible, we shall appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

A copy of the mimeographed version of "The Condition of Our Rights" is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

Civil Rights — re-Condition of our Rights

May 20, 1948

Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman
Department of Records and Research
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Guzman:

In preparing material for the mimeographed version of the Southern Regional Council pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights", I drew heavily on THE NEGRO YEAR BOOK, 1947, giving credit to THE YEAR BOOK in footnotes at the end of the pamphlet. I am enclosing a copy of the pamphlet.

The Council is now planning to print the booklet, and we should very much like to have your permission to use the material taken from THE YEAR BOOK, giving due credit, of course.

Since we are anxious to print the pamphlet as soon as possible, we shall appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF
RECORDS AND RESEARCH

RECEIVED
MAY 25 1948
Southern Regional Council

May 24, 1948

Miss Margaret Price
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc
63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:

You have our permission to quote THE NEGRO YEARBOOK 1947 in your pamphlet "The Condition of Our Rights." We should, of course, like to have the printed booklet for our files.

Very sincerely yours,

Jessie P. Guzman

(Mrs) Jessie P Guzman
Director

JPG:f

Civil Rights - SRC -
Condition of our Rts

June 11, 1948

Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman, Director
Department of Records and Research
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Guzman:

The pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights", is just off the press. We are sending you today five copies.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

5 copies - Condition of Our Rights
M.S.
6/11/48

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

June 11, 1948

We have been able to get out a printed version of the pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights," used at the February 27 Human and Civil Rights Meeting.

We thought you, as one of those who came to the meeting, would like to have a copy. We can supply additional copies at twenty cents each.

You will remember that this is planned to fit neatly with the digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. We still offer copies of the digest at ten cents each.

Civil Rts - SRC - Condition of our Rights

June 18, 1948

Race Relations Monthly Summary
Social Science Institute
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Monthly Summary:

As you will see from the list of footnotes at the end of this little pamphlet, we have drawn very heavily on the files of your publication.

We are grateful for your generous permission, and I think we fully appreciate the indispensable services provided by Monthly Summary.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures : 3 copies "The Condition of Our Rights"

GSM:eb

Civil Rights - SRC -
Condition of our Rts.

June 18, 1948

Mrs. Jessie Parkhurst Guzman, Editor
The Negro Year Book
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Guzman:

It is a pleasure to send you three copies of the Council's new small pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights."

This was prepared as a kind of pamphlet text to go with our earlier digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights--the two to be used together for discussion groups.

You will see that we have drawn very heavily indeed on the Negro Year Book. We are grateful for the fund of useful fact which it provided, and appreciative of your kindness in giving us permission to use it.

I get a letter or two a week from people in outlying places, wanting to know where they can learn more about these matters, and it is my established custom to tell them where they can go and buy themselves a copy of the 1947 edition of the Negro Year Book.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: 3 cys
"The Condition of Our Rights"
GSM:eb

Civil Rights - SRC, "Condition of Our Rights"

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF
RECORDS AND RESEARCH

June 21, 1948

Dr George S Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr Mitchell:

Thank you and Miss Price for sending us file copies of the pamphlet "The Condition of Our Rights." It is a fine piece of work.

We certainly appreciate your help in advertising THE NEGRO YEAR BOOK. You will be interested to know that twice today I have referred persons wishing information on civil rights to your new pamphlet.

Very sincerely yours,

Jessie P. Guzman

(Mrs) Jessie P Guzman
Director

JPG:f

RECEIVED
JUN 22 1948
Southern Regional Council

Civil Rights - SRC - Condition of Our Rights

June 28, 1948

Mr. Simon Gross, Manager
Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust
150 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Gross:

In my letter to you of May 10, 1948, I expressed regret that I was unable to send you four additional copies of "The Condition of Our Rights," as our mimeographed edition had been exhausted.

We have been able to get out a printed edition recently, of which I send you four copies.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: 4 copies "The Condition of Our Rights"

GSM:eb

ASHEVILLE CITIZEN-TIMES
SUNDAY
THE ASHEVILLE CITIZEN
MORNING
THE ASHEVILLE TIMES
EVENING
Published by
ASHEVILLE CITIZEN-TIMES CO.
ASHEVILLE, N. C.

July 26, 1948

RECEIVED
JUL 28 1948
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I have found "The Condition of Our Rights" - most interesting but I must question the accuracy of certain figures on page 14, of this pamphlet.

Your computation of "No. of days' work to pay poll tax for man and wife who are 1 year delinquent" for the poll tax states is incorrect. It perhaps overstates the "no. of days' work" by as much as three or four times.

The "per capita income" as determined by the Department of Commerce does not mean income per wage earner as you appear to assume. On the contrary it means the per capita income for the entire population. This figure is arrived at by dividing the aggregate income of the individual state by the total population.

I strongly favor the abolition of the poll tax requirement for voting - but I do not believe that this cause is helped by questionable statistics.

I regret that more recent figures were not used in showing "current expenditures per standard class room unit for white and Negro schools " in the 12 Southern states. More recent statistics would reveal the enheartening progress that has been made since 1939-40 - particularly in North Carolina where we have achieved in this respect virtual equality of educational opportunity for the Negro race. North Carolina lags only in the school plant investment in the Negro child as compared with the white child but we are moving to correct this inequality.

The above is written in a constructive spirit. I find myself usually in general accord with the objectives and accomplishments of the Southern Regional Council.

Cordially yours,

D. Hiden Ramsey

D. Hiden Ramsey:B

6 - Civil Rights - SRC, Condition of our Rights

August 11, 1948

Mr. D. Hiden Ramsey
Asheville Citizen-Times Company
Asheville, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Ramsey:

You are entirely right on both of the points you so kindly made in your letter to us of July 26.

The figures as given on the cost of paying poll tax should certainly have been stated in terms of average income per person twenty-one years of age and over. We took the table intact from an article in (the Council's own) Southern Frontier back in 1945. As there used, the table had a note which stated that, anent the poll tax, ". . . . its discriminatory and even prohibitive nature stands out clearly against the background of per capita income . . . ." We should have reprinted the note; properly, I think, we should have omitted the table entirely or should have recalculated in terms of earnings.

I think Luther Jackson's pamphlet, "Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940," came nearer to the present-day situation when he belittled the barriers presented by the poll tax and said, "Only Mississippi, Virginia, and Alabama remain, then, where this celebrated instrument constitutes a significant barrier either by the amount of money to be paid, by the time and method of payment, or by its cumulative features."

In any case, my own apologies for failure to correct this table.

On the schools, we used the most recent figures we could find. They were too old and, at the least, should have been accompanied by a statement that more recent figures would give a much better picture.

I shall try to use greater pains in the future. Meanwhile, we are grateful for your friendly interest in the job we all have to do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Mr. D. Hiden Ramsey
Asheville Citizen-Times Company
Asheville, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Ramsey:

We appreciate your writing us your criticisms of our pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights."

The figures on "number of days' work to pay poll tax for man and wife who are one year delinquent" were taken from an article by Stetson Kennedy in The Southern Frontier for October 1945. As you probably recall, that magazine is now New South. The figures were not questioned when the article was published in 1945, and so we accepted them as correct .

I believe that most of the misunderstanding arises from the fact that the following note of explanation, which appeared inthe original article, was ommitted when the table was reprinted in "The Condition of Our Rights": "While the amount of the poll tax may seem insignificant to persons in the upper income brackets, its discriminatory and even prohibitive nature stands out clearly against the background of per capita income. If the poll tax were levied on the basis of earnings, the upper income groups would more fully appreciate the burden the tzx imposes upon the poor."

You are quite right--~~the~~ to be absolutely accurate, ~~Kennedy~~ the base figure which should have been used ~~an his base figure~~ avefage income per person 21 years of age and over. As it is, income per capita does overstate the number of days' work--but ~~the~~ the point would remain, I think, that the tax is discriminatory and prohibitive in nature, and that was the purpose of the table. Since there are no figures on income per person age 21 and over, the use of per capita income figures, while not ~~valid, is suggestive of the point being made.~~ actually valid statistically, are indicative of the point being made.

We regret, too, that more recent figures were not available to show "current expenditures per standard class room unit for white and Negro schools". Much progress has been made, particularly in states like North Carolina and Florida, but I am sure you would agree that much remains to be done before educational equality is attained.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

6 - Civil Rights - SRC: The Condition of Our Rights

ASHEVILLE CITIZEN-TIMES
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THE ASHEVILLE TIMES
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ASHEVILLE CITIZEN-TIMES CO.
ASHEVILLE, N.C.

August 16, 1948

RECEIVED
AUG 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

I thank you for your August 11 letter and particularly for the frank acceptance of the amiable criticisms which were voiced in my July 26 letter.

The extreme advocates of the federal anti poll tax law are exaggerating the poll tax requirement as a barrier to more general voting in some southern states. Actually, the poll tax requirement is only one impediment to voting and in some respects it is the least important of all. North Carolina's repeal of the poll tax requirement in 1920 was not accompanied by any prodigious increase of the votes cast in the next general election. I think our experience will be duplicated in the experience of other states.

There are many obstacles that discourage more general voting in the South. These obstacles range all the way from educational qualifications to the lack of a strong minority party. The mere repeal of the poll tax qualification will not accomplish what the extremists appear to expect. Really, the strong argument for the repeal of the poll tax qualification, to my way of thinking, is that the poll tax requirement itself encourages corruption. Certainly that was the effect of the requirement in North Carolina. Contending political factions made the practise of paying poll taxes for the votes of those they wished to control.

Cordially yours,

D. Hiden Ramsey

D. Hiden Ramsey:B

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1. D. C.

SCHOOL OF MEDICINE
DEPARTMENT OF ANATOMY

RECEIVED
AUG 25 1948
Southern Regional Council

August 16, 1948

Miss Marguerite Price, Research Assistant,
Southern Regional Council, Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Miss Price:

Thank you very much for the copies of the pamphlets you sent me. You have made a very useful compilation.

I am afraid that the statement on page 33 of "The Condition of our Rights", which says that George Washington and Georgetown Hospitals here have been opened to Negro students, is incorrect.

I should appreciate any further publications from your office.

Sincerely yours,

W. Montague Cobb

W. Montague Cobb, M.D.
Professor and Head of
Department.

WMC/ak

6 - Civil Rights - SRC - "The Condition of our Rights"

September 2, 1948

Dr. W. Montague Cobb
Professor and Head of Department of Anatomy
School of Medicine
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Dr. Cobb:

Thank you for your letter in regard to the pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights".

I am grateful that you caught the error in the statement that George Washington and Georgetown Hospitals have been opened to Negro students. If there is a second edition of the pamphlet the statement will certainly be corrected. My source of information was an article in the Atlanta Journal. Certainly any information that you have would be more valid.

We should very much like to have you become a member of the Council. I am enclosing a leaflet describing our aims and purposes and carrying an application blank. In any event, we shall be happy to send you any further publications in which you would be interested.

Sincerely,

SRC 9-2-48 md

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

6-Civil Rights - SRC: "Condition of our Rights"

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DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

February 11, 1949

Mr. L. P. Young, President
Keene Teachers College
Keene, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Young:

The Pamphlet Index, 119 West 23rd Street, New York, very kindly advised us of your Order No. 2215 from them for a copy of our pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights."

Since the pamphlet was listed with the Pamphlet Index, we have put out an offset edition for which we charge twenty cents, but your order was for the ten-cent issue (exhausted). We gladly send on one of the new ones.

If someone can send us a dime, we will be grateful.

I send a list of our other things, some of which we hope will prove useful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

RECEIVED
FEB 16 1949
Southern Regional Council

GSM:t

10¢ Coin
McK.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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JESSE H. STEINHART, *San Francisco, Vice-President*
ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*
FRANK L. SULZBERGER, *Chicago, Vice-President*

December 8, 1949

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
12 1949
Southern Regional Council

Gentlemen:

On page 14 of your pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights," is a table on poll tax, entitled The Cost of Voting in Dollars and Day's Work. The last column, which is called The Number of Days Worked to Pay Poll Tax for Man and Wife Who Are Delinquent, puzzles me. What I would like to know is what this means, does "Days Worked" mean that the taxed delinquent can pay his tax dollar in working for the county or state, or does the column mean that "Days Worked" is an approximation on the basis of per capita yearly income? /this

Your footnote to this column says it came from Stetson Kennedy's article, "Is The South's 20% Democracy Enough"? - which was published in "Southern Frontier", October, 1945, page four. Unfortunately, our library does not have a copy of this issue at hand, and I am not sure whether the article would help answer my questions.

May I have a reply on this as soon as possible, because some of my work is being held up until I know what your answer is.

Very sincerely yours,

Robert Disraeli

Robert Disraeli, Director
Film Division

RD:fbw

43RD ANNUAL MEETING • HOTEL PLAZA, NEW YORK • JANUARY 20-22, 1950

318

6 - Civil Rights - SRC: "Condition of Our Rights"

14 December 1949

Mr. Robert Disraeli
Film Division, American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Disraeli:

Since the table entitled The Cost of Voting in Dollars and Days' Work was published originally in 1945, much of the data it contains is now out of date. For your information, however, the column called "Number of Days' Work to Pay Poll Tax for Man and Wife Who Are 1 Year Delinquent" refers to the number of days' work required to pay the tax and is based on per capital yearly income, divided by the number of working days in a year.

Since its publication, we have found that this use of per capita income overstates the number of days' work. No figures are available on income per person 21 years of age and over, and we have been unable to recalculate this column without distortion.

Since the table is now out-of-date and also is misleading statistically, we would suggest that it not be used as data for any work you may be planning.

We are sending you, instead, a more recent study, Race and Suffrage in the South since 1940. The chapter on the Poll Tax will give you more recent information and a reliable evaluation of its effect on suffrage in the various Southern States. Along with this pamphlet, we are sending you a brief listing of the most recent state actions on the poll tax.

If we can be of any further help to you, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

6 - Civil Rights - SRC - Condition

Persons to whom Civil Rights materials -- the "Digest," the "Condition of our Rights," and/or the full "Report" have been sent (in addition to those in the order-file)

Miss Martha Clark, Marshall District High School Arvonia, Va.	(Requested material for discussion use on this subj. at school) 3/11
Rev. Father Vincent J. O'Connell, S.M. Chairman, Catholic Committee of South 2901 S. Carrollton Ave., New Orleans 18, La.	Among other things, asked for 15 copies of the "Digest." 3/11
YWCA Regional Office, Student Division, Atlanta, Ga.	Bought 15 copies of Digest to pass out to staff members. 3/17/48

Civil Rights Digest

January 28, 1948

Mr. Forrester B. Washington, Director
Atlanta University School of Social Work
247 Henry Street, SW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Forrester:

Thank you for going over the foreword. We saw the wisdom of your suggestion that we delete that whole fourth paragraph and simply did that. The resolution (printed at the beginning of the foreword) had already made the point of earnest hope that the people of the South would study the report.

The leaflets should be back now in a few days and we will send you some.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb
copy to Mr. Fleming

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
247 HENRY STREET, S.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON
DIRECTOR

January 28, 1948

RECEIVED
JAN 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

The only suggestion I would make for change in your "Foreword" would be in the fourth paragraph as I have indicated. From my point of view it should read as follows:

> "It is the earnest desire of the Southern Regional Council to make the people of the South aware of the need to study the report carefully and to act upon their conclusions honestly arrived at."

Very sincerely yours,

Forrester B Washington

Forrester B. Washington
Director

FBW:h

Civil Rights

February 5, 1948

Mr. and Mrs. Cary Robertson
Anchorage, Kentucky

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Robertson:

The way the newspapers talk we don't have many friends in this part of the world in pushing civil rights. Anyhow, our latest push is this new, boiled-down version of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, plus a meeting we are going to have the end of this month.

I thought maybe somebody in your connections would want some copies of this for discussion purposes. They cost ten cents apiece.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure

GSM:eb

Civil Rights

February 5, 1948

American Council on Race Relations
4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Sirs:

I am sending up five copies of a just published, reduced version of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

This is one of the few shortened versions which actually condenses the Report. Most that I have seen heretofore have lifted from the original what were judged key sentences and reprinted them. In this version we have tried faithfully to reflect the ideas and emphasis of the original.

We hope to accompany it in two or three weeks' time with a study guide, taking material from the Council's files to illustrate, with cases and figures, the need for wider protection of civil rights in the South.

We have had to put a price on future sales of these pamphlets of ten cents each.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Civil Rights

February 5, 1948

Columbus Council for Democracy
9 East Long
Columbus, Ohio

Dear Sirs:

I am sending you five copies of a just published, reduced version of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

This is one of the few shortened versions which actually condenses the Report. Most that I have seen heretofore have lifted from the original what were judged key sentences and reprinted them. In this version we have tried faithfully to reflect the ideas and emphasis of the original.

We hope to accompany it in two or three weeks' time with a study guide, taking material from the Council's files to illustrate, with cases and figures, the need for wider protection of civil rights in the South.

We have had to put a price of ten cents each on future sales of these pamphlets.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Civil Rights

February 5, 1948

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to send you a copy of a pamphlet just issued by the Southern Regional Council giving in shortened form the Report of your Committee on Civil Rights. We shall give this pamphlet wide circulation in the South.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure

Civil Rights

February 5, 1948

Dr. A. W. Dent, President
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Dent:

As a mark of fraternity, it is a pleasure to send you for the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations ten copies of our just produced, boiled-down version of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

If more would be useful, we could supply them, but such is the state of our finances that we would have to ask ten cents apiece for them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

February 6, 1948

Mr. R. W. Starnes
105½ Capitol Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Starnes:

I cast about for friends when we print a condensed version of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

It is nice to know you are a friend.

If any study groups could use more copies of this pamphlet at ten cents each, we should be delighted to send some.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Enclosure

Civil Rights

February 6, 1948

Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Pugh
410 Law Building
Eighth and Main Streets
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mike and Mrs. Pugh:

According to the newspapers, we don't have very many friends in these Southern states in pushing civil rights for po' folks. I know you are two good friends.

If anybody can use more copies of this freshly done, boiled-down version of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights--use them, that is, for study groups--we should be more than happy to supply them at ten cents each. As a matter of fact, considering that it is Virginia, if anybody could use any free, I would send some for the benefit of our Commonwealth.

Did you hear about the unlucky minister who got invited home to dinner after the sermon? The lady said, "Brother John, will you have some more corn?" and he said, "Thank you, ma'am," and passed his glass.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Sent to Governors of each of following states: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, [redacted], Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Kentucky.

Civil Rights - SRC Digest - "To Secure These Rts."

February 10, 1948

The Honorable R. Gregg Cherry
Governor of North Carolina
Raleigh, North Carolina

My dear Governor Cherry:

I have the honor to lay before you a copy of a just published, summary version of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

It is the Council's object to further, within the South, informed understanding and discussion of the Report.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Civil Rights — SRC Digest — "To Secure These Rights"

Sent to Dean of each law school on attached list*

February 11, 1948

Dean Vernon X. Miller
School of Law
Loyola University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Dean Miller:

It occurred to us that you might have opportunity to make use of the enclosed compressed version of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

The Council can supply these at ten cents each.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Enclosure

* See green copy.

* on Approved List of American Bar Assn.
✓ not on App. list.

* William M. Hepburn, Dean
School of Law
University of Alabama
University, Ala.

J. H. Carmichael, Dean
Arkansas Law School
Little Rock, Ark.

* Robert A. Leflar, Dean
School of Law
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Ark.

* Lemuel Allen Hasbrook, Dean
College of Law
John B. Stetson University
Deland, Fla.

* Harry R. Trusler, Dean
College of Law
University of Florida
Gainesville, Fla.

William P. Dineen, Dean
College of Law
University of Jacksonville
Jacksonville, Fla.

* Russell Austin Rasco, Dean
University of Miami School of Law
Coral Gables, Fla.

Hamilton Douglas, Dean ✓
Atlanta School of Law
Atlanta, Ga.

Charles Joseph Hilkey, Dean *
Lamar School of Law
Emory University
Emory Univ., Ga.

D. M. Field, Dean *
Mercer Univ. Sch. of Law
Macon Ga.

J. Alton Hosch, Dean *
Law School
Univ. of Ga.
Athens, Ga

Clifford Walker, Pres ✓
J. B. Kilbride, Dean
Woodrow Wilson School of Law
Atlanta, Ga.

William C. Brown, Dean
Central Law School
State University (Nepo)
Louisville, Ky.

Benjamin F. Washer, Dean ✓
Jefferson School of Law
Louisville, Ky

* Alvin E. Evans, Dean
Univ. of Kentucky College of Law
Lexington, Ky.

* A. C. Russell, in charge
University of Louisville School of Law
Louisville, Ky.

* Dale E. Bennett, acting Dean
Law School
Louisiana State Univ.
Baton Rouge, La.

* Vernon X. Miller, Dean
Loyola Univ. School of Law
New Orleans, La.
Paul Brosman

* ~~Robert K. Farley~~, Dean
Tulane Univ. College of Law
New Orleans, La.

* Robert K. Farley, Dean
Univ. of Miss School of Law
University, Miss.

* H. C. Horack, Dean
Duke Univ. Sch. of Law
Durham, N.C.

* R. H. Wettach, Dean
Univ. of N.C. School of Law
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Robert Edward Lee, Dean *
Wake Forest College Sch. of Law
Wake Forest, N.C.

Roger Stephens, Dean
Oklahoma City Law School
Oklahoma City, Okla.

W. Page Keeton, Dean *
Univ. of Okla. School of Law
Norman, Okla.

Summers Hardy, Dean
Univ. of Tulsa School of Law
Tulsa, Okla.

J. Nelson Frierson, Dean *
Univ. of S.C. School of Law
Columbia, S.C.

W. B. Swaney, Dean
Chattanooga College of Law
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Sam Gibreath, Dean
Cumberland University Law School
Lebanon, Tenn.

W. H. Wicker, acting Dean *
University of Tenn. College of Law
Knoxville, Tenn.

L. Dale Coffman, Dean *
Vanderbilt Univ. Sch. of Law
Nashville, Tenn.

Leslie Jackson, Dean *
Baylor Univ. School of Law
Waco, Tex.

Charles Shirley Potts, Dean *
Southern Methodist Univ.
School of Law
Dallas, Tex.

Charles T. McCormick, Dean *
School of Law
Univ. of Texas
Austin, Tex.

M. R. Doubles, Dean *
T.C. Williams Law School
Univ. of Richmond
Richmond, Va.

(over)

F. D. G. Ribble, Dean *
Univ. of Virginia Law School
Charlottesville, Va

Clayton E. Williams, Acting Dean *
Washington and Lee University Law School
Lexington, Va.

From Patterson's Am. Ed'l Direc., 1946

(School of Jurisprudence *
William and Mary
Williamsburg, Va. — listed by Am Bar Ass.

These not on approved list, Am Bar Ass: * not listed in Ed. Dir.
Birmingham School of Law, Birmingham, Ala.
John Marshall Law School, Atlanta, Ga.
Jackson School of Law, Jackson, Miss.
Asheville Univ. Law School, Asheville, N.C.
School of Law, North Carolina College for Negroes, Durham
The John Randolph Neal College of Law, Knoxville, Tenn.
Southern Univ. College of Law, Memphis, Tenn.
East Texas School of Law, Beaumont, Tex.
Houston Law School, Houston, Tex.
South Texas School of Law, Houston, Tex.
San Antonio School of Law of St. Mary's Univ, San Antonio, Tex.

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Digest: "To Secure These Rights"

Office of the Governor
Atlanta

M. E. THOMPSON
GOVERNOR

SARA ROBINSON DAVIS
SECRETARY

February 13, 1948

RECEIVED
FEB 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

Honorable George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of February 10 enclosing with it a copy of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Kind regards and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

M. E. Thompson

M. E. Thompson
Governor

met/rrd

Civil Rights

STATE OF FLORIDA
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
TALLAHASSEE

MILLARD F. CALDWELL
GOVERNOR

J. E. STRAUGHN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

February 17, 1948

RECEIVED
18 1948
Southern Regional Council

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sir:

This will serve to acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 10 enclosing a copy of the summary version of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Sincerely,

Governor

MFC/bt

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Digest
"To Secure These Rights"

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
RICHMOND

WM. M. TUCK
GOVERNOR

February 18, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge receipt of your summary version of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights which I appreciate your forwarding me.

Very truly yours,

Wm. Tuck

Wm. M. Tuck

b

Civil Rights - Digest

BEN LANEY
GOVERNOR

STATE OF ARKANSAS
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
LITTLE ROCK

February 18, 1948

RECEIVED
FEB 20 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks very much for sending me a copy of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Yours very truly,

Ben Laney

Ben Laney
Governor

file

Civil Rights Digest
1948

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
AUSTIN, TEXAS

BEAUFORD H. JESTER
GOVERNOR

April 19, 1948

RECEIVED
APR 22 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I want to thank you for sending me the summary version of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. I am glad to have this information in my files and thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending me this report.

With best regards, I am

Yours most sincerely,

Beauford Jester

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Digest
"To Secure These Rights"

State of South Carolina

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

Columbia

J. STROM THURMOND
GOVERNOR

WM. LOWNDES DANIEL, JR.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

February 19, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge receipt of and thank you for the copy of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

You may be interested in reading the enclosed copy of the motion which was unanimously adopted at the Southern Governors' Conference at Tallahassee on February 7.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Very truly,

J. Strom Thurmond

J. Strom Thurmond
Governor

JST:smj

Civil Rights
SRC Digest

COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
FRANKFORT

EARLE C. CLEMENTS
GOVERNOR

Southern Regional Council

February 19, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Governor Clements has asked me to express to you his appreciation for your courtesy in forwarding to him a copy of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Your thoughtfulness in this matter is most appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

Robert B. Hensley

Robert B. Hensley
Executive Secretary

Civil Rights Digest '48

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

University of North Carolina at CHAPEL HILL • *North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering at* RALEIGH • *The Woman's College at* GREENSBORO

Consolidated Offices

CHAPEL HILL

FRANK P. GRAHAM, *President*
WILLIAM D. CARMICHAEL, JR.
Controller and Business Manager

February 19, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Dr. Graham will appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending him a copy of the digest of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Although he has returned to the United States from his mission to Indonesia, he has not been able to come back to Chapel Hill except for a one-day meeting of the University Board of Trustees. Your letter and the copy of the digest will be placed on his desk so that he may see them when he does return, however.

I know he would want us to express to you his best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Helen Reynolds

Secretary

Civil Rights

HUGH A. LOCKE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
923-6 FRANK NELSON BUILDING
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

HUGH A. LOCKE
WADE H. MORTON

February 24, 1948

RECEIVED
FEB 26 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 12th enclosing the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Very truly yours,

Hugh A. Locke

Hugh A. Locke

HAL/mn

Civil Rights - SRC Digest - "To Secure These Rights"

Sent to Dean of U. of South Carolina School of Law; Columbia, S.C.; to Dean William C. Brown, Central Law School U. of Ky, Lexington, ~~[illegible]~~, Ky; and to Dean of the Law School, U. of Louisville, Kentucky. (Original ltrs to these persons returned for better address--these new ones tried hopefully but with not too much assurance that delivery would be effected.)

March 11, 1948

The Dean
University of South Carolina
School of Law
Columbia, South Carolina

Sir:

It occurred to us that you might have opportunity to make use of the enclosed compressed version of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

The Council can supply these at ten cents each.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure

GSM:eb

Civil Rights - SCC Digest

March 18, 1948

Mrs. Henry Havens
2845 Corinthian Avenue
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mrs. Havens:

We have been having quite a rush of orders for the Civil Rights Report digest. The Methodist social action bulletin is carrying a notice of the availability of the pamphlet at ten cents each. We hear they will reach 300,000 people.

The Catholic Daughters of America are ordering fifteen hundred copies.

The YWCA is taking a lot, and so on.

Is there a publication in the Episcopal Church in which it would be suitable for you to get some notice carried of the availability of the pamphlet?

Do whatever you think is wise--or nothing if you think that.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

CHARGE TO SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, NE, ATLANTA, GA.

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER	X	URGENT RATE	
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NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1206

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MARCH 18, 1948

PAUL D. WILLIAMS
HOTEL NEW YORKER
EIGHTH AVENUE AND THIRTY-FOURTH STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

DIGEST COSTS US SEVEN CENTS ON ORDERS OF ONE THOUSAND. WE CAN SELL AT THAT PRICE. WILL BE VALUABLE CIRCULATION.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Civil Rights
Digest

March 22, 1948

Miss Dorothy Stabler
281 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

My dear Miss Stabler:

At the request of Mrs. Henry Havens of Jacksonville, Florida, it is a pleasure to send you four copies of our Digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

I believe Mrs. Havens intended that one or two of these should reach Dr. Pepper through you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Copy to Mrs. Henry Havens

GSM:eb

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 8, 1948.

RECEIVED
APR 12 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

Many thanks for the digest of the Civil Rights Report you recently sent the President.

I am much interested in the short versions of the Report which are circulating, and would appreciate it very much if you could give me an idea from time to time of the volume you are distributing.

Cordially,

Phil

PHILLEO NASH
Assistant to David K. Niles

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Civil Rights Digest
1948

April 23, 1948

Dear Philleo:

Nice to hear from you. I must get to Washington soon and see you.

We have printed ten thousand of our Digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. We are down to the last thousand and shall do immediately five thousand more. It has been practically all a paid circulation at ten cents apiece. Most of the copies have been used in locality discussion meetings, arranged through churches or through other bodies.

Mrs. Tilly herself has talked to several thousands of persons, most of them in the South, about the Report.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Mr. Philleo Nash
Assistant to Mr. David K. Niles
The White House
Washington, D. C.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

~~CORAL GABLES 34, FLORIDA~~

MIAMI (UNIVERSITY BRANCH), FLORIDA

May 4, 1949

RECEIVED
MAY 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

I notice that the enclosure with your letter of April 29 footnotes the fact that you are discontinuing discounts on quantity orders for some of your recent publications.

We have just finished selling 1,000 copies of your pamphlet To Secure These Rights on which we were given a quantity price of $.06 per copy. At the time this order was made, Dr. Mitchell indicated that we would be able to receive the same discount on additional copies even though our next order might be in the hundreds rather than the thousands.

Would you tell me if these are still available in quantity and if we can still count on the same discount.

We buy 15000 @ cost of 6.467 ea.

Sincerely yours,

D. R. Larson

D. R. Larson
Chairman
Department of Government

6 - Civil Rights
SRC Digest -
"To Secure These Rights"

May 11, 1949

Mr. D. R. Larson, Chairman
Department of Government
The University of Miami
Miami (UNiversity Branch), Fla.

Dear Mr. Larson:

This is in response to your letter of May 4 with regard to a special discount price of 6¢ per copy for our pamphlet To Secure These Rights.

The quantity price of 6¢ per copy is a special one made you by Dr. Mitchell and will, of course, be honored at all times by us here. Our paramount interest will always be in getting them into the hands of people who should have them and only the compelling slenderness of our budget brings price into our consideration.

MS

attention

We are delighted that you have been able to use so many and shall be glad to send you additional copies.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

It occurred to us that you might be interested in seeing the enclosed digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, prepared by the Southern Regional Council. Since its publication, we have received a number of requests from teachers of civics and related subjects who wanted copies of a convenient summary of the report for classroom use.

The digest is available at ten cents per copy. Unfortunately, owing to printing costs, we have not been able to make reductions for bulk orders.

We should be glad to supply you with as many copies as you might have use for.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

1247 Sells Avenue, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
Southern Re

December 4, 1947

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Council Members,

For many years I have been an admirer of the Southern Regional Council. The principles for which your organization stands are noble and praiseworthy.

In the article regarding racial segregation which appeared in this morning's Constitution, I take note that you accept the declaration of principles of President Truman's Civil Rights Committee. This is wonderful, but it is to be very much regretted that you condemn the solution which the committee proposed without offering any alternative solution. Considering the urgency of the day in which we are living, with atom bombs hanging as by a thread over our heads, can we be satisfied just to hope in some vague way to improve conditions which are a disgrace to our country? With 80% of the people of the world belonging to the darker skinned races, can this very small minority of whites here in the South afford to put off the day when the lowest elements in our community must be prevented from ruling the majority, law abiding citizens?

You seem deeply concerned about the harm which might come to the South if Federal aid of funds were withdrawn as a means of at long last putting an end to segregation. Why are you not even more concerned with the far greater harm which is being done and has been done these many years by a false way of life? It seems to me that the withdrawel of federal funds could not do half as much damage to the South as the segregation laws. Every possible means should be used to get rid of this monstrosity and if the federal government wishes to aid the South in this matter, the most liberal, progressive elements of our community, particularly our Southern Regional Council, should welcome such aid with open arms.

If, as you say, the Southern States are not going to repeal laws dealing with segregation, then it would seem that not a moment be lost to remove the obstacles that stand in the way and build a program which could be carried out within a limited period, for the time is short.

Wishing you success in all the noble undertakings with which you are dealing, I am

Sincerely yours,

Olga Finke

Civil Rights

December 12, 1947

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. President:

The Southern Regional Council, at its recent annual meeting, passed the following resolution:

> "The Southern Regional Council commends the President of the United States for appointing the distinguished Committee on Civil Rights, and urges that the people of the South and of the Nation give most thoughtful consideration to the Committee's report, reminding ourselves, as the Committee concludes, that 'the future of our Nation rests upon the character, the vision, the high principles of our people. Democracy, brotherhood, human rights -- these are practical expressions of the eternal worth of every child of God. With his guidance and help we can move forward toward a nobler social order in which there will be equal opportunity for all.' "

It is our belief that all right-thinking Southerners will consider it their duty to aid in combating the injustices which have accompanied race prejudice and segregation in the South.

The Southern Regional Council regards as a particular challenge that part of the Committee's report which declares, "Great responsibility... will always rest upon private organizations and private individuals who are in a position to educate and shape public opinion." The Southern Regional Council gladly pledges itself to the task of creating sound attitudes toward education, full suffrage, and equal opportunity for all the South's people.

Respectfully yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

RECEIVED
DEC 15 1947
Southern Regional Council

MEMORANDUM

December 12, 1947

To: National Agencies in the Field of Race Relations and Minority Group Problems

From: American Council on Race Relations

Will you please supply us with the necessary information to bring the attached release up to date?

We want to send all national, state and other organizations concerned with minority group problems, a report of current activity and plans for early in 1948.

Will you please send us, if possible before December 20, a brief statement summarizing your current activities and contemplated plans for the implementation of the recommendations of the President's Committee report, "To Secure These Rights"?

uopwa 39 cio

Civil Rights

December 15, 1947

Miss Olga Finke
1247 Sells Avenue, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Finke:

I appreciate your kindness and good spirit in writing us on December 4.

The Press story fell short by a good deal of representing the Council's position. Actually the annual meeting of the Council hardly discussed one way or another the implication of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. The Report had been in print only a few days and not more than a hand full of people present had had an opportunity to read it. Therefore the Council in the following resolution commended the Report to the careful study of the whole South:

> "The Southern Regional Council commends the President of the United States for appointing the distinguished Committee on Civil Rights, and urges that the people of the South and of the Nation give most thoughtful consideration to the Committee's report, reminding ourselves, as the Committee concludes, that 'the future of our Nation rests upon the character, the vision, the high principles of our people. Democracy, brotherhood, human rights — these are practical expressions of the eternal worth of every child of God. With His guidance and help we can move forward toward a nobler social order in which there will be equal opportunity for all.'"

It is unfortunate that the news story of December 4 omitted this resolution.

We are taking means that we hope are suitable for getting

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Miss Olga Finke December 15, 1947

into the Press a representative statement.

The Council is as you know dedicated to the task of removing the obstacles which stand in the way of equal opportunity for all of us. It will always be difficult for us to have complete agreements on methods and pace. We are grateful for your interest and support. Upon some occasion when you have time down town, won't you come to the office and let us both talk at length about these problems.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMree

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Civil Rights

December 17, 1947

American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Gentlemen:

In reply to your memorandum of December 12, 1947, the Southern Regional Council plans to implement the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights by the following action, to be taken as soon as practicable:

1. Preparation of a digest of the Report suitable for wide distribution in the South.

2. Sponsorship of conferences in which community leaders will come together to study and discuss the complete report. These leaders will then be equipped to conduct meetings in their own communities, using the digested version as a textual aid.

In effecting its program, the Southern Regional Council will be happy to cooperate with other interested organizations.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Civil Rights

December 23, 1947

Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S. M.
2901 South Carrollton Avenue
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Father O'Connell:

Thank you for your letter and for the clipping from the COURIER-JOURNAL.

AP had some criticism from you and Southern papers for failing to get out a good story on the Council's meeting. So they sent over a reporter a couple of weeks later for a run-up story. We had had great success with the method and were therefore perhaps less careful than we should be in correcting the background of a story. A slip here and a slip there -- some of them mine --- brought the results that you saw. We were in a swivel for four or five days on what to get out in correction, and finally hit upon the devise of releasing our official letter to Mr Truman appraising him of the resolution of commendation passed at the membership meeting. This made the papers pretty well, (it also went out over AP's wires). It was not enough to erease the injury done by the earlier story but it was, under the circumstances, all we could contrive.

I enclose a copy of that release in case it did not reach you.

I am still enjoying my visit to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

ENC.

GSM:ee

The Catholic Committee of the South

REV. VINCENT J. O'CONNELL, S. M.
CHAIRMAN

2901 S. CARROLLTON AVE. NEW ORLEANS 18, LA.

December 16, 1947

RECEIVED
DEC 18 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

Thanks for your welcome letter.

It was a pleasure to be able to offer you a little hospitality during your stay in New Orleans.

After many long day and night sessions the bakery strike has finally been settled. I will now have a little more time to contact Mr. Stern and Dr. Dent regarding the projects we discussed during your visit. I will let you know their respective reactions as soon as possible.

I am enclosing a news article sent by Paul Williams. As you can well understand, he found it quite disturbing. Comparing this report with the reports in the Negro press makes Paul appear to be talking out of two sides of his mouth. It is an unfortunate incident, and it is difficult to see what could be done to remedy it.

With every best wish for a happy and holy Christmas, I remain,

Sincerely,

V. J. O'Connell

Vincent J. O'Connell, S.M.

vjo/mas

White and Negro Leaders Oppose U.S. Legislation to End Race Segregation

Education, Not Law, Held Way To a Solution

Atlanta, Dec. 4 (AP)—Southerners, white and Negro, meeting around a common table, recently agreed that federal legislation is not the solution to the problem of racial segregation.

They—the directors of the Southern Regional Council—therefore took execption to the report by President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights.

This committee recommended "the elimination of segregation based on race, color, creed, or national origin, from American life," through "the conditioning of all federal grants in aid and other forms of federal assistance to public and private agencies for any purpose on the absence of segregation and discrimination."

Disagree on Method.

The council agreed with the committee that elimination of segregation was a thing greatly to be desired, but took issue on the proposal that federal aid be denied States which failed to do so. It commended the President for his action in appointing the group; but withheld unqualified indorsement.

Managing Editor Edgar W. Ray of the Tampa, Fla., Times put it thus: "The council's function is to open closed minds—and you can't do it by legislation."

After the directors' meeting Council President Paul D. Williams of Richmond, Va., vice-president of the textbook publishing firm of Mentzner and Bush, amplified the council's stand in a speech next day to the general membership.

An Answer in Deeds.

"The question of segregation," he said, "has long been answered by the Southern Regional Council. It has been answered not only in words, but more important in deeds. We have only to look at our executive staff operating in true Christian, democratic fashion day in and day out, to seek the answer . . .

"The question before us," Williams continued, "is not whether segregation is right or wrong—God knows and we know the answer. The question is whether we can convince other Southerners that the way of life lived by the council is so contagious that others are brave enough to fall in line.

"We have arrived at our convictions because we were convinced by sound arguments. It seems rather natural, therefore, that we should try to convince others by the same practical and moral considerations that have convinced us . . .

Principles Are Accepted.

"We accept the Civil Rights Committee declaration of principles as axiomatic, but the way in which these principles can be put into practice is our big job.

"Our hope and our aim is to take action in such a way as to achieve the realization of these moral and American principles by the best means and by avoiding detriment to the south."

It is virtually a foregone conclusion that no matter what strings the Federal Government attaches to the distribution of funds, the Southern States are not going to repeal laws dealing with segregation; at least not in the immediate future.

Hence, Williams and the council feel that adoption of the restrictive section of the Civil Rights Committee report would result in great harm to institutions and State Departments for roads, education, health, and public welfare.

Minority Report Cited.

The council emphasized that its stand pointed up an almost overlooked section of the Civil Rights Committee report; the minority view, which reads:

"A minority of the committee favors the elimination of segregation as an ultimate goal, but opposes the imposition of a federal sanction.

"It believes that federal aid to States . . . should be granted provided the States do not discriminate in the distribution of funds. It dissents, however, from the majority's recommendation that the abolition of segregation be made a requirement until the people of the States involved have themselves abolished the provisions in their State constitutions."

The directors of the Southern Regional Council include Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University, a Negro institution; Dr. Harold L. Trigg, president of St. Augustine College, Raleigh, N. C., also a Negro school.

Others are Alfred Mynders, editor of The Chattanooga Times; J. G. Pollard, Jr., farmer of Somers, Va.; Dr. Ira Reid, head of the sociology department at Atlanta University; G. D. Rogers, president of the Central Life Insurance Company of Tampa, and Msgr. James McNamara of Savannah.

There are many others, businessmen, clergymen, lawyers, and educators.

The council was formed in February, 1944, and in a prospectus says it was begun "to determine the facts about the many problems of the Southern region may best be attacked by Southerners of both races who are willing to admit the South's shortcomings and join together to overcome them . . . There is no room for narrow sectionalism."

Further, the council says it is not exclusively a race relations organization and that it considers it a mistake to regard the problems of the South purely in terms to race."

As for its aims, the council says: "To work toward the goal of a higher standard of well-being for all the South's citizens" and "for equal opportunity for members of all races."

Hunter's Joke Works, Leaves Him Stranded

Harrisburg, Pa., Dec. 4 (U.P.)—This practical joke left George stranded 16 miles from home, but he said it was worth it.

Spotting a promising piece of hunting land near a farmhouse, George (he wants the last name withheld) left his three companions in the car while he went to ask the tenant's permission to hunt.

George found the farmer tending an ailing mule.

"The vet has given him up and told me the only thing to do is to put him out of his misery, but I can't bear to do it," the farmer

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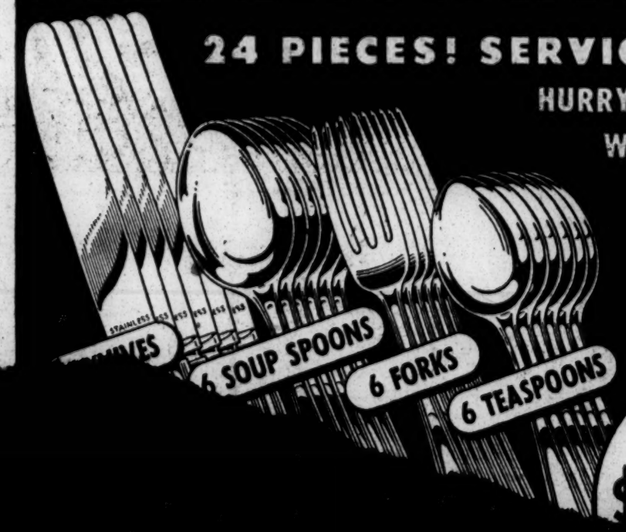

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St. Louis Firm Develops Sure-Fire, Eight-Point, Labor-Peace Formula

St. Louis, Dec. 4 (U.P.)—The head of a long-established St. Louis iron works offers as a formula for industrial peace a labor program which he said has piled up good will and bigger profits in his own plant for both management and labor.

Elmer Nooter, president of the John Nooter Boiler Works, said the firm's labor policy has been one of the principal factors in helping it grow from a tiny outfit employing 35 persons to its present big plant where 400 men and women are employed.

So effective has the program been that Charles MacGowan, president of the A.F.L.-International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America has called it "a shining example of first-class industrial teamwork."

"We had some pretty expensive experience to guide us," the plant's vice-president and general manager, Robert J. Ryan, said. "In 1921 the boiler industry here virtually was destroyed in a bitter six-month strike, and it never fully recovered. For years we piddled along on an open-shop basis, not doing badly, but not setting the world on fire, either."

After Nooter accepted the union shop in 1938, Ryan continued, the firm began to grow. "Today our union contracts are signed in 15 minutes. We've never had reason to regret the decision made nine years ago," he declared.

The company, which fabricates special steel and alloy-plate equipment, has developed an eight-point program for dealing with its employees.

It includes:

1. Year-end bonuses averaging $300 to $400 per worker.

2. A unoin shop with corresponding wages and hours for office employees.

3. Prizes ranging up to $300 for labor or money-saving suggestions.

4. An information program which keeps workers informed on business conditions.

5. Company-backed loans to workers in emergencies.

6. A $1,000 gift life-insurance policy for each employee after a year's service.

7. An advice bureau where an employee may obtain counsel and assistance on anything from buying a home to effecting a reconciliation with his wife.

8. An extensive sport, recreation, and social program.

None of the points in the program are new, but the thing that makes it work is Ryan's single-minded devotion to making it effective. He allows no portion of it to fall into neglect, and he devotes a major part of his time to labor relations.

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Civil Rights

Gen Copy

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December 24, 1947

Mr. Carey Haigler
CIO Organizing Committee
209 Ramsay-McCormack Building
Birmingham 8, Alabama

Dear Carey:

Thanks a lot for sending over the clipping.

It so happens that the AP story on which this editorial was based had quite twisted our real stand. The Council made no statement opposing federal legislation against racial segregation. Our only action on it was to commend the President for making the Civil Rights Report, and to commend the Report for the study of the whole South.

So our prize from the NEWS was undeserved.

We got out shortly afterwards a story on our letter to the President commending him, but I am afraid it will be a long time before we clear the matter to everyone's satisfaction.

My warmest regards to you. It is good to depend on you as a friend.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMeee

Bkln Times 11/5/47

A Southern Problem

The Southern Regional Council recently held a meeting in Atlanta at which a considerable amount of attention was devoted to the report on civil rights made by President Truman's committee. The council has for its aim the achievement of a "higher standard of well-being for all the South's citizens" and it believes in "equal opportunity for members of all races." Its membership is entirely Southern and consists of educators, newspaper men, labor leaders, business and professional men, both Negro and white. Therefore when it makes a pronouncement on Southern affairs it should be accorded a respectful hearing by all Southerners. It cannot be charged with radicalism or of bringing to bear on the problems common to the South's people any foreign or alien influence.

It went on record as opposing federal legislation against racial segregation. It does not believe the proposal to withhold federal aid to states which practice segregation is sound. Yet this organization does not itself believe in a narrow interpretation of segregation and makes the statement that it has abolished the concept in its own working. Council President Paul William, a publisher of Richmond, Va., spoke in this wise: "The question of segregation has long been answered by the Southern Regional Council . . . in true Christian, democratic fashion. . . . The question before us is not whether segregation is right or wrong—God knows and we know the answer—the question is whether we can convince other Southerners that the way of life lived by the council is so contagious that others are brave enough to fall in line."

The council feels that the best way of dealing with this problem is by education and example of Southerners for Southerners. This paper is in agreement with that feeling.

CAREY E. HAIGLER
STATE DIRECTOR, ALABAMA-FLORIDA

PHONE 8-3319

DEC 18 1947
Southern Regional Council

Organizing Committee
209 RAMSAY-McCORMACK BLDG.
BIRMINGHAM 8, ALA.

VAN A. BITTNER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

SHERMAN H. DALRYMPLE
SECRETARY-TREASURER

December 16, 1947

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I clipped the enclosed with the good intention of forwarding it to you a week or so ago.

Perhaps you have already seen it; if not, I am sure that it will be interesting.

Come to see us when you have the opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

Carey

Carey E. Haigler
State Director

CEH /ww
Enclosure

Civil Rights

December 30, 1947

Dr. Channing H. Tobias
347 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Tobias:

In the CHICAGO DEFENDER of December 27, we note that you are quoted as saying of the Southern Regional Council: "We are surprised and disappointed that an organization existing for the purpose of helping in adjustment of race relationships in the South would play into the hands of reactionaries of the South who from the beginning have condemned the report."

Your remark was evidently occasioned by the Associated Press release of December 6 which represented the Board of Directors of the Council as opposing any attempt to end segregation by means of Federal legislation. We should like you to know that this release was not an accurate presentation of the Council's action with regard to the Civil Rights Report. It was printed under the by-line of a staff writer of the news service whose own opinions got into the story in such a way that they appeared to be those of the Council. The situation was made worse by the biased cutting and headlining given the story by some Southern papers. Doubtless, too, we must assume a share of the blame for not making the Council's position so clear that there could have been no question of interpretation.

The Council's true position was stated in our own releases to the press immediately after the annual meeting in November. At that meeting, the members present unanimously passed the following resolution:

> "That the Southern Regional Council commends the President of the United States for appointing the distinguished Committee on Civil Rights and urges that the people of the South and of the Nation give most thoughtful consideration to the Committee's report, reminding ourselves, as the Committee concludes, that 'the future of our Nation rests upon the character, the vision, the high principle of our people. Democracy, brotherhood, human rights -- these are practical expressions of the eternal worth of every child of God. With His guidance and help we can move forward toward a nobler social order in which there will be equal opportunity for all.'"

Since our annual meeting occurred only a matter of days after the issuance of the Report of the President's Committee, and only two or three persons present had had an opportunity to read the Report, the specific recommendations of the Committee were not discussed, and the matter of Federal legislation was not even called into question.

We have written President Truman a letter, a copy of which is attached, informing him of the Council's action at the annual meeting. In an effort to counteract any erroneous impression created by the unfortunate news story, we have also made public the text of the letter to the President through the Associated Press and the Associated Negro Press.

We regret that there was any occasion for you or other members of the President's Committee to believe that the Council has allied itself with the reactionaries who have condemned the Report. On the contrary, the Council is hard at work at the task of awakening the conscience of the Southern people to the problems which the Committee's Report presents so graphically.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:hf

Civil Rights

December 31, 1947

Mr. Robert Durr, Editor
Birmingham WEEKLY REVIEW
1602 6th Ave., No.
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Durr:

As you see, I am hastening to take you up on your offer to send out a column on the Council's position with respect to the Civil Rights Report. The enclosed article represents my idea of how the impression created by the erroneous newspaper story should be corrected. You will see that I have tried to take a positive, rather than a negative approach. It seems to me that if we dwell too much on the original error it merely puts us on the defensive, and nobody trusts a person who protests too much.

As I told you in our telephone conversation, I would attempt to write something in column form which you might use in any way you saw fit. Please feel free to use it as is, alter it, or disregard it altogether, whichever your judgment dictates. We will be very grateful to you for any use you may make of it.

I appreciated your taking the trouble during the Christmas period to set me straight about the quotations in your article on the Negro press. The manuscript is now ready for the printer, and I hope it will be ready for distribution soon.

Many thanks for your interest and help.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

The Chattanooga Times

December 31, 1947

RECEIVED
JAN 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I can assure you that I will be very careful in the future not to draw upon my own interpretation of the Council's action on the President's Civil Rights Report, but I shall stick to the official action which commended the President's report and committed it to the study of the members of the Southern Regional Council.

I should not have embarrassed the President of the Council by considering his address apart from the deliberations of the Board of Directors on the previous day. Unfortunately, I did not get to attend the Board of Directors meeting. I did not give myself enough time and when I reached Atlanta in my automobile I spent two hours trying to find the Atlanta University and when I did find it it was too late for me to attend the meeting.

I have the utmost admiration for the Council and for the manner in which it is being operated and I shall be very careful not to open up controversies in the future which may embarrass you or Mr. Williams.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders

Alfred Mynders
Editor of The Chattanooga Times

AM/ea

Civil Rights

January 2, 1948

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

Thank you very much for your letter. We also greatly appreciate your steady and valuable support.

The actual position of the Council comes out in the attached letter to the President. You will see that this commends him for appointing the Committee and urges understanding of the report throughout the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure

C
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P
Y

6 - Civil Rights:
SRC Policy

WESTERN UNION

February 7, 1948

GOVERNOR M. E. THOMPSON
SOUTHERN GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE
WAKULLA LODGE
WAKULLA SPRINGS, FLORIDA

SURELY THE STATESMANLIKE THING FOR THE SOUTH TO DO IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS CONTROVERSY IS TO DECLARE AN HONEST INTENTION TO PROVIDE SPEEDILY THE FUNDAMENTAL CIVIL RIGHTS WHICH THE NATION AND THE WORLD EXPECT FROM US. THESE INCLUDE PROTECTION FROM PHYSICAL VIOLENCE, THE RIGHT TO CITIZENSHIP (INCLUDING SERVICE ON JURIES), EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN EDUCATION, HEALTH, HOUSING AND TRAVEL, AND PERSISTENT EFFORTS TO GET FAIR PLAY IN PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT. SHOULD ALSO INCDUDE ACCESS TO STATE AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATIVE EMPLOYMENT IN AT LEAST THE DEGREE OF FAIRNESS SHOWN IN THIS REGARD BY SOUTHERN OFFICES OF FEDERAL AGENCIES. IF THE GOVERNORS SPEAK RESPONSIBLY TO THIS EFFECT THE NATION WILL GLADLY LET THE SOUTH IMPLEMENT THESE RIGHTS ITSELF. MORE, THE NATION WILL HELP WITH FUNDS. THAT WAY LIES SOUND PROGRESS, THE OTHER NOTHING BUT BITTERNESS. WE OF ALL PEOPLES UNDERSTAND THE LESSON OF HISTORY ON THIS SORT OF THING. RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP CAN DO NO LESS THAN THIS.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Sent to Governors of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Tennessee and Kentucky, assembled at Governors' Conference, 7Feb48.

MOTION OF J. STROM THURMOND, GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA, AT SOUTHERN GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE, WAKULLA SPRINGS LODGE, WAKULLA SPRINGS, FLORIDA, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1948.

The people of the States represented by the members of this Conference here have been shocked by the spectacle of the political parties of this country engaging in competitive bidding for the votes of small pressure groups by attacking the traditions, customs and institutions of the section in which we live.

Our people have been engaged for many years in a tremendous effort to restore our section to the place in the economy of the nation which it should rightfully occupy. On the solution of our economic problems depend the education, welfare and progress of all of our people and we have spared no effort to solve those problems. Economic under-privilege in the South has known no color line; it has fallen heavily on all races alike. The people of the nation are well aware of the headway which we have already made toward solving the economic problems of our people, and it will be as a result of the solution of our economic problems that our racial problems will disappear.

Despite our sound, constructive and sure progress, the political leaders of the country have been unwilling to respect our accomplishments and to let us continue with the task. Their political attacks are calculated only to hamper our efforts and actually militate against the welfare of the very people whom they assert they are trying to help. Under the compulsion of petty political considerations, they have seen fit to outrage and insult our people because they think we have no place to which we can turn.

Without sincerity and in utter disregard of the facts, they again propose a so-called anti-lynching bill. They ignore the fact that the crime of lynching has been virtually stamped out in the South without outside interference. It is a matter of common knowledge that this legislation would be an unconstitutional invasion of the field of government of the several states.

They have again sponsored a so-called anti-poll tax bill. It is a matter of common knowledge that this type of legislation is an unconstitutional infringement upon the right of the several states to prescribe voting qualifications.

They talk about breaking down the laws which knowledge and experience of many years have proven to be essential to the protection of the racial integrity and purity of the white and the negro races alike. The superficial objections to these laws arise from economic rather than political causes, and their sudden removal would jeopardize the peace and good order which prevails where the two races live side by side in large numbers. As a nation we have favored the protection of racial autonomy and integrity in other lands, such as Palestine and India, but a different doctrine is sought to be applied here at home.

They advocate a so-called Fair Employment Practice law, which every thinking American citizen, upon reflection, will recognize to be an anti-American invasion of the fundamental conception of free enterprise upon which our economic structure is erected and which made America great. The right of a man to own and operate his own business, in which he has his savings and to which he devotes his labor and his energy, is to be impaired or destroyed by governmental interference under the guise of protecting the right to work. In effect, such a law would render every private business in this nation a quasi-public one. Employer and employee alike are adversely affected by this type of legislation, and the concepts upon which it is based are appropriate, not to the American way of life, but only to the economic and political philosophy of the Communist party.

We are expected to stand idle and let all of this happen, for the sole purpose of enticing an infinitesimal minority of organized pressure blocs to vote for one or another candidate for the Presidency. It is thought that we have no redress. This assumption ignores the electroal college set up in the Constitution of the United States.

We should approach the situation thus presented with dignity, self-respect and restraint. We should refuse to be stampeded or to indulge in idle oratory. We must consider the matter calmly and deliberately to the end that by joint and common action and decision we may demand and obtain for our people the consideration and respect to which they are entitled. We must no longer permit pressure groups by their adroit activities to establish by propaganda and political maneuvering a nuisance value for themselves in election years which threatens to defeat the political rights of others and endanger the progress which we in the South have made to better the lot and circumstance of all our people.

Therefore, I move, Mr. Chairman, that this Conference go on record as deploring all ill-considered proposals which have the effect of dividing our people at a time when national unity is vital to the establishment of peace in this troubled world; and that this Conference set a meeting not later than 40 days from this date, at a time and place to be designated by the Chairman, for the careful consideration of the problems of the Southern States arising from such proposals; and that the Chair do appoint a committee from the membership of this Conference to make careful inquiry and investigation into such problems, and their solution by joint and common action, and to report to the Conference at that meeting, with their recommendations as to further action which may be taken in the premises.

State of South Carolina

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

Columbia

J. STROM THURMOND
GOVERNOR

WM. LOWNDES DANIEL, JR.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

February 11, 1948

RECEIVED
FEB 13 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your telegram of February 7 regarding the action taken by the Southern Governors at the Tallahassee meeting last week has been received.

I am glad to have your views on this important matter. You may be interested in reading the enclosed copy of the motion which was unanimously adopted at such meeting.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Very truly,

J. Strom Thurmond

J. Strom Thurmond
Governor

JST:smj
Enclosure

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

STATE OF FLORIDA
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
TALLAHASSEE

MILLARD F. CALDWELL
GOVERNOR

J. E. STRAUGHN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

February 13, 1948

FEB 16 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your telegram of February 7th in connection with the so-called civil rights issue. No doubt you have read in the Press of the action taken at the Conference of Southern Governors at Wakulla Springs. A committee of Southern Governors is to explore the problem and determine what further action, if any, shall be taken.

Your interest in giving me your views is appreciated.

Sincerely,

Governor

MFC/b

Civil Rights

February 18, 1948

Mr. Robert Moore
Democratic National Committee
Mayflower Hotel
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bob:

Here is a copy of the wire which was sent February 7 to the Southern Governors at Tallahassee.

Here also is a somewhat lengthy statement of a minimum program of the kind I discussed with you:

Protection from violence,
whether from private citizens or from agencies of the law.

Citizenship, including service on juries.
We ought to have true universal suffrage. Meanwhile, we should apply entirely uniform procedures in registering white and Negro persons. Jury service should be open to all qualified people, without quibble as to race. Jury service will assist in lessening police irregularities and in getting even-handed justice.

Equality of opportunity in education, health services, housing, and public travel.

In the field of employment, we have a duty to build effectively a practice of even opportunity in private employment. Much could be done along this line by stimulation of voluntary arrangements on the part of groups of employers or by employers in agreement with labor. We should provide access to administrative employment in public services for all our citizens. In this regard, we could undertake to be at least as progressive as Southern offices of Federal Agencies.

If the South, responsibly through its Governors, will publicly undertake to implement these foundation rights, the whole controversy shifts from recrimination and anger to constructive effort. The Nation, and the South, face a long-range and major administrative task, of getting fair treatment everywhere. The effort, it seems to me, will succeed in the South in pretty close proportion to the South's own assumption of responsibility to do what law, religion, decency, and statesmanship require of us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: copy of wire sent
to Southern Governors
at Tallahassee, 7Feb48

GSM:eb

C
O
P
Y

February 18, 1948

The Honorable James E. Folsom
Governor of Alabama
Montgomery, Alabama

My dear Governor Folsom:

Here is a statement of a (minimum) program on civil rights which in my judgment the Southern Governors could adopt, with great gain to the South, and to the Nation:

Protection from violence,
whether from private citizens or from agencies of the law.

Citizenship, including service on juries.
We ought to have true universal suffrage. Meanwhile, we should apply entirely uniform procedures in registering white and Negro persons. Jury service should be open to all qualified people, without quibble as to race. Jury service will assist in lessening police irregularities and in getting even-handed justice.

Equality of opportunity in education, health services, housing, and public travel.

In the field of employment, we have a duty to build effectively a practice of even opportunity in private employment. Much could be done along this line by stimulation of voluntary arrangements on the part of groups of employers or by employers in agreement with labor. We should provide access to administrative employment in public services for all our citizens. In this regard, we could undertake to be at least as progressive as Southern offices of Federal Agencies.

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I do hope you will lend your influence to such a proposal within the Governors' Conference.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Civil Rights

February 19, 1948

Editor, The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

In Wednesday's Constitution I was quoted as having said at a Birmingham meeting of the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council on February 17 that in the civil rights controversy "laws to force the South's hand would only cause ill will and conflict between the races."

Actually, the Council's position is that, in the absence of responsible undertaking by the South to enforce itself the fundamental civil rights of its people, federal legislation will be administered with poor success. What we would like to see is Southern determination to take up full State responsibilities. If the South just fusses, and doesn't do its own duty, the Nation must act as best it can. But we are all better off if the South will on its own implement the basic civil rights in protection of person and in citizenship and in opportunity which the Nation and the world expect of us.

The meeting in question was not in Birmingham but in Montgomery.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Civil Rights

February 19, 1948

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore
Editor of the Editorial Page
Arkansas Ga zette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Ashmore:

It was very kind of you to send over the two excellent editorials of February 5 and 7. They will both do a great deal of good.

Here is a copy of a wire which I made bold to send each of the Southern Governors at the Tallahassee meeting. We sent it to the wire services also, but they did not carry it.

Since the Tallahassee meeting we have been working to interest the Governors themselves in coming out with a positive program at their meeting forty days after the Tallahassee meeting. We have thought it unwise to try to build fires under them. Our hope has been that they would take a program of this kind and come out with it themselves as the proper answer.

Your own Governor is, of course, a key figure, as he is a member of the five-man committee which will make recommendations to the March 5 meeting of the Governors.

This is the strategy on which we have had agreement from Virginius Dabney, Douglas Southall Freeman, Jonathan Daniels, Wright Bryan, Ralph McGill and others.

I suppose the Council will be lucky indeed if it succeeds in really getting this view across to the Governors directly, but we are trying through all the quiet channels we have.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb
Enclosure: cy wire to Governors, 7 Feb 48

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

The Constitution welcomes letters on either side of any subject. They should not exceed 200 words and must be signed, although names will be withheld on request. We regret none can be returned.

Neglect of StoneMountain

Editor Constitution: As you know, Feb. 15 was one of those rare, warm, sunshiny days in mid-Winter, uncharacteristic of February weather here in Georgia. Too tempting to stay indoors after 10 days of rain, sleet, snow and ice, I drove with three members of my family out to the mountain. I wanted to enjoy this awe-inspiring spectacle once more. Just to look at one of the seven wonders of the world. Something that only God can give us.

The mountain itself was still something beautiful to look at. But the surroundings were a sorry scene. A scene of desolation and neglect. Most conspicuous were last year's tall weeds, a rusty, broken-down fence and a few dilapidated shacks. What was once a road to the studio opposite the unfinished carving on the mountainside is now a worn-out strip of asphalt full of holes.

And to add insult to injury, high up on the mountainside and just below the abandoned carving some half-educated idiot has written with chalk or paint, "To Hell With Avondale." As I sat there in my car I saw a visitor from Tennessee almost turn his car over trying to get out of a ditch and get back on the old pavement. We saw automobiles from Texas, Florida, Pennsylvania, Indiana, South Carolina, Washington State, Washington, D. C., New York, Virginia, Illinois and Alabama.

How nice it would be if all these visitors we saw could return to their homes in distant cities and tell their friends who contemplate a trip through Georgia to be sure and go out to Stone Mountain, and say to them, "It's so beautiful out there!" What they tell them now (and they should) is, "If you are going through Georgia and go out to Stone Mountain, by all means leave your car in Atlanta and go out there in a Jeep."

Just recently the State of Georgia bought Jekyl Island. It cost us more than half a million dollars, yet there are thousands of families who are taxpayers, and will never be financially able to make the long trip from this part of Georgia down there.

I think the State should take over Stone Mountain and buy the necessary amount of land around its base and develop it into a State Park. The unfinished carving when completed would be a rare spectacle itself, aside from the grandeur of the mountain.

A few thousand dollars spent by the State or Federal Government would bring untold hours of healthful and enjoyable recreation to the rich and poor alike. It would also bring many compliments to our fair State which we need and should welcome.

HENRY O. HAMBRICK.
Atlanta.

Civil Rights Stand

Editor, Constitution: In Wednesday's Constitution I was quoted in an Associated Press dispatch at an Alabama meeting of the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council on Feb. 17 that in the civil rights controversy "laws to force the South's hand would only cause ill will and conflict between the races."

Actually, the Council's position is that in the absence of responsible undertaking by the South to enforce itself the fundamental civil rights of its people, Federal legislation will be administered with poor success. What we would like to see is Southern determination to take up full State responsibilities. If the South just fusses, and doesn't do its own duty, the Nation must act as best it can. But we are all better off if the South will, on its own, implement the basic civil rights in protection of person and citizenship and in opportunity which the Nation and the world expect of us.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
Executive Director.

A Suggestion

Editor Constitution: The discussion of the matter of the evolution of man which has been in your paper recently, reached a climax, to me, with the letter by the Reverend Doctor J. L. Steele. I think it would be wise for Doctor Steele and all who are interested in the topic to read a very interesting and enlightening book, "Human Destiny" by Le Comle du Noiiy.

FRANK H. BENNING.
Atlanta.

Student Exchange

Editor Constitution: Little publicity has been given the so-called "Fullbright Act" (Public Law 584).

Under this Act foreign governments may choose to pay the United States for surplus war goods by offering our young people educational training in their countries instead of paying us in cash or in kind (manufactured goods, etc.).

Arrangements have been completed with two nations to date, China and Burma. Arrangements are pending with Australia, Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Iran, Italy, the Netherlands, Netherlands Indies, New Zealand, Norway, Phillipines, Siam, Turkey and the United Kingdom. (Possibilities also exist with India and Pakistan).

All study must be on the college level and in the graduate field for the first several years. In some instances students may have their transportation paid as well as educational expenses. Veterans of World War II are eligible, but probably will not be allowed to draw full benefits from both programs.

The program has only just started and will run for several years—possibly a decade or more. Georgians interested may write the Department of State, Division of International Exchange of Persons, Wasington, D. C., for details.

O. DONALD MAYS.
Monticello, Ga.

'Rare Insight'

Edtor Constitution: In your column of Feb. 11 called "Evolution Is a Part of Life" I want to sincerely say that you have an insight that comes rarely in human beings.

Being an ordinary human being I was affected to the point of writing you After reading your column for over 10 years I feel a depth of gratitude, what you express in words and thought has always impressed me. Preachers have a habit of confusing an issue, and although religion has a definite part in my life any my children I feel that logical thinking as you have so ably illustrated in your article is certainly more important to thinking than much of the preaching in the world.

H. L. R.
Atlanta.

Atl. Constitution 2-22-48

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ARKANSAS'LEADING NEWSPAPER
Arkansas Gazette.
GAZETTE PUBLISHING COMPANY, PUBLISHERS
DAILY, SUNDAY AND SEMI-WEEKLY EDITIONS

LITTLE ROCK February 7, 1948

FEB 9 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

See clipping file

I am sending along a copy of the editorial we discussed over the telephone yesterday, and also a copy of a piece that appeared this morning dealing with another aspect of the same theme.

The reaction to the original editorial continues to be surprisingly favorable in Arkansas. We have had a good many letter specifically praising it and many of them from leaders in various communities of the state, and we have yet to receive a single letter specifically attacking the editorial. We have had, however, a scattering of letters protesting the Truman program on the usual grounds.

Sincerely,

Harry S. Ashmore

Harry S. Ashmore
Editor of the Editorial Page

HSA:bk

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Civil Rights: SRC Policy

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A. N. WILLIAMS
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(TELEPHONED TO WESTERN UNION, 25FEB48 BY ELIZABETH BRITTON)

FEBRUARY 25, 1948

WALTER WHITE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLES
69 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

MR. MCGILL DID NOT STATE THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL'S POSITION IN HIS RADIO BROADCAST OF CBS LAST SUNDAY. THE COUNCIL HAS NEVER OPPOSED FEDERAL LEGISLATION IN THE AREA OF CIVIL RIGHTS. AT THE SAME TIME WE HAVE ALWAYS URGED THE SOUTH TO ASSUME ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN GUARANTEEING THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF ITS PEOPLE.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

STATE OF ALABAMA

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

MONTGOMERY

JAMES E. FOLSOM
GOVERNOR

O. H. FINNEY, JR.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
KENNETH J. GRIFFITH
LEGAL ADVISER
MRS. MABEL AMOS
RECORDING SECRETARY

February 26, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Governor is in receipt of your letter of February 18th, and he appreciates hearing from you on the matter you discussed.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

O. H. Finney Jr.

O. H. FINNEY, JR.,
Executive Secretary

OHF:A

Civil Rights

SRC Policy

The Progress Founded 1888

THE PROGRESS-INDEX

The Index-Appeal Founded 1865

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1948

Voice in the Wilderness

GEORGE S. MITCHELL, of Atlanta, who is executive director of the Southern Regional Council, an organization devoted to improvement of relations between the races, has made a wise comment on the President's so-called civil rights program by saying that "laws to force the South's hand would only cause ill will and conflict between the races. The corrective action should come from the South itself without outside coercion". Because the Southern Regional Council for years has favored the same objectives set forth in the Truman proposals, it is disturbed both by those proposals and by the slow progress their cause has made in many of the southern states, but evidently it is more disturbed by the former than by the latter. Like many southerners, the leaders of this group fear that federal attention to these matters will result in harm rather than good and that the ground they have gained may even be lost.

Probably Mr. Mitchell is a voice crying in the wilderness. This whole assortment of issues has been plunged into national politics, with the result that the merits, the realities, and the pros and cons of the situation are secondary. Reactionaries will be made more reactionary and more determined to resist change of any kind, while those who have donned the shining armor of crusaders for the votes it will get them will become increasingly arrogant. The "civil rights" label, so valuable politically, will be used for all its worth, but the cause of civil rights could be subjected to lasting damage.

(ROUGH DRAFT)

HEADS OF STATE DIVISIONS AND AFFILIATED STATE INTERRACIAL COMMITTEES:

This is an alert.

In the public controversy so active in the South just now, a whole lot of misinformation is being laid before the people of the South from important and attention-catching platforms. When exaggerated or twisted statements are made, they are in any society hard to correct. They happen to be especially hard to correct in the South. Many persons in places of leadership in the South ~~of both races~~ are under special disabilities in rebutting the extremes of propaganda for or against some of the controverted issues of the day. In this situation, the Council can be of special use. Our interest is in the truth, and we can take the heat involved in laying the truth before the people.

One of the standard techniques worked out in big cities for combating dangerously-risen racial tension is the Rumor Clinic. Listening posts are designated, and persons who hear obviously wrong and tendentious statements are asked to report into a central point. The misinformation so collected can be sorted, spotted as to area, relayed to responsible authorities, and frequently corrected.

The South just now presents a curiously widespread version of that problem. The Council--small though it is and limited in its resources--offers itself as a clearing house for items of misinformation and as a source of correct information. At the

same time, we are requesting you and all those associated with your organization to enlist themselves in an effort to get truthful and sober information into the papers, on to the radio, and in other available channels of ~~distribution~~ discussion.

Here are some examples of the kind of thing that is being said by important people and that we know is erroneous and harmful:

~~The purpose of the Civil Rights Program is to destroy every kind of segregation.~~

FEPC would mean the setting up of quotas for employment and the discharge of white persons in excess of their population quotas in the area in which a given plant or industry is located.

The Civil Rights Program calls for mixed swimming pools.

The South has already corrected most of the discrepancies in support of public services.

More votes for Negroes means more ignorant bloc voting.

Negro policemen do more harm than good.

Negroes don't pay taxes

While the controversy has been mounting in the last several months, the Council has supported a policy which it thinks points toward the solution. While we ~~have not opposed~~ have been in favor of Federal legislation in the field of civil rights, we have recognized that getting enjoyment of rights in the localities of the South is intimately related to the levels of

living of the people of the South. Thus, while we see the value of and welcome the effort which is going into the moral and legal argument on behalf of wide human rights in the South, we also urge that the people of the South turn their minds from disputation and begin realistically to tackle the basic inequalities within the South in health, education, housing, ~~objective~~, agriculture, industry, and in commerce. The problem, as we see it, is to get people to work constructively at removing the disabilities and inequalities in these fields, recognizing that with their removal will come a situation in which legal and moral rights will find fulfillment customarily and with little quarrel. This does not neglect the value of fulfillment obtained through enforcement of existing laws and broadening of the laws. We merely wish to make it clear that the two things interact and that we can all do something useful at once by pressing also for the correction of the material, physical, and economic inequities which weigh upon the great majority of the people of the South. Possibly further use can be made in your territory of this idea.

Having the whole controversy in mind, we request two things:

1. That your organization use to the full its resources in correcting misinformation in the present controversy.

2. Whenever the Council's Staff and files can be of service to you or to others in finding the truth, you call upon us for help of that kind.

3. Tell us what you do.

Sincerely,

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

SEPTEMBER 15, 1948

Dr. Harold Trigg

St. Augustine's College

Raleigh, N. C.

SRC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TODAY ADOPTED STATEMENT ON CIVIL RIGHTS FOR PRESS RELEASE. COPY FOLLOWS AIR MAIL. PLEASE WIRE IMMEDIATELY AFTER YOU RECEIVE WHETHER YOUR NAME MAY BE USED WITH THOSE OF REST OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE INDICATING APPROVAL. PRESENT AND APPROVING WILLIAMS, WILKINS, CHARLES JOHNSON, GUY JOHNSON, GILMAN, McNAMARA, HANCOCK, CLEMENT.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

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FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

SEPTEMBER 15, 1948

MR. CARTER WESLEY

HOUSTON-INFORMER

HOUSTON, TEXAS

SRC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TODAY ADOPTED STATEMENT ON CIVIL RIGHTS FOR PRESS RELEASE. COPY FOLLOWS AIR MAIL. PLEASE WIRE IMMEDIATELY AFTER YOU RECEIVE WHETHER YOUR NAME MAY BE USED WITH THOSE OF REST OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE INDICATING APPROVAL. PRESENT AND APPROVING WILLIAMS, WILKINS, CHARLES JOHNSON, GUY JOHNSON, GILMAN, McNAMARA, HANCOCK, CLEMENT.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

September 15, 1948

Mr. P. B. Young
Norfolk Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

SRC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TODAY ADOPTED STATEMENT ON CIVIL RIGHTS FOR PRESS RELEASE. COPY FOLLOWS AIR MAIL. PLEASE WIRE IMMEDIATELY AFTER YOU RECEIVE WHETHER YOUR NAME MAY BE USED WITH THOSE OF REST OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE INDICATING APPROVAL. PRESENT AND APPROVING WILLIAMS, WILKINS, CHARLES JOHNSON, GUY JOHNSON, GILMAN, McNAMARA, HANCOCK, CLEMENT.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

6-Civil Rights-SRC Policy

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WESTERN UNION

1201

(45)..

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC 63 AUBURN AVE ROOM

435 ATLA=

YOU MAY USE MY NAME=

CARTER WESLEY=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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TU ATLANTA

GEORGE S MITCHELL=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE ROOM 435 ATLA=

ANSWER ON CIVIL RIGHTS EXCELLENT YOU ARE AUTHORIZED TO

USE MY NAME=

CARTER WESLEY

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

L-Civil Rights - SRC Policy

Distribution

September 16, 1948

Mr. Turner Catledge
The New York Times
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Catledge:

Meeting in Atlanta yesterday, the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council issued a statement on the civil rights controversy. Mr. Alfred Mynders of the Chattanooga Times has advised us to send you the statement and the enclosed news release at once. As you will see, the material is for release in the Sunday papers, September 19.

Mr. Mynders also suggested that we advise you that copies of the full statement and the news release are being furnished Mr. John Popham.

We believe this statement by white and Negro leaders is of some importance. We will much appreciate whatever treatment you may wish to give it.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

ENCL

6-Civil Rights-SRC Policy

Press

TELEPHONE CALLS MADE
SEPTEMBER 16

IN RE: CIVIL RIGHTS RELEASE.

CHATTANOOGA	Alfred Wynders	
NASHVILLE	The Tennesseean. Talked to Mr. Coleman Harwell.	Nashville 5-1221.
KNOXVILLE	News-Sentinel Talked to Mr. Lloye Miller. Said would be glad to see and would handle as sympathetically as could.	Knoxville 3-3131.
MEMPHIS	Commercial Appeal In absence of editor, Mr. Frank Ahlgren, talked with his secretary. She said send it to Mr. Malcolm Adams, City Editor. I did talk with Mr. Malcolm Adams, who said he would be on lookout for it.	Memphis 8-8811.
RALEIGH	News and Observer In the absence of Jonathan Daniels, was told by his secretary to send it to Sam Ragan.	Raleigh 4411.
COLUMBIA, S.C.	The State. Talked to editor, Mr. Latimer. He said send it to his personal attention.	Columbia 2-3393.
RICHMOND, VA.	Times-Dispatch. Talked to Virginius Dabney, who said he would look for it.	7-1851.
TAMPA	Tampa Times Talked to Ed Ray. Said send it to him.	M-2911
NEW ORLEANS	Times-Picayune Did talk to George Healy's secretary, who said be sure address to Mr. Healy.	Raymond 7321.
LITTLE ROCK	The Gazette Talked to Editor, Harry Ashmore. Said send it along.	LD 148.
BIRMINGHAM	Age-Herald Talked to Jim Chappell, who said send to him and he would turn over to Managing Editor.	3-1121.

LOUISVILLE Courier-Journal LD -200
Talked to Tarleton Collier.
He said he would be out of town,
send it to Mark Ethridge and
Collier would express hope to
Ethridge that Ethridge would
carry it full.

NOTE TO
MRS. MCKOY:

In addition to these purely newspaper
calls, I did also call Harold Trigg
in Raleigh twice that day. Official
Business.

G.S.M.
9/17/48.

6-Civil Rights-
SRC Policy

September 16, '48

Mr. Claude Barnett
Associated Negro Press
3607 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Barnett,

We think this is pretty good, and greatly hope you will agree.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

September 16, '48

Mr. Coleman Harwell
The Tennesseean
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Harwell,

Here's the statement and release I talked with you about by 'phone this afternoon.

Long, I admit, but we hope parts of it can see print in the Paper. Point is it's one of the few times that Southern white and Negro people have agreed on what to do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

September 16, '48

Mr. Lloye Miller
The News-Sentinel
Knoxville, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Miller,

Here is the statement and release I talked with you about by 'phone this afternoon. Date is Sunday, Sep. 19.

Point is it's something that responsible Southern white and Negro people can agree on.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

September 16, '48

Mr. Malcolm Adams
The Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Adams,

Here is the release I talked with you about by 'phone this afternoon.

Long, I admit, but we hope worth good big gobs of print. So far as I know, it's one of the few things in the present squabble that Southern white and Negro people have agreed on.

Sunday release (Sep. 19).

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

September 16, '48

Mr. Sam Ragan
The News and Observer
Raleigh, N.C.

Dear Mr. Ragan,

I called your office today about the enclosed.

We think it's important, as about the first statement in the present squabble that white and Negro Southern people have agreed on.

Long, I admit, but we still hope the Paper can print good big sections of it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

September 16, '48

Mr. Latimer
The State
Columbia, S C.

Dear Mr. Latimer,

Here is the statement and a release which I spoke of over the 'phone.

So far as I know, this is the first time in all the squabble that responsible Southern white and Negro people have agreed on what to do.

With warm regards,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

September 16, '48

Mr. Virginius Dabney
The Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Va.

Dear Virginius,

Here's the long statement, and a release. We think the whole thing is good.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

September 16, '48

Mr. Ed. Ray
Tampa Times
Tampa, Fla.

Dear Mr. Ray,

Here's our statement, that I called about to-day.

It's what the Executive Committee thinks, and we hope it's what the Council thinks.

Release date is Sunday, the 19th.

Sincerely, and with warm regards,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

September 16, '48

Mr. Harry Ashmore
Little Rock Gazette
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mr. Ashmore,

Here's the Sunday, Sep. 19 release I 'phoned you about to-day. We think it's honest, and a useful contribution to the argument. The nice thing is that Negro and white leadership agreed on it.

Long, I know, but we'll hope that good big section of it, anyway, can see print.

Very truly,

George S. Mitchell

September 16, '48

Mr. Jim Chappell
The Birmingham Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

Dear Mr. Chappell,

Here is the release I phoned you about to-day. We think it is an honest voice, and a program that Negroes and many Southern white people can agree on.

It's for Sunday release, Sep. 19. I do hope the Paper can use good big gobs of it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

September 16, '48

Mr. George Healy
The Times-Picayune
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Healy,

I talked by 'phone this afternoon with your secretary, who said send this to your attention.

We think it is a good statement, and hope greatly that the paper can carry good parts of it.

Point is that it is a program on which many Southern whites and Negroes can get together.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

September 16, '48

Mr. Mark Etheredge
The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Mr. Etheredge,

I called Tarleton Collier a while ago, about the enclosed. He said send them to you.

Release date is Sunday, Sept. 19.

We think the whole statement is good, and hope that a few papers - The Courier-Journal among them - can find space for all or most of it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

6 Civil Rights - SRC Policy

September 17, 1948

Mr. Thomas L. Stokes
Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Stokes:

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, meeting in Atlanta on September 15, adopted the enclosed statement on the civil rights controversy. It is an honest statement, and, we think, a significant one, coming as it does from a group of responsible Southern white and Negro leaders.

Also enclosed is a brief release which identifies the members of the Council's Executive Committee.

We hope you will find the statement interesting, and perhaps deserving of some comment.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

ENCL

6 - Civil Rights
SPC Pkg

September 17, 1948

Mr. Hodding Carter, Editor
The Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Miss.

Dear Mr. Carter:

Here is a good statement put out by the Executive Committee of the Council, meeting here September 15. We have mailed it about, for release Sunday, September 19. I send you the full statement and a short-form release.

We think the full statement is worth reading, and worth some print.

You are one of our valued Board members, and we have rejoiced in your success in getting a temperate point of view before the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

ENCL

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

FOR SUNDAY MORNING PAPERS, SEPTEMBER 19

ATLANTA, GA. -- A more statesmanlike approach to the civil rights controversy was urged in a statement issued by the executive committee of the Southern Regional Council, meeting in Atlanta, September 15. The statement called for a three-way remedy -- legal, educational, and economic. "All are necessary," it declared, "and one without the others is not likely to do the job within any reasonable time."

The executive committee's statement compared today's civil rights dispute with the nation's split over slavery before the Civil War, declaring that "neither side has made a sufficient effort to appreciate the opposing point of view and to work toward a solution that would embrace them both."

Regarding the federal civil rights program, the Southern group stated: "By all means let us have laws -- strengthened as much as need be -- to protect the rights of disadvantaged minorities. But let us also realize that laws cannot do the job alone; let us see our society for what it is -- a complicated interaction of social, economic, and legal institutions."

The statement pointed out that poverty and discrimination go hand in hand and called for "a conscious and costly national effort" to "raise the whole South, white and Negro, up to the level of the rest of the country."

"Jobs and farms and homes and schools and health -- these are the underpinnings of civil rights....Until the South enjoys a standard of living comparable to that in the rest of the nation, it appears likely that political democracy will also lag behind. Though the South has made much progress toward a higher level of welfare for its people, it must have assistance to speed up the pace of that progress."

As an example, the statement cites the fact that in the Piedmont region, where most of the South's industry is located, a rising standard of living has

brought increasing respect for human rights.

The Council's executive committee also outlined a program of states' responsibilities for civil rights. This includes granting the same respect and consideration for the needs and aspirations of the colored people as for those of other citizens; admitting Negroes to "full and fair counsel" at the level of government; and allowing Negro representation on appointive bodies which make decisions affecting their welfare.

The Southern Regional Council is a non-political, non-profit organization made up of Southern educators, civic leaders, newspaper men, professional people, and church leaders of both races. It has as its aim the attainment of "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

Following are the members of the Southern Regional Council's executive committee, which unamimously approved the statement: (Affiliations are listed for purposes of identification only)

Dr. Charles Johnson, Nashville, Tenn., president of Fisk University; Paul Williams, Richmond, Va., publisher and president of SRC; Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Richmond, professor of economics, Virginia Union University; the Rt. Rev. Monsignor T. James McNamara, Savannah, Ga., Rector of the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist; Dr. Rufus B. Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Guy B. Johnson, professor of sociology, University of North Carolina; Leonard Haas, Atlanta attorney; P. B. Young, Sr., publisher of the Norfolk Journal and Guide; Charles Gillman, Atlanta, Georgia Director of CIO; Dr. Harold Trigg, Raleigh, N. C., president of St. Augustine's College; Miss Josephine Wilkins, Atlanta, Citizens' Fact Finding Movement of Georgia; Carter Wesley, editor, the Houston Informer.

6 - Civil Rights - SPC
Pol.

September 21, '48

Dear Mr. Chappell,

We thank you a great deal for the fine play the New-Age-Herald gave the Civil Rights story.

Dr. Alexander was here the day I called you, and remembered appreciatively his many links with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Civil Rights - SRC Policy

The Messenger

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE DIOCESE OF COVINGTON

21-23 E. ELEVENTH STREET
COVINGTON, KENTUCKY
PHONE HI. 7044

MAILING ADDRESS
POST OFFICE BOX No. 268
COVINGTON, KENTUCKY

October 5, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 2, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for your promptness in sending me a copy of the statement of the Southern Regional Council and the text of the New York Times editorial.

I think that your statement is very well done and I think it was very opportune at this time.

I hope to have space to print the entire text on the Civil Rights statement in next week's Messenger. If I do find room I shall send you a copy of the paper.

Cordially yours in Christ,

Henry Haacke

(Rev.) Henry Haacke, Editor

pms
enclosure

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS

10 copies each of "Honest Answer"

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

October 7, 1948

Mr. Myles Horton
Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tennessee

Dear Myles:

Here are 10 copies of our recent statement. I thought they might come in handy about your place.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosures

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

October 7, 1948

Mr. W. B. Stubbs
John Bulow Campbell Foundation
Mortgage Guarantee Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Stubbs:

I wanted to be sure that you got a copy of this good document.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosure "Honest Answer"

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

October 7, 1948

The South African Institute of
Race Relations
Box 97
Johannesburg, South Africa

Dear Sirs:

Special attention is called to the enclosed statement of the Executive Committee of our Council on civil rights.

News stories on this statement have been widely carried in the press of the southern states and it has been importantly noticed in the North.

I am sure that our situation is at a wide remove from yours, but you will recognize all the arguments on each side. We continue to read your monthly bulletin with great interest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosure

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

October 7, 1948

Mr. Abbott Rosen
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rosen:

Here, in printed form, is a recent statement by our Executive Committee on civil rights. It presents more fully some of the matters I had the pleasure of talking over with you at Juhaluska last summer.

We all continue to value greatly your own contribution in this whole field.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

(5 copies)

6- Civil Rights - SRC Policy

October 7, 1948

Mr. George Googe
American Federation of Labor
Hurt Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Googe:

This statement of the Council's Executive Committee on civil rights has had a favorable response in southern newspapers.

I should like for you to have some copies of it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

(5 copies)

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

October 7, 1948

Mr. Channing Tobias
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Tobias:

Here, in printed form, is the recent statement of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council on civil rights.

We are in hopes that it will do something to lessen the quarrel and get people more interested in constructive action.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosure

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

October 8, 1948

Miss Josephine Wilkins
Forsyth Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Josephine:

Here are extra copies of the statement of the Executive Committee.

It continues to get a favorable reception.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosures (10)

October 8, 1948

Mr. Carter Wesley
P. O. Box 3086
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

Here are extra copies of the statement of the Executive Committee.

It continues to get a favorable reception.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosures - 10

October 8, 1948

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Trigg:

Here are extra copies of the statement of the Executive Committee.

It continues to get a favorable reception.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosures - 10

October 8, 1948

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
222 East Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Monsignor McNamara:

Here are extra copies of the statement of the Executive Committee.

It continues to get a favorable reception.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosures - 10

October 8, 1948

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Box 652
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

Here are extra copies of the statement of the Executive Committee.

It continues to get a favorable reception.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

ENCLOSURES

October 8, 1948

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Here are extra copies of the statement of the Executive Committee.

It continues to get a favorable reception.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosures - 10

October 8, 1948

Mr. C. H. Gillman
75 Ivy Street, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Charlie:

Here are extra copies of the statement of the Executive Committee.

It continues to get a favorable reception.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosures - 10

October 8, 1948

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

Here are extra copies of the statement of the Executive Committee.

It continues to get a favorable reception,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosures - 10

October 8, 1948

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

Here are extra copies of the statement of the Executive Committee.

It continues to get a favorable reception.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosures- 10

October 8, 1948

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

Here are extra copies of the statement of the Executive Committee.

It continues to get a favorable reception.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosures - 10

October 8, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Here are extra copies of the statement of the Executive Committee.

It continues to get a favorable reception.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosures -10

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

October 8, 1948

Mr. Lester Granger
National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Granger:

Here are some copies of the recent statement of our Executive Committee on civil rights.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosures - 5

6. Civil Rights - SRC Policy

October 8, 1948

Rev. Claude H. Pritchard
Henry Grady Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Pritchard:

Here is a recent statement of the Council's Executive Committee on the civil rights controversy which I thought would be of interest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosure

6-Civil Rights - SRC Policy

October 8, 1948

Miss Brownie Lee Jones
Southern School for Workers
14 North 9th Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Brownie Lee:

Our Executive Committee put out a statement a couple of weeks ago. Here it is in print.

I thought maybe you would help us spread these ten copies about.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

October 11, 1948

The Honorable James E. Folsom
Governor of Alabama
Montgomery, Alabama

My dear Governor Folsom:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure: "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy"

October 11, 1948

The Honorable Ben Laney
Governor of Arkansas
Little Rock, Arkansas

My dear Governor Laney:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 11, 1948

The Honorable Millard Caldwell
Governor of Florida
Tallahassee, Florida

My dear Governor Caldwell:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 11, 1948

The Honorable M. E. Thompson
Governor of Georgia
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Governor Thompson:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 11, 1948

The Honorable Earle C. Clements
Governor of Kentucky
Frankfort, Kentucky

My dear Governor Clements:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 11, 1948

The Honorable Earl K. Long
Governor of Louisiana
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

My dear Governor Long:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 11, 1948

The Honorable Fielding L. Wright
Governor of Mississippi
Jackson, Mississippi

My dear Governor Wright:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 11, 1948

The Honorable R. Gregg Cherry
Governor of North Carolina
Raleigh, North Carolina

My dear Governor Cherry:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 11, 1948

The Honorable Roy J. Turner
Governor of Oklahoma
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

My dear Governor Turner:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 11, 1948

The Honorable J. Strom Thurmond
Governor of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

My dear Governor Thurmond:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 11, 1948

The Honorable Jim Nance McCord
Governor of Tennessee
Nashville, Tennessee

My dear Governor McCord:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 11, 1948

The Honorable Beauford H. Jester
Governor of Texas
Austin, Texas

My dear Governor Jester:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 11, 1948

The Honorable William Munford Tuck
Governor of Virginia
Richmond, Virginia

My dear Governor Tuck:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

October 12, 1948

The Honorable Preston Lane
Governor of Maryland
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Governor Lane:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosure

October 21, 1948

The Honorable Fuller Warren
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Warren:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 12, 1948

The Honorable Lister Hill
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Senator Hill:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosure

October 12, 1948

The Honorable John J. Sparkman
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Senator Sparkman:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosure

October 12, 1948

The Honorable John L. McClellan
Camden, Arkansas

Dear Senator McClellan:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosure

October 12, 1948

The Honorable J. William Fulbright
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Dear Senator Fulbright:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:T
Enclosure

October 12, 1948

The Honorable Claude Pepper
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Senator Pepper:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 12, 1948

The Honorable Spessard Lindsey Holland
Bartow, Florida

Dear Senator Holland:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 12, 1948

The Honorable Walter Franklin George
Vienna, Georgia

Dear Senator George:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 12, 1948

The Honorable Richard Brevard Russell
Winder, Georgia

Dear Senator Russell:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 12, 1948

The Honorable Alben William Barkley
Paducah, Kentucky

Dear Senator Barkley:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 12, 1948

The Honorable John Sherman Cooper
Somerset, Kentucky

Dear Senator Cooper:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 12, 1948

The Honorable Allen Joseph Ellender
Houma, Louisiana

Dear Senator Ellender:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 12, 1948

The Honorable William Crosson Feazel
West Monroe, Louisiana

Dear Senator Feazel:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 12, 1948

The Honorable James Oliver Eastland
Doddsville, Mississippi

Dear Senator Eastland:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 12, 1948

The Honorable John Cornelius Stennis
DeKalb, Mississippi

Dear Senator Stennis:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 12, 1948

The Honorable Clyde R. Hoey
Shelby, North Carolina

Dear Senator Hoey:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:b
Enclosure

October 12, 1948

The Honorable William Bradley Umstead
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Senator Umstead:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

Georgia Workers Education Service

353 COURTLAND ST., N. E. WALNUT 1961

Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
OCT 13 1948
Southern Regional Council

October 12, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks very much for the extra copies of your recent statement on Civil Rights. I will try to put them to good use.

You are to be congratulated on the splendid press coverage which this forthright statement received. I hope the pot will keep boiling until some of these issues are resolved in a just and proper manner.

With warm personal greetings and best wishes, I am

Very sincerely,

Frank

Frank McCallister
Director

FM:rha

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

October 7, 1948

Mr. Frank McAllister
Georgia Workers Education Service
353 Courtland Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Frank:

Here are 10 copies of our recent statement. I thought they might come in handy about your place.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosures
"Honest Answer"

6 - Civil Rights — SRC Policy

(To all Southern Senators)

October 13, 1948

The Honorable Tom Stewart
Winchester, Tennessee

Dear Senator Stewart:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure: "Honest Answer"

October 13, 1948

The Honorable Tom Connally
Marlin Falls County
Texas

Dear Senator Connally:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 13, 1948

The Honorable A. Willis Robertson
Lexington, Virginia

Dear Senator Robertson:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 13, 1948

The Honorable Harry F. Byrd
Berryville, Virginia

Dear Senator Byrd:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 13, 1948

The Honorable W. Lee O'Daniel
Fort Worth, Texas

Dear Senator O'Daniel:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 13, 1948

The Honorable Kenneth McKellar
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Senator McKellar:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 13, 1948

The Honorable Olin D. Johnston
Spartanburg, South Carolina

Dear Senator Johnston:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 13, 1948

The Honorable Burnet Rhett Maybank
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Senator Maybank:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 13, 1948

The Honorable Edward H. Moore
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Dear Senator Moore:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosure

October 13, 1948

The Honorable Elmer Thomas
Medicine Park, Oklahoma

Dear Senator Thomas:

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of our Council issued the enclosed statement about civil rights.

I am hopeful that you can find time to read it. We think it furnishes a basis on which the controversy could turn from quarrel into constructive action.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosure

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

LAW OFFICES
HAAS AND HURT
HAAS-HOWELL BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GA.

LEONARD HAAS
CHARLES D. HURT

J. CORBETT PEEK, JR.
REX T. REEVES
RAYMUND R. CALLAWAY
GEORGE A. HAAS

WM. WALLACE LYONS (1922-1946)

October 13, 1948.

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
C/o Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

RECEIVED
OCT 14 1948
Southern Regional Council

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing you a list of names to whom I wish a copy of "New South" to be mailed, the issue containing the statement on Civil Rights. It is possible a copy has already been sent to some of them who may be members of the Council.

With all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Leonard Haas

Leonard Haas.

LH:LPM

ENC.

"Compliments of Leonard Haas"

Sent October 20
MEJ

Mr. Hinton F. Longino, 2982 Habersham Rd. N.W.

Mr. Frank H. Neely, 14 - 5th St. N.E.

Mr. Elbert P. Tuttle, 54 Westminster Dr. N.E.

Mr. Herbert Elsas, 3510 Paces Ferry Rd. N.W.

Mr. Louis Montag, 3365 Habersham Rd. N.W.

* Mr. Jos. K. Heyman, 3860 Vermont Rd. N.E.

* Mr. Jas. J. Selvage, Biltmore Apts.

Rev. Matthew M. Warren, 168 Peachtree Cir. N.E.

* Mr. Chas. F. Palmer, 48 Northwood Ave.

Mr. Morris Abrams, C/o Heyman, Howell & Heyman, Connally Bldg.

* Mr. Glenn Rainey, 120 - 3rd St. N.W.

Mr. John Sibley, 165 W. Wesley Road N.W.

Mr. Fair Dodd, 889 Springdale Rd. N.E.

Judge E. Marvin Underwood, Abernathy Rd. R. 1, Dunwoody, Ga.

Mr. Oscar R. Strauss, 1372 Fairview Rd. N.E.

Mr. E. Warren Moise, 101 Brighton Rd. N.E.

Mr. Fred Beers, College Park, Ga.

Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild, 2318 Haven Ridge Dr. N.W.

Mr. I. M. Weinstein, 1325 Peachtree St. N.E.

Mr. Hughes Spalding, 2002 Peachtree Rd. N.W.

* On our mailing list for New South. (Later issues has been mailed)

6-Civil Rights - SRC Policy

COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
FRANKFORT

EARLE C. CLEMENTS
GOVERNOR

October 13, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Governor has asked that I thank you for your courtesy in forwarding to him the statement on civil rights issued by the Executive Committee of your Council.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Edward A. Farris

Edward A. Farris
Administrative Assistant

6-Civil Rights - SRC Policy

STATE OF ALABAMA

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

MONTGOMERY

O. H. FINNEY, JR.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

October 13, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
OCT 14 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This acknowledges receipt of your letter of October 11, 1948, enclosing statement of the Executive Committee of your Council about civil rights. We appreciate your sending this and know that the Governor will enjoy reading it.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

I am

Sincerely yours,

O H Finney Jr.

O. H. FINNEY, JR.

OHF:V

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

FILE COPY

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

October 14, 1948

Dear Sir:

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council recently issued this statement on the civil rights controversy.

It has been widely praised for its temperate vein. In our judgment it supplies a basis for helpful, positive action.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosure "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy"

(Sent to members of House of Representatives from 13 southern states--116 persons)

6- Civil Rights - SRC Policy

RECEIVED
OCT 15 1948
Southern Regional Council

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
RALEIGH

R. GREGG CHERRY
GOVERNOR

October 14, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Acknowledgment is made of your letter of October 11th enclosing the statement by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council concerning the civil rights controversy.

Governor Cherry has asked me to express his thanks for sending him this report.

Sincerely yours,

William D. Snider

William D. Snider
Private Secretary

WDS/n

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

BEN LANEY
GOVERNOR

STATE OF ARKANSAS
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
LITTLE ROCK

October 14, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks very much for yours of October the 11th, enclosing a statement relative to civil rights, which was issued by the Executive Committee of the Council.

I shall read this with a great deal of interest for I am definitely convinced that this is a vital issue.

Yours very truly,

Ben Laney

Ben Laney
Governor

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

Office of the Governor
Atlanta

M. E. THOMPSON
GOVERNOR

SARA ROBINSON DAVIS
SECRETARY

October 14, 1948

Honorable George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge with thanks your letter of October 11th, together with enclosure.

I will be glad to bring this to the Governor's attention upon his return to the office next week.

Kind regards and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Phil M. Landrum

Phil M. Landrum
Executive Secretary

PML/bc

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

CHAPMAN REVERCOMB, W. VA., CHAIRMAN
JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, KY.
HARRY P. CAIN, WASH.
EDWARD MARTIN, PA.
ARTHUR V. WATKINS, UTAH
JOHN J. WILLIAMS, DEL.
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DENNIS CHAVEZ, N. MEX.
SHERIDAN DOWNEY, CALIF.
W. LEE O'DANIEL, TEX.
JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, ARK.
SPESSARD L. HOLLAND, FLA.
JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS

P. O. Box 646
Huntsville, Alabama
October 14, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 15 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for your letter of October 12, and for the statement recently issued by your Executive Committee on the subject of Civil Rights. I assure you that I will read this with much interest. I am delighted to have it and I hope that you will send me any studies that your group may put out from time to time.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

John

John Sparkman

1

6-Civil Rights-SRC Policy

CHAN GURNEY, S. DAK., CHAIRMAN
STYLES BRIDGES, N. H.
EDWARD V. ROBERTSON, WYO.
GEORGE A. WILSON, IOWA
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, MASS.
WAYNE MORSE, OREG.
RAYMOND E. BALDWIN, CONN.
MILLARD E. TYDINGS, MD.
RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA.
HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA.
LISTER HILL, ALA.
HARLEY M. KILGORE, W. VA.
BURNET R. MAYBANK, S. C.
JOHN G. ADAMS, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

Montgomery, Alabama
October 14, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am just in receipt of your letter of the 12th with enclosure and I want to thank you for it.

I appreciate your kindness in sending me copy of the recent statement of your Executive Committee regarding Civil Rights, which I shall read with interest.

With kindest regards and all good wishes, I am

Very sincerely,

Lister Hill

LH:jwo

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, COLO., CHAIRMAN
ROBERT A. TAFT, OHIO
HUGH BUTLER, NEBR.
OWEN BREWSTER, MAINE
HARLAN J. BUSHFIELD, S. DAK.
ALBERT W. HAWKES, N. J.
EDWARD MARTIN, PA.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
ALBEN W. BARKLEY, KY.
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.
HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA.
EDWIN C. JOHNSON, COLO.
SCOTT W. LUCAS, ILL.
SHERWOOD B. STANLEY, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

Vienna, Georgia
October 14, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
OCT 15 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of October twelfth enclosing copy of statement issued by the Executive Committee of your Council regarding Civil Rights.

Thanking you, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Walter F. George

October 15, 1948

The Honorable Estes Kefauver
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Kefauver:

Here is a copy in printed form of our Council's recent statement on civil rights, which doubtless you saw in the Chattanooga Times for September 19.

We think it furnishes a basis on which the South can turn from quarrel to constructive action.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 15, 1948

The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson
Johnson City, Texas

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I have the honor to send you a recent statement of the Executive Committee of our Council, about civil rights in the South. We think it presents a basis on which the South can turn from quarrel to constructive action.

With warmest wishes,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

GEORGE D. AIKEN, VT., CHAIRMAN
HOMER FERGUSON, MICH.
BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, IOWA
JOHN W. BRICKER, OHIO
EDWARD J. THYE, MINN.
JOSEPH R. MC CARTHY, WIS.
IRVING M. IVES, N. Y.
JOHN L. MC CLELLAN, ARK.
JAMES O. EASTLAND, MISS.
CLYDE R. HOEY, N. C.
GLEN H. TAYLOR, IDAHO
A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA.
HERBERT R. O'CONOR, MD.
J. H. MACOMBER, JR., CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE
DEPARTMENTS

October 15, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of October 12, 1948, enclosing the recent statement issued about civil rights by the Executive Committee of your Council. I thank you for forwarding same to me.

Yours very truly,

Clyde R. Hoey

Clyde R. Hoey

CRH:dp

RECEIVED
18 1948
Southern Regional Council

NF

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

CHARLES W. TOBEY, N. H., CHAIRMAN
C. DOUGLASS BUCK, DEL.
HOMER E. CAPEHART, IND.
RALPH E. FLANDERS, VT.
HARRY P. CAIN, WASH.
JOHN W. BRICKER, OHIO
JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, WIS.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
BURNET R. MAYBANK, S. C.
GLEN H. TAYLOR, IDAHO
J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK.
A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA.
JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.
ROBERT C. HILL, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

Lexington, Virginia
October 15, 1948m

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
18 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The enclosed copy of a recent speech will serve I hope as a partial answer to the study you are making on how to turn a quarrel into constructive action.

My position is that if a majority of the people wish to take some action in the realm of social relations, which the Federal Government is not authorized by the Constitution to take, they should frankly and honestly propose an amendment to the Constitution and not urge Members of the Congress to violate their solemn oaths to uphold and support it.

Cordially yours,

A. Willis Robertson

Enclosure

RECEIVED
18 1948
Southern Regional Council

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS., CHAIRMAN
GEORGE D. AIKEN, VT.
HARLAN J. BUSHFIELD, S. DAK.
GEORGE A. WILSON, IOWA
MILTON R. YOUNG, N. DAK.
EDWARD J. THYE, MINN.
JAMES P. KEM, MO.
ELMER THOMAS, OKLA.
ALLEN J. ELLENDER, LA.
SCOTT W. LUCAS, ILL.
TOM STEWART, TENN.
CLYDE R. HOEY, N. C.
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
JAMES M. KENDALL, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

Tallahassee, Florida
October 15, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Senator Pepper is away on a speaking trip under the auspices of the Democratic National Committee and as he will not return here for some time I am taking the privilege of acknowledging your letter of the 12th and the enclosed statement on the civil rights question.

I know that Senator Pepper will appreciate very much your thoughtfulness in sending this to him and I will bring it to his attention at my first opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Van Demark

Mary N. Van Demark
Secretary

6. Civil Rights - SRC Policy

CHAPMAN REVERCOMB, W. VA., CHAIRMAN
JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, KY. DENNIS CHAVEZ, N. MEX.
HARRY P. CAIN, WASH. SHERIDAN DOWNEY, CALIF.
EDWARD MARTIN, PA. W. LEE O'DANIEL, TEX.
ARTHUR V. WATKINS, UTAH JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, ARK.
JOHN J. WILLIAMS, DEL. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND, FLA.
GEORGE W. MALONE, NEV. JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS

Bartow, Florida
October 16, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In the absence of Senator Holland who is on an extended visiting and speaking trip in South Florida, permit me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of October 12, with with you sent copy of a pamphlet entitled "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy."

I know that the Senator will be very interested to read this article on civil rights which was unaniously adopted by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council at its meeting of September 15 in Atlanta, and I am placing the file on the Senator's desk for him to note upon his return.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely,

Erin Clark
(Miss) Erin Clark
Personal Secretary to Senator Holland

/ec

6. Civil Rights - SRC Policy

CHAPMAN REVERCOMB, W. VA., CHAIRMAN
JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, KY.
HARRY P. CAIN, WASH.
EDWARD MARTIN, PA.
ARTHUR V. WATKINS, UTAH
JOHN J. WILLIAMS, DEL.
GEORGE W. MALONE, NEV.
JOHN H. OVERTON, LA.
DENNIS CHAVEZ, N. MEX.
SHERIDAN DOWNEY, CALIF.
W. LEE O'DANIEL, TEX.
JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, ARK.
SPESSARD L. HOLLAND, FLA.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS

October 18, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 20 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This acknowledges your letter of October 12th, with enclosure.

I appreciate receiving the statement on civil rights. I shall be very glad to read it, and I am sure it contains some constructive ideas and suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

John L. McClellan

John L. McClellan

6-Civil Rights- SRC Policy

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND

WM. PRESTON LANE, JR.
GOVERNOR

October 18, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 20 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta-3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of October 12th, and the enclosed statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., concerning Civil Rights.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Wm. Preston Lane

Governor

o'c

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

State of South Carolina

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

Columbia

J. STROM THURMOND
GOVERNOR

October 18, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 20 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of October 11th, and the enclosed statement about civil rights. I read the booklet with much interest.

A splendid response is coming in from all sections of the country, and we are greatly encouraged. Every day more and more people are becoming aware of conditions that exist in our country today, and are joining forces with the States' Rights Democrats in our fight to maintain our American way of life.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Very truly,

J. Strom Thurmond
J. Strom Thurmond
Governor

JST:ah

6-Civil Rights - SRC Policy

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 19, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
OCT 20 1948
Southern Regional

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Just a note to thank you for the extra copies of the statement of the Executive Committee.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:tm

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

C. WAYLAND BROOKS, ILL., CHAIRMAN
KENNETH S. WHERRY, NEBR.
BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, IOWA
WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, CALIF.
HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR., MASS.
WILLIAM E. JENNER, IND.
JOHN W. BRICKER, OHIO
IRVING M. IVES, N. Y.
CARL HAYDEN, ARIZ.
THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, R. I.
BRIEN MC MAHON, CONN.
FRANCIS J. MYERS, PA.
JOHN C. STENNIS, MISS.

ALBERT L. SEIDEL, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

October 19, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I certainly appreciate your letter of October 12 and the enclosure concerning the Civil Rights controversy.

I have found the pamphlet interesting and informative and made it a part of my file concerning this matter. I am receiving a great amount of valuable material and feel sure it will be useful in attempting to create a better understanding of this whole problem.

With best wishes and kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

John C. Stennis

U. S. Senator

RECEIVED
OCT 22 1948
Southern Regional Council

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

STYLES BRIDGES, N. H., CHAIRMAN
CHAN GURNEY, S. DAK.
C. WAYLAND BROOKS, ILL.
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THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, R. I.

EVERARD H. SMITH, CLERK
CECIL H. TOLBERT, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

October 20th, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In the temporary absence of Senator Thomas who is now in Oklahoma participating in the pending campaign, this will acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 13th and replying advise that your communication and enclosure will be placed before Senator Thomas for his personal attention upon his return to the office.

Assuring you that Senator Thomas will very much appreciate the statement sent him and with best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Bernice Farmer

Bernice Farmer
for Senator Thomas

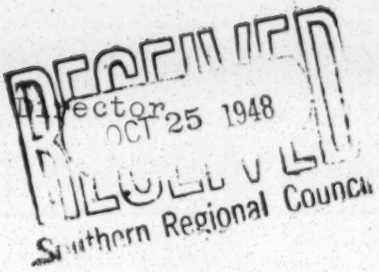
RECEIVED
OCT 22 1948
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
AUSTIN, TEXAS

BEAUFORD H. JESTER
GOVERNOR

October 21, 1948



Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am grateful for your letter of October 11, enclosing the statement of your Executive Committee on the subject of civil rights.

I shall examine this with much interest.

Sincerely yours,

Beauford H. Jester

6-Civil Rights - SRC
Policy

State of North Carolina
Superintendent of Public Instruction
Raleigh

CLYDE A. ERWIN
SUPERINTENDENT

October 25, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
OCT 26 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

Thank you very much for sending me five more copies of the printed form of "An Honest Answer." I am placing these in the hands of friends of mine who I know will be interested in this subject.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards, I am

Very truly yours,

Clyde A. Erwin
State Superintendent Public Instruction

6 - Civil Rights —
SRC Policy

ALBEN W. BARKLEY
KENTUCKY

United States Senate

CONFERENCE OF THE MINORITY

October 27,1948

RECEIVED
OCT 29 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge your letter of October 12, received in the absence of Senator Barkley, who will not be back until after the November election.

I am sure that the Senator will be interested in the statement on civil rights adopted by the Executive Committee at the September meeting, and I shall bring it to his attention at the earliest opportunity.

Thanking you on the Senator's behalf, I am

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Barron

LB

Secretary

6-Civil Rights-SRC Policy

November 4, 1948

Mr. Malcolm Adams
The Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Adams:

Here is a paste-up of a part of the news stories on the Council's September 19 release about civil rights.

We are grateful to the Commercial Appeal for carrying the story.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosure

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

November 4, 1948

Mr. Wright Bryan
The Atlanta Journal
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Bryan:

Here is a paste-up of a part of the news stories on the Council's September 19 release about civil rights.

We are grateful to the Journal for carrying the story.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosure

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

November 4, 1948

Mr. Ralph McGill
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

Here is a paste-up of a part of the news stories on the Council's September 19 release about civil rights.

We are grateful to the Constitution for carrying the story.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosure

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

November 4, 1948

Mr. Virginius Dabney
The Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Virginius:

Here is a paste-up of a part of the news stories on the Council's September 19 release about civil rights.

We are grateful to the Times-Dispatch for carrying the story.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosure

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

November 4, 1948

Mr. Hiden Ramsey
Asheville Citizen-Times
Asheville, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Ramsey:

Here is a paste-up of a part of the news stories on the Council's September 19 release about civil rights.

We are grateful to the Citizen-Times for carrying the story.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosure

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

November 23, 1948

Mr. E. B. Hunter, Managing Editor
The Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Hunter:

Here is a paste-up of a part of the news stories on the Council's September 19 release about civil rights.

We are grateful to the Observer for carrying the story.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:c
enclosure

6 - Civil Rights -
SNC Policy

November 5, 1948

Mr. John H. Wheeler
Mechanics & Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

Here is a paste-up of a part of the news stories on the Council's September 19 release about civil rights.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosure

November 5, 1948

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

You will be interested in the enclosed paste-up of some of the news coverage on the civil rights statement. I send also the statement in its reprint form, with editorial comment bound in. More of these if you should need them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosures

November 5, 1948

Mr. Alexander Miller
Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor Street, S. W.--Suite 305
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Alex:

Here is a paste-up that Fleming made on some of the publicity about the civil rights statement.

Note editorial comment, beginning on page 6 of reprint of the statement--enclosed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosures

November 5, 1948

Dr. Will W. Alexander
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Doctor Will:

Here is a nice paste-up of some of the news stories about the civil rights statement. We are also reprinting the statement with editorial comments bound in with it.

We are all earnestly in hopes that you can be down here for the membership meeting the 10th and the important Board meeting the 11th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

November 5, 1948

Mr. Edgar B. Stern
2110 American Bank Building
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Stern:

You will be interested in this reprint version of the Executive Committee's statement on civil rights. Observe that it has editorial comments bound in with it. I send also a paste-up of some of the news stories which the statement got.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosures

November 5, 1948

Mr. Donald Comer
Avondale Mills
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Comer:

You will be interested in this reprint version of the Executive Committee's statement on civil rights. Observe that it has editorial comments bound in with it. I send also a paste-up of some of the news stories which the statement got.

I hear occasionally from Lucy Mason or someone else that you have been in Atlanta. Won't you put me on the list of those who should know ahead of time when you come? I would value visits with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t
enclosures

November 5, 1948

Editor
Savannah Morning News
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Here is a paste-up of a part of the news stories on the Council's September 19 release about civil rights.

We are grateful to the Morning News for carrying the story.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosures

P.S. Note editorial comment beginning on page 6 of reprint of the statement--enclosed.

GSM

November 5, 1948

The Greenville News
Greenville, South Carolina

Attention Mr. Hendley, Managing Editor

Gentlemen:

Here is a paste-up of a part of the news stories on the Council's September 19 release about civil rights.

We are grateful to the News for carrying the story.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

P.S. Note editorial comment beginning page 6 of reprint of the statement--enclosed.

November 5, 1948

Mr. William B. Ruggles, Editor
Dallas Morning News
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mr. Ruggles:

Here is a paste-up of a part of the news stories on the Council's September 19 release about civil rights.

We are grateful to the Morning News for carrying the story.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosures

P.S. Note editorial comment beginning on page 6 of reprint of the statement--enclosed.
G.S.M.

November 5, 1948

Mr. Bert Struby, Executive Editor
Macon Telegraph and News
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mr. Struby:

Here is a paste-up of a part of the news stories on the Council's September 19 release about civil rights.

We are grateful to the Macon Telegraph and News for carrying the story.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosures

P.S. Note editorial comment beginning on page 6 of reprint of the statement--enclosed.
G.S.M.

November 5, 1948

Mr. John Popham
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Popham:

Here is a paste-up of part of the news stories about the Council's civil rights statement.

We are grateful for the wide coverage which your good story got.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

P.S. Note editorial comment beginning on page 6 of reprint of the statement--enclosed.
G.S.M.

November 5, 1948

Mr. C. A. Scott
The Atlanta World
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Scott:

Here is a paste-up of a part of the news stories on the Council's September 19 release about civil rights.

We are grateful to the Atlanta World for carrying the story.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosures

P.S. Note editorial comment beginning on page 6 or reprint of the statement--enclosed.
GSM

November 5, 1948

Editor
The Augusta Chronicle
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Here is a paste-up of a part of the news stories on the Council's September 19 release about civil rights.

We are grateful to the Chronicle for carrying the story.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosures

P.S. Note editorial comment beginning on page 6 of reprint of the statement--enclosed.

November 5, 1948

Editor
The Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir:

Here is a paste-up of a part of the news stories on the Council's September 19 release about civil rights.

We are grateful to the Defender for carrying the story.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosures

P.S. Note editorial comment beginning on page 6 of reprint of the statement--enclosed.

November 5, 1948

Editor
The Clearwater Sun
Clearwater, Florida

Dear Sir:

Here is a paste-up of a part of the news stories on the Council's September 19 release about civil rights.

We are grateful to the Sun for carrying the story.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosures

P.S. Note editorial comment beginning on page 6 of reprint of the statement--enclosed.

November 5, 1948

Mr. P. B. Young, Editor
Norfolk Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

Here is a paste-up of a part of the news stories on the Council's September 19 release about civil rights.

We are grateful to the Journal and Guide for carrying the story.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosures

P.S. Note editorial comment beginning on page 6 of reprint of the statement--enclosed.
GSM

6 - Civil Rights - SAC Policy

November 9, 1948

Mr. David K. Niles
Executive Office of the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Niles:

I called your office just now to make certain that Phillee had showed you the Council's September 19 pronouncement on civil rights.

I think it gives a lot of the answer you must be needing.

I beg you to read it and think about it and, if you care to, let me know what well disposed people in the South could do next to further agreement along these lines.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

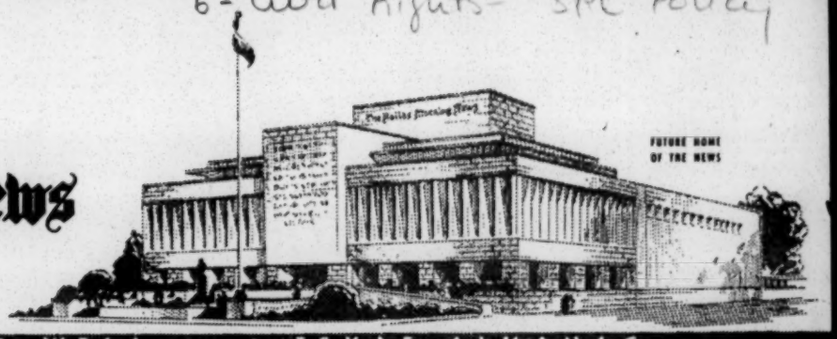
HF

6-Civil Rights- SRC Policy

OLDEST BUSINESS INSTITUTION IN TEXAS

The Dallas Morning News

TEXAS' LEADING NEWSPAPER



RADIO STATIONS WFAA AND WFAA-FM • TEXAS ALMANAC

November 11, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 15 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We appreciate very much your sending us under date of November 5 the Council's roundup of news stories on its September 19 release.

Very sincerely,

Wm B Ruggles

William B. Ruggles
Editor

HF 1.3/4/01x
Would you consider if possible to write this?
GSM

The New Leader

PUBLISHED SINCE 1923

Editor: WILLIAM E. BOHN
Executive Editor: S. M. LEVITAS
Managing Editor: LISTON M. OAK
Associate Editors:
WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN
DAVID J. DALLIN
Washington Editor: JONATHAN STOUT
Drama Critic: JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

Contributing Editors:
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MAX DANISH
LEON DENNEN
JOHN DEWEY
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HORACE M. KALLEN
ALGERNON LEE
MARX LEWIS
EUGENE LYONS
SELIG PERLMAN

7 EAST 15th STREET, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
Telephone ALgonquin 4-4622-3

119

November 16, 1948

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your recent letter with the enclosures which I have read with great interest. However, I do think that an article signed by you or by someone assigned by you on the Civil Rights Controversy would be more effective and more widely read than would a reprint from the New South which, by the way, was quoted in many publications.

Since we are extremely anxious to bring this problem before the American Public, I would appreciate very much if you could give us a piece in about 1500 to 1800 words and since you have the subject matter on the tips of your fingers, it should be no hardship for you. Do let us have it.

I have placed your name on our mailing list and you will receive the paper regularly.

Sincerely,

Sly Levitas (M.E.)
S. M. Levitas
Executive Editor

RECEIVED
NOV 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

sml/me
oeiu:153

6-G-misc -
Clark, Felton G.

November 17, 1948

President Felton G. Clark
Southern University
Scotlandville, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Clark:

I recall with high hopes your promise to see if you can't get us some more members from the faculty and others at Scotlandville and Baton Rouge.

For the time being, the best recruitment pamphlet we have is the one of which I attach a dozen copies.

I do hope you can help us. We ought soon to get an active chapter of the Council going in the Baton Rouge area.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

cc: Margaret Price

Shown to Mrs Lilly
11/29/48
MEJ

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

December 10, 1948

Mr. S. M. Levitas
Executive Editor
The New Leader
7 East 15th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Levitas:

Here is something on civil rights, as suggested in your letter of November 16.

Sincerely,

See 24 - Mitchell G.S. - "GSM wrote it"

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosure

6 - Civil Rights: SRC Policy

The Council wishes to see a positive and responsible undertaking on the part of the ~~Sxx~~ Statesof the South that they will speedily enforce ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ the fundamental civil rights of the Southern people. In the absence of such a will on the part of the South to do its own duty we ~~cannot foresee xxxxxxxxx

6 - Civil Rights: SRC Policy

OFFICES OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

NATIONAL OFFICE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. 381 Fourth Avenue MUrray Hill 4-2190

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8

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6

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P.S.! If we can space the Statement, send to all, otherwise sent to National Office, Southeastern and Southwestern divisions. P. Doms

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Oklahoma City 2, Okla.	310 Comm. Exch. Bldg.	T. H. McDowell	2-3861
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*Boise, Idaho	% Boise Junior College	Conan E. Mathews.	

6 - Civil Rights: Southwide Conf. 1948 - correspondence

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IRVING MILLER *Chairman Executive Comm.*
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REMOVED TO
1534 Broadway
New York 36, N.Y.
Tel: BR 9-1900

December 2, 1947

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The newspapers report that you plan to hold a conference in 1948 on the problems of racial discrimination and segregation. Would you be good enough to let us know when the conference will be held so that one of our representatives may attend the hearings. If you believe it would be at all helpful for a Northern organization such as ours to testify, please let us know.

I enclose one of our publications on civil rights which may be of interest.

Sincerely yours,

Will Maslow

Will Maslow

Enclosure
WMrs

Civil Rights

December 23, 1947

Dr. A. D. Beittel, President
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Dr. Beittel:

The ATLANTA WORLD in a dispatch from Birmingham says that the Southeastern, probably of the Kappa Alpha Psi, is having a meeting in Birmingham, December 29 - 30 - 31 to discuss ways of implimenting the Report of the President on Civil Rights.

Various interesting people will be there.

As the Council wants to do something in this line, it will be helpful if you could have someone at the Birmingham meeting who would collect useful points for us on how is best to do the job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

January 15, 1948

Mr. Frank McCallister, Director
Georgia Workers Education Service
353 Courtland Street, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Frank:

Here is a summary of arrangements thus far for the Southwide Meeting on Civil Rights February 27.

It is agreed that the meeting will be sponsored by the Southern Regional Council in cooperation with the Council of Church Women and two, three or four other organizations not as yet officially related to the meeting, but to be invited to take part as sponsoring agencies. Thus far these are limited to the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the B'nai B'rith, and the American Veterans Committee.

It so happens that this date coincides with the presence in Atlanta, for meetings of their own, of leadership groups from the Woman's Society of Christian Service, Southeastern Jurisdiction, The Methodist Church, and a similar body from the Southern Presbyterians. The church women's groups will also invite for the Civil Rights Meeting representative leadership persons from the Baptists, the Lutherans, the Christians, the Episcopalians, and from the Council of Jewish Women. It is hoped also that some Catholic women will be present.

The Council will invite to the Civil Rights Meeting representatives of the Catholic Committee of the South, the Georgia Laymen's Association, the League of Women Voters, the YMCA and YWCA, and other similar bodies. It will also invite officials of the nine State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council, all affiliated state interracial committees. It is expected that the official church women's bodies will be able to cover nearly all the expenses of their representatives, but the expenses of most of those invited by the Council will have to be paid.

The date selected also coincides with the first day of a two-day meeting at Atlanta University, organized by the University's Inter-group committee of students from the Atlanta area. This will be quite a large meeting, drawing heavily from the three thousand Negro students at colleges related directly to Atlanta University, and with representatives from the several white colleges in or near Atlanta.

The present plan is for the meeting organized by the Southern Regional Council to be at one of the white churches in Atlanta for its daytime session and to combine with the Atlanta University meeting for an evening session February 27 at Sisters Chapel, Laura Spelman College--a part of Atlanta University. The Atlanta University meeting proposes to invite as speakers Mrs. Sadie Alexander, Mr. Channing Tobias, Mr. William Hastie, and the Attorney-General, Mr. Tom Clark, among others.

On behalf of the Council, Mrs. M. E. Tilly has commitments as speakers at the Council meeting from Mr. James Carey of the CIO and Mr. Boris Shishkin of the AFofL. She also has had tentative commitments from the Attorney-General and from Mr. Charles Luckman. The Council will invite also President Frank Graham of the University of North Carolina, the former District Attorney for the Atlanta area, Mr. Neil Andrews, and two or three others. The Council and those preparing the meeting at Atlanta University already have agreed on interchange of speakers.

The Council has sent to the printers a compressed, reduced version of the Report of the President's Committee for use as a teaching document at this meeting. It is preparing an accompanying study guide which will document, with figures and case histories, the more particularly Southern aspects of the problems and recommendations raised by the Report of the President's Committee. This should be available in time for the meeting.

The Council meeting will be an interracial one, as, of course, will also the meeting at Atlanta University.

The meeting being organized by the Council is regarded not as an end in itself, but as an opportunity to train leadership from all over the South in the contents of the Report of the President's Committee in order that, in a series of subsequent area meetings, this trained leadership material may be called upon to teach local groups what is in the Report and to lead discussions on the problems of bringing about the wider respect for civil liberties envisioned in the Report.

The Southern Regional Council has not got the money to do the February 27 meeting by itself. It will take around fifteen hundred dollars to accomplish that meeting. It will take at least another five hundred to set going a series of follow-up area meetings. In addition to that, another three or four hundred dollars will be needed to print in adequate numbers the two pamphlets referred to above.

In the expectation that funds will be forthcoming, we have engaged to pay a salary for six weeks to Mr. Dana Brantley, who will be in charge of putting on the meeting. He has had experience and will be effective.

We expect between two hundred and three hundred people at the meeting organized by the Council. The combined night meeting on February 27 should have present from three thousand on up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb
Dictated but not read

MASSACHUSETTS CITIZENS' COMMITTEE
ON CIVIL RIGHTS

(In Support Of The Report Of The President's Committee On Civil Rights)

SUITE 713
755 BOYLSTON STREET
BOSTON 16, MASS.

MARY K. FITZGERALD
Secretary

January 26, 1948

Mr. Dana E. Brantley, Jr.
Special Projects Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Brantley:

In accordance with your request for further information concerning the Conference on Civil Rights which our group has sponsored in this city, I am sending to you the enclosed materials. I have purposely waited before answering your most courteous letter until I could send you this specific material.

We will work hard, now that we have formally launched our organization via the Conference, to implement the recommendations already given to us by the sub-committee on this subject yesterday. We have filed with our state legislature a "resolve providing for an investigation by a special commission relative to the matter of creating a permanent Civil Rights Commission to make continuing studies of prejudice, group tensions and other civil rights problems."

Our best wishes go to you in your good work,

Sincerely yours,

Mary K. Fitzgerald

Mary K. Fitzgerald, Secretary
MASS. CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON
CIVIL RIGHTS

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

February 4, 1948

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

RECEIVED
5 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Under the auspices of the Atlanta University Committee of the College Study in Intergroup Relations, the sociology teachers of the colleges in the Center are sponsoring a study conference on the problem of civil rights, based on the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, "To Secure These Rights". It is the purpose of this conference to study the problem with reference to the goals, problems and techniques that are significant for the South. That is to say, we intend to study what is in the report; to look into conditions in respect to civil rights; to set up practical short and long range objectives; and, to point out techniques, strategies and means of realizing our common objectives. The sponsoring committee of this faculty-student conference is most anxious to have your cooperation in this endeavor.

The conference as now planned will convene in three major sessions on Friday and Saturday, February 27th and 28th. The enclosed preliminary program will indicate the scope and nature of the conference.

In making our plans effective we would like to have two things: first, your active participation as a resource person in one of the sub-group discussions; second, your suggestions of things which can be included in the preparation of an agenda for the conference.

Will you be so kind as to advise me whether or not you can accept the first responsibility and the best procedure for me to follow in securing the second.

Cordially yours,

Ira DeA. Reid

note

1 Incl.
MH:vs

D Brawley

THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY CENTER
CONFERENCE ON INTERGROUP EDUCATION WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CIVIL RIGHTS

February 27, 28, 1948

Tentative Program

Friday, February 27

1:30 p.m.----------Registration
Exhibition Room, Atlanta University

2:00-2:50----------Opening Session
Davage Auditorium, Clark College

3:00-5:30----------Group Discussions

1. Civil Rights---------Howe Hall, Spelman College
2. Segregation----------Sale Hale, Morehouse College
3. Education----------Davage Auditorium, Clark College
4. Economic Opportunity---Exhibition Room, Atlanta University

8:00----------Public Forum
Sisters Chapel, Spelman College

Saturday, February 28

9:00-11:00 a.m.----------Group Discussions

11:15-12:30----------Open Session
Davage Auditorium, Clark College

Partial List of Invited Participants

Speakers

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Mrs. Sadie Alexander
Mr. Charles Luckman
Attorney General Tom Clark
Governor William H. Hastie

Group Leaders and Consultants

Mr. Allen D. Albert
Mr. Will W. Alexander
Mr. Clarence Bacote
Mr. J. B. Blayton
Mr. Max Bond
Mr. J. P. Brawley
Mr. B. R. Brazeal
Mr. James Carey
Mr. Rufus E. Clement
Mr. Lloyd Cook
Mr. Curtis Dixon
Mr. Isaiah Domas
Mr. James Dombrowski
Mr. W. A. Fountain
Mr. Cullen B. Gosnell
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Mr. Raymond Harris
Mr. G. D. Kelsey
Mr. Benjamin Mays
Mr. Frank McCallister
Mr. Howard McClain
Miss Mildred Mell
Mr. Alexander Miller
Mr. George Mitchell
Mr. Walter Paschal
Mr. Glenn Rainey
Mr. Ira De A. Reid
Mr. Boris Shiskin
Mr. Paul Styles
Mr. Forrester Washington
Mr. Carter Wesley
Mr. Don West
Mr. E. B. Williams
Mr. Samuel Williams
Mr. S. B. Williams

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Sent to all CSR chairmen
Council of Churchwomen presidents. See attached list

February 4, 1948

Dear Friend:

The Southern Regional Council and the United Council of Church Women, especially the Georgia Council, are sponsoring a Southwide Workshop on Civil Rights at Atlanta, Georgia, February 27.

The United Council has sent your name to us so that you may receive an invitation and we trust if you cannot attend yourself, you will send someone from your Council.

The meeting will be interracial, and will be held at the Lutheran Church of The Redeemer, 731 Peachtree Street, N. E., with an anticipated participation of some two to three hundred representatives. The agenda will include four workshops on civil rights problems in the South and speeches by nationally known authorities, including members of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. We strongly believe that such a meeting in the South is greatly needed at this time and that a program such as this one will be most effective and significant.

There will be a student meeting at Atlanta University on the same day. Our evening sessions will be combined at the University, at which time we have every reason to expect two thousand young people.

If you wish us to make a hotel reservation for you, please advise me.

We do hope you will be with us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

LIST OF SOUTHERN C. S. R. CHAIRMEN

Alabama	Mrs. R. B. Kerridge	Route 2 Box 47 Selma Ala
Arkansas	Mrs. J. R. Henderson	4312 Woodlawn Little Rock Ark
Arizona	Mrs. Tom Davenport 601	601 N. Tyndall Ave., Tucson, Ariz.
Florida	Miss Louise Woodford	930 23rd Ave. N. St. Petersburg
Georgia	Mrs. A. A. Hardy	10 Bleecher St., Thomaston
Kansas	Mrs. Patricia Solander	621 W. 10th St. Topeka
Kentucky	Mrs. F. P. Check	Danville
Louisiana	Mrs. Allen S. Hackett	New Orleans, La. 1580 Jefferson Ave.
Maryland	Mrs. Asbury Smith	Towson, Md.
Mississippi	Mrs. Elizabeth Chisolm	726 Fifth Ave. Laurel, Miss.
Missouri	Mrs. Frank L. Wright	707 N. Forest St., Webster Groves, Mo.
New Mexico	Mrs. H. T. Mercer	Sierra Vista Camp, Santa Fe, N. M.
~~North Carolina~~	~~Mrs. H. T. Mercer~~	~~Sierra Vista Camp, Santa Fe, N. M.~~
Oklahoma	Mrs. Homer P. Bucker	322 S. Lake St. Ponca City, Okla.
South Carolina	No CSR Committee	
North Carolina	"	
Tennessee	"	
Texas	Mrs. F. I. Dahlbert	Dept. A. H., College Station, Tex.
Virginia	Mrs. T. W. Smith	2701 Fourth Ave., Richmond 22, Va.
West Virginia	Mrs. June E. Baker	621 First St. Huntington, W. Va.

LIST OF SOUTHERN COUNCIL PRESIDENTS

ALABAMA	Mrs. Peyton Eubank	2300 Avenue "I", Ensley Station, Birmingham 8
ARKANSAS	Mrs. E. J. Rauschkolb	5316 Stonewall Road, Little Rock
ARIZONA	MRs. J. L. E. Lauderdale	737 West Moreland Street, Phoenix
FLORIDA	Mrs. William C. Williams	115 Westminster Road, West Palm Beach
Did not address GEORGIA	Mrs. C. M. Lancaster	992 Cumberland Road, N.E., Atlanta
KANSAS	Mrs. Harry B. Brown	3433 Edgemont Place, Wichita
KENTUCKY	Mrs. Barton A. Johnson	1135 Audubon Road, Park Hill, Covington
LOUISIANA	Mrs. W. O. Fisher	237 Columbia, Shreveport
MARYLAND	Mrs. Bruce H. McDonald	515 W. Fayette St., Baltimore 1
MISSISSIPPI	Mrs. C. C. Alford	632 Chickasaw Avenue, Jackson 30
MISSOURI	Mrs. W. B. Clemmer	5630 Bartmer St., St. Louis 12
NEW MEXICO	Mrs. J. H. Walker	504 Dallas Street, Artesia
NORTH CAROLINA	Mrs. C. C. Todd	134 N. Church Street, Rocky Mount
OKLAHOMA	Mrs. G. K. Sutherland	Box 276, Hominy
SOUTH CAROLINA	(Being organized 2/6/48)	
TENNESSEE	Mrs. Hugh C. Stuntz	1004 19th Avenue S., Nashville
TEXAS	Mrs. I D. Covey	4616 Virginia St., Dallas
VIRGINIA	Mrs. Donald W. Richardson	1006 Westwood Ave., Richmond
WEST VIRGINIA	Virginia C, Cork	7½ Greenbrier St., Charleston 1

February 6, 1948

Rabbi Julius Mark, Chairman
Commission on Justice and Peace, CCAR
136 Seventh Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Rabbi Mark:

I am very much impressed with the leaflet which reached me this morning, "Judaism and Race Equality."

We are having a meeting on civil rights in Atlanta. I enclose some discussion of the meeting.

I also send a check for two dollars in the hope that that will make it possible for you to send us two hundred copies of the leaflet. We would want to have them available at the meeting.

Incidentally, if you or any of your friends can come down for the meeting, we shall be delighted.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Enclosures:
1. check for $2.00
2. cy ltr to Div. and Interracial Com. officers, dtd. 31Jan48
3. "To Secure These Rights" pamphlet

JUDAISM

and

RACE EQUALITY

Issued by

THE COMMISSION ON JUSTICE AND PEACE
of the
CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

1 9 4 8

JUDAISM AND RACE EQUALITY

MAN derives his worth from the fact that he is created by God in the image of God. This is an unconditional status. It is not dependent on any other circumstance. He may be black, yellow or white; he may worship nature or the spirit within nature; he may be born on mountainside or on the plains. He is still equal in the sight of God. Any differences in his worth are those he creates himself by his utilization of his potentialities through learning and industry. But these are only evaluative differences. They are not essential. In no way do they limit the inalienable rights inherent in man's status as a child of God.

These teachings were burned into the soul of Israel by his experience with Egyptian slavery. From the very beginning of his national existence he knew the heart of the stranger, and the leitmotif of his social discipline was, "Thou shalt have one law for the stranger and for him that is home-born."

We rejoice that the President's Committee on Civil Rights has recognized a similar emphasis in American history. In the foreword to its magnificent report, "To Secure These Rights," we read:

> "The central theme in our American heritage is the importance of the individual person. From the earliest moment of our history we have believed that every human being has an essential dignity and integrity which must be respected and safeguarded. Moreover, we believe that the welfare of the individual is the final goal of group life. Our American heritage further teaches that to be secure in the rights he wishes for himself, each man must be willing to respect the rights of other men. This is the conscious recognition of a basic moral principle; that all men are created equal as well as free. Stemming from this principle is the obligation to build social institutions that will guarantee equality of opportunity to all men. Without this equality freedom becomes an illusion. Thus the only aristocracy that is consistent with the free way of life is an aristocracy of talent and achievement."

We heartily commend the President's Committee for placing the spot-light of its inquiry on the faults and failures of our American democracy: lynching, Jim Crow, poll tax, the virtual peonage of tenant farmers, the inadequacy of educational, health and housing facilities for large sections of our population. We share the Committee's concern that the Bill of Rights is not as available to the non-white races in the American population as it is to the white race. We recognize the vicious cycle by which the denial of these rights forces the racial minorities into social degradations which make it all the more difficult for them to attain these rights. We endorse the Committee's recommendation that the Federal Government use its present constitutional powers to abolish Jim Crow in the District of Columbia and to preserve the right to the ballot to all Negro citizens of the South. We endorse the Committee's recommendation that the proper restitution and compensation be made to the Japanese citizens who were forcibly removed from their homes during the war. We likewise affirm the Committee's recommendation to strengthen the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice so that its regional offices may be of more assistance to local officers who wish to protect the citizen's basic rights under the Constitution.

We are encouraged to note that the New York State Commission Against Discrimination is singled out as an example of the way in which administrative agencies can grant civil sanctions to remedy the denial of the right to employment to members of minority groups. Our Conference must be all the more resolute in supporting the movements to establish similar agencies in all the states of the Union.

We rejoice in the Committee's recommendation that Federal Grants-in-Aid to public or private agencies be withheld if they practice discrimination and we commend the President's Committee on Higher Education for making a similar proposal. Proposals such as these coming from distinguished bodies appointed by the highest officer of our government cannot but help to change the climate of opinion which has heretofore passively tolerated, when it has not actively sanctioned, the violations of our Bill of Rights.

Economic opportunity, political equality, social dignity for our racial minorities can be only partially guaranteed by strengthening our laws and implementing our administrative agencies. The major resistance to necessary changes lies in the moral weakness, in the prejudices and bigotries of many of our citizens. Legal sanctions, criminal investigations, Federal pressures will never be able to sterilize the seed bed of these prejudices. Since the cause is largely the moral weakness and ignorance of individuals, the remedies must be largely in the hands of our homes, our schools, and our churches.

The difference between the equalitarian promise of the American dream as revealed in our Declaration of Independence and in our Bill of Rights and the inequalities of American practice measures the challenge to the churches and synagogues of the land. We must ignore the pessimism of the cynical who regard this gulf between word and action as proof of the hopeless hypocrisy of human beings. Our faith must inspire and sustain us in our endeavor to bridge this gap. It was faith in the ultimate goodness of the average man that led our Founding Fathers to erect a structure of government for the people and by the people. We must justify that faith by removing the barriers of prejudice and ignorance which frustrate the fulfillment of the American dream. We have evidence today as we have never had it before that racial discrimination is not only a heavy drain on the human wealth and national competence of this country, not only militates against America's moral leadership of countries populated by non-white races, but is bringing about the steady erosion of the moral fibre of the nation. The persistence of discrimination and segregation justifies many of our citizens in holding to the belief that the victims of discrimination are basically inferior. This creates a split which goes through the whole structure of our democracy and threatens it with ultimate destruction.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis commits its membership to the ceaseless struggle for the abolition of economic, political and social discrimination. A decent regard for the integrity of our faith demands it. Loyalty to the spiritual foundations of American democracy requires it.

☆ ☆ ☆

Additional copies of this statement may be secured by writing to Rabbi Julius Mark, chairman, Commission on Justice and Peace, CCAR, 136 Seventh Ave., N., Nashville, 3, Tenn.

Georgia Workers Education Service
353 COURTLAND ST., N. E.
WALNUT 1961
Atlanta 3, Georgia

February 9, 1948

Mr. Alexander Alland
Picture Service Director
Council Against Intolerance in America
17 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Alland:

In reply to your letter of February 9--it will be perfectly agreeable for you to observe the Southwide Workshop on Civil Rights here in Atlanta February 27. I am quite sure that it will be all right for you to take pictures of the meeting, but that will have to be approved by the committee before we can give you a final answer. I assume you will be bringing along your camera, anyway.

In addition to our meeting that day, there is a large gathering of students on the campus of Atlanta University, a night meeting Friday night and, I believe, some sessions on Saturday. You might wish to include this while you are here.

Very sincerely yours,

Frank McCallister
Director

FM:rha

February 9, 1948

National Social Relations, Inc.
1029 Seventeenth Street, NW
Washington 6, D. C.

Gentlemen:

The Southern Regional Council, in cooperation with the United Council of Church Women, the Georgia Council of Church Women, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the American Veterans Committee (Southeastern Region), the Georgia Workers Education Service and other similar organizations, is sponsoring a meeting on civil rights, to be held on February 27 in the Educational Building of the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, 731 Peachtree Street, NE, here in Atlanta.

We have prepared certain pamphlets and visual aids to be used in connection with this meeting. However, in reviewing several of your "Talk it Over," we believe that if you have prepared such a discussion guide relating to civil rights as suggested, it would be highly desirable to have them on hand for consideration and distribution. In the event that you have not yet prepared a discussion guide for civil rights, we should be interested in knowing if it is anticipated for some future time.

We should greatly appreciate an early reply concerning the matter in order that we may make an immediate order if such material is available.

Very truly yours,

Dana Brantley

SPECIAL DELIVERY AIR MAIL

National Institute of Social Relations INC

PUBLISHERS OF *Talk it Over*
Look and Talk

1244 Twentieth Street N W . Washington 6 D C . NAtional 5825

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Philip Murray
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Bishop G. B. Oxnam
Secretary, Board of Bishops, Methodist Church

Quentin Reynolds
Author and Commentator

George S. Stevenson, M.D.
Medical Director, The National Committee for Mental Hygiene

Dr. Channing H. Tobias
Director, Phelps-Stokes Fund

Walter F. Wanger
Motion Picture Producer Walter Wanger Productions

Frank L. Weil
President, National Jewish Welfare Board

Director
Julius Schreiber, M.D.

12 February 1948

Mr. Dana Brantley, Jr.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E. - Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Brantley:

Thank you for your letter of February 9th.

We are delighted at the opportunity to have our materials used at your forthcoming meeting.

Our TALK IT OVER discussion guide on civil rights, entitled "What's the Score on Civil Rights?" is now in the hands of the printer. Although delivery is ~~not~~ scheduled until March 1, it may be possible to secure a small number of copies early enough to meet your date. If you will be good enough to let us know immediately how many copies you will require, we shall do our best to expedite their production and delivery.

You have our very best wishes for a successful meeting.

Sincerely,

Stephen Kraft

Stephen Kraft
Information Service

SK:b

300

57
164

34

" . . . to promote a better understanding of human behavior and of man's relationship to his fellow-men."

February 17, 1948

Mr. Stephen Kraft
Information Service
National Institute of Social Relations, Inc.
1244 Twentieth Street, NW
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Kraft:

Thank you for your prompt answer to my request for copies of your civil rights discussion guide, "What's the Score on Civil Rights?".

If you possibly can get them to us in time for our February 27 meeting, we very much want four hundred copies of the guide.

We should appreciate your sending the order C.O.D. or, if more convenient to you, billing us upon shipment.

Sincerely yours,

Dana E. Brantley,
Assistant to the Director

DEB:eb

SPECIAL DELIVERY AIR MAIL

6- Civil Rights, Southwide Conf (1948) - Programs + Notices

"To Secure These Rights"

ALL-ATLANTA STUDENT-FACULTY CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

FORUM

"New Perspectives on Civil Rights"

Friday, February 27, 1948 — 8:00 P. M.

Sisters Chapel — Spelman College

IRA De A. REID, PRESIDING

RALPH McGILL
Executive Editor, *The Atlanta Constitution*

P. L. PRATTIS
Executive Editor, *The Pittsburgh Courier*

A. ABBOT ROSEN
Chief, Civil Rights Section, *Department of Justice*

BORIS SHISHKIN
Research Director, *American Federation of Labor*

MRS. M. E. TILLY
Member, *President's Committee on Civil Rights*

A. T. WALDEN
Member, *National Legal Committee, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People*

Questions and Discussion

The Southern Regional Council and the Atlanta University Center Project of *The College Study in Intergroup Relations* are co-sponsors of this meeting.

The proceedings of this conference are recorded on Sound Scriber Electronic Records, through the courtesy of Z. W. Withorn of The Griffin Company. The recordings will be a feature of the Atlanta University-Center's audio-visual aids program. They will be available for group discussions upon request.

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

Civil Rights —

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1206

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Southwide Conf

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Feb 28, 1948

SOUTHWIDE MEETING ON HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS, 400 WHITE AND NEGRO DELEGATES FROM 11 SOUTHERN STATES, 72 TOWNS, and 52 ORGANIZATIONS, FRIDAY URGED THESE FINDINGS OF WORKSHOPS:

FEDERAL ANTI-LYNCHING LAW, BACKED UP BY LOCAL EFFORTS OF PRIVATE CITIZENS.

FEDERAL FEPC AND FEP AGENCY IN EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO REMEDY DISCRIMINATION IN FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT, WHICH "NOT ONLY CONTINUES UNABATED, BUT IS ACTUALLY INCREASING AT THE PRESENT TIME."

ABOLITION OF SEGREGATION IN STATE AND PRIVATE GRADUATE SCHOOLS.

ABOLITION OF SEGREGATION IN THE ARMED FORCES.

OPPOSITION TO SOUTHERN GOVERNORS' REGIONAL COLLEGE PLAN BECAUSE IT "PERPETUATES DISCRIMINATION."

ABOLITION OF POLL TAXES AND OTHER BARRIERS TO BALLOT.

FULL CITIZENSHIP FOR AMERICAN INDIANS AND RESIDENTS OF U.S. POSSESSIONS.

JURY SERVICE FOR ALL.

REVOCATION BY PRESIDENT OF SO-CALLED LOYALTY PROGRAM.

PROFESSIONALIZED POLICE FORCES WITH ADEQUATE SALARIES AND MORE CAREFUL SELECTION.

NUMEROUS APPROACHES TO CREATING PROPER CLIMATE OF OPINION IN SOUTHERN COMMUNITIES

(more)

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

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NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1206

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

(Continued)

THROUGH CHURCHES, SCHOOLS, AND CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS.

A. ABBOT ROSEN, CHIEF CIVIL RIGHTS SECTION, TOLD MORNING SESSION, "WE MUST SET OUR OWN HOUSE IN ORDER SO WE CAN ENTER THE COURT OF WORLD OPINION WITH CLEAN HANDS."

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT SRC AND CHAIRMAN, URGED GROUP TO RETURN TO THEIR COMMUNITIES AND "PUT THESE PRINCIPLES INTO EFFECT AT THE GRASSROOTS LEVEL."

OTHER SPEAKERS BORIS SHISHKIN, MRS. M. E. TILLY, GEORGE S. MITCHELL, THELMA STEVENS, AND ALEXANDER MILLER, HEAD OF SE OFFICE OF ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH.

COMPLETE FINDINGS TO FOLLOW AMSD MONDAY. ATLANTA UNIVERSITY TO WIRE RESULTS OF THEIR MEETING, INCLUDING JOINT SESSION FRIDAY NIGHT.

HAROLD C. FLEMING

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1207

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
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HAROLD C FLEMING, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC ROOM 432--63 AUBURN AVE

NORTHEAST ATLA=

KINDLY WIRE DAY PRESS RATE COLLECT OR AIR MAIL SPECIAL IF FEASIBLE, RESULTS SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL CIVIL RIGHTS MEETING FRIDAY AND NIGHT COMBINED PANEL DISCUSSION SESSION WITH COLLEGE STUDY IN INTER-GROUP RELATIONS, THANKS=

JOURNAL AND GUIDE ALBERT L HINTON MANAGING EDITOR=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Civil Rights Conference

March 5, 1948

Mr. Stephen Kraft
Information Service
National Institute of
Social Relations, Inc.
1244 Twentieth Street, NW
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Kraft:

Our meeting was a great success. I hope that you have seen some of the publicity given to it.

We greatly appreciate your efforts in attempting to secure for us copies of "What's the Score on Civil Rights?." The material that you sent was invaluable to the leaders of our workshops. The College Study in Intergroup Relations at Atlanta University used the proofs of the aforementioned guide in developing their entire program. Several thousand people learned of the good work being done by your organization.

I am enclosing a copy of our program and I have left instructions that all material developed as a result of our meeting be forwarded to you, as I am sure you will find it of interest.

I shall be through Washington in a week or so and should very much hope to have the opportunity of seeing you.

Thanks again for your kindness.

Sincerely,

Dana E. Brantley, Jr.

Enclosure: Program of
Meeting, 27Feb48

National Institute of Social Relations INC

PUBLISHERS OF *Talk it Over*
Look and Talk

1244 Twentieth Street N W . Washington 6 D C . NAtional 5825

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President, American Psychoanalytic Association

Philip Murray
President, C. I. O.

Bishop G. B. Oxnam
Secretary, Board of Bishops, Methodist Church

Quentin Reynolds
Author and Commentator

George S. Stevenson, M.D.
Medical Director, The National Committee for Mental Hygiene

Dr. Channing H. Tobias
Director, Phelps-Stokes Fund

Walter F. Wanger
Motion Picture Producer Walter Wanger Productions

Frank L. Weil
President, National Jewish Welfare Board

Director
Julius Schreiber, M.D.

20 February 1948

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Dana E. Brantley
Assistant to the Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Rm 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Brantley:

I'm afraid our efforts have come to naught. The printer informed us today that it would be impossible to complete work on our discussion guide, "What's the Score on Civil Rights?," in time for your February 27th meeting.

However, several of our other guides deal directly with certain aspects of this question. I am sending complimentary copies of these issues, under separate cover, together with some page proofs of "What's the Score on Civil Rights?" If you have facilities for the display of materials, these guides might be included. And, of course, if you should wish to order any of them for future purposes, we shall be happy to receive your request.

Best wishes for a successful conference.

Sincerely,

Stephen Kraft

Stephen Kraft
Information Service

SK:b

34

". . . to promote a better understanding of human behavior and of man's relationship to his fellow-men."

6/10/48

G M

S OUTHWIDE CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS, February 27, 1948

For public reaction, see also "SRC Publicity", "Tobias, Channing", xxx "N.A.A.C.P .", and "Mynders, Alfred".

Hotel Reservations were made by Mrs. McKoy at the Biltmore Hotel. In requesting reservations, names of those desiring rooms were given, and times of arrival, kind of room desired. All xxxx reservations were for twin bedrooms, with two participants assigned to each room, with the exception of the principal speakers, for whom single rooms were reserved. Reservations were made through

Miss Frances Long (He. 5200)
Assistant Manager's Office
Biltmore Hotel
817 West Peachtree, NE
Atlanta, Georgia.

Invitations extended (* indicates expenses offered; pd, expenses paid.):

* Miss Thelma Stevens
Woman's Division of Christian Service
of the Methodist Church
150 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.
To lead workshop, accepted, pd.

*Mr. James Carey
718 Jackson Place, NW
Washington, D. C.
Invited by phone, invitation confirmed 1/9. Tentatively accepted, later found could not attend.

* Mr. Jennings Perry
Nashville, Tennessee
Invited to speak. Could not come for morning of 27th, offered to come afternoon. Mrs. Tilly wired thanks, saying morning speaker was needed.

Other invitations are indicated in correspondence.

Civil Rights - Southwide Conference 1948 - Programs & Notices

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

June 11, 1948

TO PERSONS (NON-MEMBERS OF SRC) WHO ATTENDED FEBRUARY 27 CIVIL RIGHTS MEETING IN ATLANTA

We have been able to get out a printed version of the pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights," used at the February 27 Human and Civil Rights Meeting.

We thought you, as one of those who came to the meeting, would like to have a copy. We can supply additional copies at twenty cents each.

You will remember that this is planned to fit neatly with the digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. We still offer copies of the digest at ten cents each.

C
O
P
Y

Civil Rights - Southwide Conference, 1948 - Correspondence

June 15, 1948

Miss Ann Orlov, Regional Assistant
American Veterans Committee
294 Washington Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Orlov:

The Southwide Conference on Human and Civil Rights February 27 was sponsored by the Southern Regional Council in cooperation with a number of other orgsnizations--church and lay. I send you the mimeographed findings and the two issues of New South about the meeting.

We thought it a splendid meeting.

Were I doing it again, I would hope that the meeting would be under a rule by the terms of which general resolutions not having been discussed in the workshops would not be introduced in the final approving session. One or two items slipped by our meeting in that way which I do not think were really representative of the thought of those present.

I send you also our digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. It sells for ten cents a copy. It is cast for Southern discussion and probably would not fill your need. I have some hopes, however, that another pamphlet, called "The Condition of Our Rights," (twenty cents), would be suitable for your purposes. You will see that its topics are chosen to fit in with the Report of the President's Committee. It is purely Southern in its scope, but we know from experience that it quickly gets discussion active.

We have circularized twice all those who came to that meeting, with the request that they send us information on follow-up meetings which they could hear of. We have received scores of completed forms, proving that the persons trained in our one-day meeting have been very useful in helping with other local meetings.

We send every good wish for your meeting. If we can help you in any way, please let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: Findings of Southwide civ rts meeting, 2/27/48
Feb '48 New South
Mar '48 New South
Digest of civ rts report
Condition of Our Rights

GSM:eb

P. S. An exceptionally able Negro member of AVC, now in New York, is named Harry Wright. His address is Apartment 5E, 2171 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. Herewith two or three of his productions in the year that he worked for SRC. Makes good speech. Expert in the art of winning white approval without sacrificing Negro needs and dignity.

GSM

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE (AVC)
INCORPORATED

TO ACHIEVE A MORE DEMOCRATIC AND PROSPEROUS AMERICA AND A MORE STABLE WORLD

NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL OFFICE: 294 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON 8, MASS. — HANCOCK 6-0134

DURHAM MILLER
Regional Field Secretary

ARNOLD RIVKIN
Regional Chairman

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1948
Southern Regional Council

June 8, 1948

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn St. NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Bill Elkuss of Highlander suggested that I write to you for some information about the Civil Rights Conference which was held in Atlanta on the 27th of February.

The American Veterans Com ittee in New England is planning what we have tentatively termed the AVC New England Civil Rights Conference , for the labor day weekend. It will be held at the University of New Hampshire and we expect an attendance of 500 for a full three days of work sessions on the action techniques that are most effective in implementing civil rights programs. We are aiming at the group training of key people in organizations and communities to enable them to be more effective.

I'm not quite sure what the purpose of your conference was, or to whom it was directed. I would really appreciate any information you could give me. I think we could profit from it. I would also appreciate any evaluation that you might be able to give of the accomplishments of the conference. I rather imagine that we are not aiming at the same thing that you were - and also that we are dealing with a very different group of people - but even so, anything you might have to say would be very valuable.

There is a great deal of interest in this conference of ours. We all have great hopes for it - in that it may stimulate some direct action by showing people how to go about acting. At any rate so far we have had tremendous cooperation from many of the experts in the field.

I shall hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Ann Orlov

Ann Orlov
Regional Assistant

6 - Civil Rights

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

May 12, 1949

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, field secretary of the Southern Regional Council, will be in Birmingham on April 19. On that date, she hopes to meet jointly with local SRC members and several leaders of the Alabama Council of Church Women.

As you know, one of the Southern Regional Council's objectives is that of lessening violence and police brutality. I am sure that you are concerned about that continuing problem in Birmingham. Although responsible citizens and groups, such as the Ministers Association, have recently taken constructive action, you and other SRC members in the community could help greatly in devising additional ways to strengthen safety of the person. That will be one purpose of the meeting with Mrs. Tilly and leading church women.

Mrs. L. S. Evins, president of the Alabama Council of Church Women, will advise you of the time and place of the meeting. I sincerely hope you will find it possible to be present.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

Civil Rights: Southwide Conf., 1948 - Correspondence

COPY

November 21, 1947

My dear Frank: Following my conversation with you on the telephone yesterday, I arranged to spend the evening with Frank Trager of the Anti-Defamation League. I talked with him at length about the proposal to have Mrs. Tilly use her women as a center around which to organize widely distributed discussion groups in the south for the consideration of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Mr. Trager was very much interested. He would hope that the ladies' auxillary of B'nai B'rith in the south would be invited to participate in this discussion, but felt sure that the leadership should be taken by Mrs. Tilly and her group and that labor and other groups wherever possible should be brought in.

I suggested to him that the right procedure might be to try to set up at some central point a workshop to which could be brought the leaders who were to be responsible for the promotion of this discussion. Such a workshop would offer an opportunity to develop skilled leaders, work out a unified approach and give the thing a good send-off. The preparations for such a workshop would require a great deal of effort.

Mr. Trager expressed himself as willing to put the resources of his organization back of such an effort, including financial support.

I would assume that the next step would be to get in touch with him and explain fully such plans as you and George Mitchell have developed and get him into the matter as promptly as possible. I think he has not only money to contribute, but perhaps important personnel who could help in getting the material in shape for the workshop.

I assume that the amount of money they might be willing to put in might not be sufficient for carrying out the project and that you might want to enlist his help in developing a meeting in New York where some such appeal could be made as you contemplated in your letter to Mrs. Roosevelt. That I will leave you and George Mitchell to work out. I do think that Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. might be brought into the picture and exploited to some extent in this.

I am

Sincerely yours,

WWA:EB

Mr. Frank McCallister, Director
Georgia Workers Education Service
353 Courtland Street, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Copy to: Mr. George Mitchell
Mr. Paul Williams

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

January 31, 1948

Dear Fellow:

We think this is going to be a useful and interesting meeting.

If circumstances will let you come, we would be much helped by your presence.

We haven't the money to pay for the Fellows' coming in for it. Neither can we pay for representatives of the State Divisions and the several affiliated State Interracial Committees.

Anyway, please put the meeting down as something you will strain a point to get to if you can.

We expect to organize in many local communities during 1948 follow-up discussion meetings on civil rights. You will be useful as a leader for those; still more useful if you can get in to this meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Sent to chairmen and secretaries of State Divisions and affiliated State Interracial Committees. Also sent to Fellows of Council, with attached letter.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
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SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 31, 1948

CIVIL RIGHTS MEETING FEBRUARY 27 ATLANTA

At the Council's November, 1947, Annual Meeting, the Council undertook to arrange, as early as possible in 1948, a Southwide meeting on civil rights, to be worked out in cooperation with church groups. The date for this has been fixed as Friday, February 27, in the Schroeter Building of the Lutheran Church of The Redeemer, 731 Peachtree Street, N. E., here in Atlanta.

That day will be midway in meetings also occurring in Atlanta of representative bodies of Methodist women and Presbyterian women from the Southern states. The programs of both of these latter meetings will be open on that date, and their members will take part in the meeting on civil rights sponsored by the Southern Regional Council.

We also have made arrangements which we hope will bring in to the meeting representative people from several other denominations in the South, including the Negro Baptist group and the Negro Methodist Churches.

CO-SPONSORS

The Council, as sponsor of the meeting, has invited various other organizations to join it as co-sponsors. The United Council of Church Women, the Georgia Council of Church Women, the American Veterans Committee, the National Urban League, the Atlanta Urban League, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and the Georgia Workers Education Service have already agreed to serve in that way. The inclusive list of other organizations invited, but not yet heard from is as follows:

Sou. Reg. Assoc. for Adult Edu.
C.I.O., AFL.
Nat. Board YWCA.

The American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Southern Sociological Association, the Catholic Committee of the South, the Regional Young Womens' Christian Association, the Regional Young Men's Christian Association, the Georgia Association of Social Workers, the Georgia Academy of Social Sciences, the Southeastern Conference on Adult Education, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Georgia State Teachers Association, the Georgia Education Association, and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

PROGRAM

After a preliminary general session on the contents of the Report of the President's Committee, the meeting will divide into four workshops, taking up severally the Right to Security of the Person, the Right to Conscience and Freedom of Speech, the Right to Citizenship, and the Right to Equality of Opportunity. A carefully chosen body of discussion leaders will be available for each workshop group. We hope that within each group those present can have sufficient opportunity to discuss freely the implications of the rights involved in their topic. The real job of each workshop will be to draw up a workable program of action for implementing the rights before them.

REPORT and ACTION

The Council has now at the printer's a condensed version of the Report of the President's Committee. I hope that we can have ready also for the meeting a study guide, illustrating with material from the Council's files the specifically Southern aspects of the several phases of civil rights emphasized in the President's Report. After the meeting we want a continuing committee to work with the Council in revising this study guide into an action guide for implementing civil rights in the South.

For the general session we have invited the Attorney-General, Mr. Tom Clark, but at this writing it remains uncertain whether he can be present.

Students at Atlanta University and others will be holding a meeting on civil rights in Atlanta on February 27 and 28, and it is intended that the Council's meeting and the Atlanta University meeting will be combined for a night session, February 27.

FORERUNNER

The main object of the Council's Atlanta meeting, February 27, is to provide in the South a trained leadership which will be in a position during the remainder of 1948 to organize, and lead discussion, in local meetings directed toward the development of public opinion in the South which will increasingly support the implementing of the civil rights of the people of the South.

COME
and
BRING

We would greatly like to have present at the meeting as many representatives of each State Division of the Council and each State or local Interracial Committee in the South as can come. We will count heavily upon the Divisions and Interracial Committees to put across during 1948, the steady educational job that needs doing.

Unfortunately, we do not have at present in sight sufficient funds for the meeting to enable us to pay the travel expenses of persons who might come in for the State Divisions and Committees. It is possible that funds will be found for this, in which case reimbursement of travel and hotel expenses would be arranged.

Meanwhile, all we can do is ask that representative persons come in if they possibly can, arranging to pay their own expenses or to be reimbursed by their own State Division or State Committee. We will arrange hotel or other reservations for persons who notify us that they can come.

We have similarly asked the Fellows of the Council to come in if they can.

WRITE
COUNCIL

Will you please make an effort to have persons present at the meeting from your group? And let me know as quickly as you can the arrangements made?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

January 31, 1948

Dear Fellow:

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

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SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Civil Rights
Conference

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

February 4, 1948

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear Friend;-

The workshop on Civil Rights will be held here in Atlanta on Feb. 27th at the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer , 731 Peachtree St. N. E., beginning at 10 A. M. There will be a student conference at Atlanta University at the same time and we will join them at Sister's Chapel, Spelman College for the evening session.

I have a block of rooms reserved at the Biltmore Hotel -- so all you have to do is to tell me you are coming and will want a room.

Bring your copy of the report of the President's Committee with you. I do hope all the 17 conference secretaries of Christian Social Relations and all presidents will be here. If impossible, please send someone in their place. There is a train leaving for Florida at 10;45 over the Central of Georgia and 11;00 over the Southern.

Lots of love and looking forward to seeing you, I am

Yours sincerely,

Dorothy Tilly

Everybody is welcome - so if your whole delegation to Orlando wants to stop by - we'll be very glad.

National Board YWCA
Southern Regional Office
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Miss Willett

February 19, 1948

To: The National and Area Leadership of the YWCA in the Southern Region.

From: Mary Jane Willett, Correlator, Southern Region, YWCA.

The enclosed program for a Civil Rights Workshop to be held in Atlanta, February 27, is being sent to you for your information. If you can possibly attend this Workshop, may I urge you to do so. The National Board of the YWCA is a co-sponsor.

P R O P O S E D P R O G R A M

SOUTHWIDE MEETING ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Chairman: Mr. Paul D. Williams

First Session: 1. Purpose of Meeting
Time: 10:00 to 10:45
Speakers: Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Mr. Paul Williams

2. Why and how the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights came into being.
Time: 10:15 to 10:25
Speaker: Mrs. M. E. Tilly

3. Contents of the Report
Time: 10:25 to 10:35
Speaker: Dr. George Mitchell

Second Session: 1. Using and strengthening the existing machinery for the protection and obtaining of civil rights under law.
Time: 10:35 to 11:10

Third Session: Anti-Defamation League movie
Time: 11:00 to 11:40

Devotional: 11:40 to 11:50

Lunch: 12:00 to 1:00

Fourth Session: Workshops on Civil Rights problems in the South -
Time: 1:00 to 3:00

1. As citizens of a region containing the largest minority citizens group, what shall our part be in strengthening the right to safety and security of the person?

2. How is the right to citizenship and its privileges to be strengthened?

3. What is the right to freedom of conscience and expression, and how can it be strengthened?

4. Wherein have we failed to assure the right of equality of opportunity, and what remedial action can be taken?

Fifth Session: 1. Report of Findings and Conclusions of Workshops
Time: 3:00 to 3:30

2. Inspirational speech on what each conferee should do when he returns home. How to go into action now!
Time: 3:30 to 4:00.

Sixth Session: Combined meeting with Atlanta University Conference on Inter-group Education. Sisters Chapel, Spellman College, Atlanta University. 8 p.m.

Forum: New Perspective in Civil Rights.

Participants: Mr. A. Abott Rosens
Mr. Ralph McGill
Mr. P. L. Prattis
Mr. Boris Shiskin
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Mr. A. T. Walden

Moderator: Dr. Ira Reid

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
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HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

February 23, 1948

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Dear Mrs. Wiedorn:

We are happy to have your acceptance of our invitation to participate in the Southwide Meeting on Civil Rights here in Atlanta. Registration will begin at 9:00 A. M. on Friday, February 27, in the Educational Building of the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, 731 Peachtree Street, N. E., and the opening session will be held at 10:00 A. M. in the same place.

After a preliminary general session on the contents of the Report of the President's Committee, the meeting will divide into four workshops, taking up severally the Right to Security of the Person, the Right to Conscience and Freedom of Speech, the Right to Citizenship, and the Right to Equality of Opportunity. A carefully chosen body of discussion leaders will be available for each workshop group. We hope that within each group those present can have sufficient opportunity to discuss freely the implications of the rights involved in their topic. The real job of each workshop will be to draw up a workable program of action for implementing the rights before them.

The evening session of our meeting will combine with that of a similar group of students and faculty of nearby colleges at Atlanta University for a joint gathering at Sisters Chapel, Spelman College. The program will consist principally of a forum in a "Town Meeting" manner, with Mr. A. Abbott Rosens, Chief of the Civil Rights Section, of the Department of Justice, Mr. Boris Shishkin and Mrs. M. E. Tilly of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, Mr. A. T. Walden, Atlanta attorney, and Mr. P. L. Prattis, Editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, as forum speakers, and Dr. Ira Reid acting as moderator. We are sure that you will find this session very worthwhile and urge your planning to attend. If it is your intention to remain through the evening session, it would be well to make hotel reservations immediately.

You will probably want to get a copy of the Report of the President's Committee. We will have on hand bound, illustrated copies which we bought from the Government Printing Office. The price is one dollar each. If you want us to mail one to you before the Conference, we shall be happy to do so for a dollar.

Sincerely,
George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

AIR MAIL

7000 state

5000 N. O. register

Clarence Laws. ~~Urban~~

La Weekly.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
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SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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Civil Rights Conference 1948

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear SRC Member:

At the Council's November 1947, Annual Meeting, the Council undertook to arrange, as early as possible in 1948, a Southwide meeting on civil rights, to be worked out in cooperation with church groups. The date for this has been fixed as Friday, February 27, in the Schroeter Building of the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, 731 Peachtree Street, N. E., here in Atlanta.

The agenda will include four workshops on civil rights problems in the South and speeches by nationally known authorities, including members of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Although the Council does not have funds with which to pay the expenses of SRC members attending the meeting, we believe it will be rewarding both for the Council and yourself if you can be present.

If it will be possible for you to attend the meeting, please let us know as soon as possible.

Additional copies of the enclosed digest of the Civil Rights Report are available from the Council at ten cents each. It is our hope that the digest will be widely used by discussion and study groups.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights, February 27, 1948
Opening Address by Paul D. Williams, President of SRC
and Chairman of Meeting.

The President of the United States, in a recent reply to the executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, wrote the following about civil rights: "The objective, of course, is to implement a program of justice and fairness from the ground up and that is as much a matter of education as of legislation. The program which I sent to the Congress is a minimum one from a legislative standpoint, but, unless we educate our people of all colors to live and get along together, all the laws in the world will not work, as the Fourteenth Amendment has amply proven."

This need for an enlightened public opinion is one phase of the Civil Rights Report which has been largely overlooked. In the words of the President's Committee itself: "Government action alone, whether federal, state, local, or all combined, cannot provide complete protection of civil rights. Everything that government does stems from and is conditioned by the state of public opinion. Civil rights will never be adequately protected until the intelligent will of the American people approves and demands that protection."

That is why we are here today.

This meeting was called by the Southern Regional Council in conjunction with a number of other organizations, most of them educational or religious in character. It is not a political meeting. At the time of its planning, the country had before it the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, issued in November, 1947. We in the Council have thought it a proper part of our function to help to build in the South a knowledge of the duty which confronts the South of strengthening our region's respect for individual human rights. We, and most of the organizations cooperating in the conduct of today's meeting, have long been engaged in one phase or another of that effort. It is an effort calling for accuracy, reasonableness, and temperateness. It is an effort to do nothing less than bring about among a whole people -- thirty-odd millions

(more)

of Southerners -- an attitude of mind respectful of individual human personality, and devoted in matters public to the administration of justice, and in matters private to the enlargement of human liberty. Our conference today is a part of that long task.

Certain things are set before you as a basis for discussion. You have the full report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. You have a convenient short digest of that report. You have also in mimeographed form a pamphlet here called "The Condition of Our Rights, from the Files on Civil and Human Rights in the South." This latter will give you the background of recent history within the South on the problem of getting populer respect in local communities for everyone's rights as people and as American citizens.

Whatever is the outcome of the controversy now in progress about legislation in this general field, the South confronts and will confront the task of building this respect for people which is our high inheritance in religion, in the law, in government, and in culture. Much has been said in anger about preserving "Southern traditions." Let us remember that the truly great Southern traditions go back deep into our history. They are the traditions of Washington, Jefferson, and Mason, who had much to say about bills of rights and basic human freedoms. Those are the Southern traditions worth preserving.

Your workshops today afford an opportunity for all of us as Southerners to put our minds on this positive and constructive job. It is the job of bringing about in our home communities a habit of day to day operation of our community life in such a manner that men and women will have sure confidence in their rights to safety and citizenship and opportunity, and beyond that, even, in their rights to live without fear, in honorable and responsible relationships to their fellows.

What we do here -- in the workshops and in our findings -- and after the meeting what we put into operation at the grassroots in our local communities is far more important than what we say here.

(more)

Suddenly the world has moved in on us and we can no longer remain complacent. Times are not normal, requiring only normal action. We live in an hour of crisis for the South, for the Nation, and for the world. Anyone who thinks otherwise is so wrong it is useless to waste time convincing him he is wrong.

In Czechoslovakia freedom and human rights are dead. What tomorrow will bring we do not know. In olden days when death occurred in a community, it was customary to ring the church bells so that the townspeople might pause a moment in silent prayer for the happy repose of the departed soul. This was right and proper, because mystically and spiritually we are all bound up in one another. How well John Donne put the picture many years ago:

"No man is an island to himself alone.
"He is part of the continent -- part of the mainland.
"Each wave that washes my shore diminishes me
"Because I am involved in all humanity.
"And therefore never send to find for whom the bell tolls.
"It tolls for thee."

With courage and conscience and conviction, the South will not shirk her duty, but will face up to the situation now and in the days that are ahead.

The time for reflection is past. Now is the time for action.

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HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE SOUTH

Schroeter Building
Lutheran Church of The Redeemer
Atlanta, Georgia
February 27, 1948

Chairman: Mr. Paul D. Williams, President, Southern Regional Council

Registration
9:00--10:00 AM

I. OPENING SESSION
10:00--10:35 AM

Hymn . . . . . ."America the Beautiful"

Prayer . . . . . The Rev. Dr. Forrest C. Weir

Purpose of the Meeting . . . . . Mr. Williams

Why and How the Report of
the President's Committee
on Civil Rights Came
into Being . . . . . Mrs. M. E. Tilly and Mr. Boris Shishkin,
Members, President's Committee

Contents of the Report . . Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

II. ADDRESS
10:35--11:00 AM

Using and Strengthening the Existing
Machinery for the Protection and
Obtaining of Civil Rights Under Law. . . Mr. A. Abbot Rosen, Chief,
Civil Rights Section,
U.S. Department of Justice

III. CREATING A CLIMATE OF OPINION
11:00--11:40 AM

Introductory Remarks . . . . . Mr. Alexander F. Miller, Director, Southeastern Regional Office, Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith

Visual Aid Film . . . . . "Boundary Lines"

IV. DEVOTIONAL
11:40--11:50 AM

Leader . . . . . The Rev. Mr. John R. Brokhoff, Pastor, Lutheran Church of The Redeemer, Atlanta

LUNCH
12:00--1:00 PM

V. WORKSHOPS
1:00--3:00 PM

1. As citizens of a region containing the largest minority citizens group, what shall our part be in strengthening the right to safety and security of the person?

   Leader: Dr. Mitchell

2. What can we do to assure the right to citizenship and its privileges?

   Leaders: Dr. Ira De A. Reid, Head of the Department of Sociology, Atlanta University
   Mr. Frank McCallister, Director, Georgia Workers Education Service

3. What is the right to freedom of conscience and expression, and what can we do to strengthen it?

   Leader: Mr. Warren Hall, Atlanta attorney

4. Wherein have we failed to assure equality of opportunity, and what remedial action can be taken?

   Leader: Miss Thelma Stevens, Secretary, Department of Christian Social Relations, Woman's Division, Board of Missions, The Methodist Church

VI. A PROGRAM OF ACTION
3:00--4:00 PM

Findings of Workshops . . . . . Workshop Leaders

How to Go into Action . . . . . Mr. Williams

VII. EVENING SESSION
8:00 PM

Combined Meeting with College Study in Intergroup Relations,
Sisters Chapel, Spelman College, Atlanta University

Forum . . . . . "New Perspective in Civil Rights"

Moderator: Dr. Reid
Panel: Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor, Atlanta Constitution
Mr. P. L. Prattis, Editor, Pittsburgh Courier
Mr. Shishkin
Mr. A. T. Walden, Atlanta attorney
Mrs. Tilly
Mr. Rosen

* * *

SPONSORS

United Council of Church Women
American Veterans Committee,
Southeastern Region
Southeastern Inter-Council Office
National Urban League,
Southeastern Regional Office
Southern Regional Council
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Georgia Council of Church Women
American Federation of Labor
National Board, Young Women's
Christian Association
Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith
Atlanta Urban League
Georgia Workers Education Service
Southern Regional Association
for Adult Education

WORKSHOP OUTLINE
S'WIDE MEETING ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Feb. 27, 1948

I. The Right to Safety and Security of the Person

A. Types of Problems

1. Lynchings (defn)

a. Quiet lynching

b. "Legal" lynching (actual or collusion)

c. Mob lynching (MAYFIELD CASE)

d. Lynching of spirit

2. Police Brutality

(Need for professionalization - higher pay - Negro police)

a. Undue force with arrest

b. Forced "confessions"

c. Fee system

d. Prison brutality (Glynn County case)

3. Administration of Justice

a. Exclusion of minorities from jury service (Duke statement)

b. Dignified + just court procedure

c. Justice of Peace System

4. Involuntary Servitude

a. Parole systems and court labor (Cooper case)

b. Debt and physical intimidation

~~c. Undue use of wartime powers~~

d. Restrictions on free movement

B. The Record and Present Conditions

C. Program of Action

1. Lynchings

a. Local community's part in Federal legislation

b. Enforcement of counties' and states' responsibilities in apprehension and conviction of lynchers

c. Education through citizens' groups

(1) School

(2) Public media

(3) Churches

(4) Law enforcement

(5) Rotary, Lions, Kiwanis

2. Police Brutality

a. Improved selection of law enforcement personnel

b. Professionalized police training

c. Punishment of offenders

3. Administration of Justice

a. Equal opportunity for jury service

b. Election of competent court officials

c. Elimination of Justice of Peace

4. Involuntary Servitude

a. Continuous study of parole system by citizens' group

b. Enforcement of Supreme Court decisions, laws, etc.

c. Civil sanctions (declaratory judgments)

II. The Right to Citizenship and its Privileges

A. Types of Problems

1. Naturalization laws.

2. The vote

3. Military service

4. Citizenship rights of residents of U. S. Possessions

5. Defranchised Indians

6. Distortion of intended purpose of the vote

7.. Violating secrecy of ballot

B. The Record and Prsent Conditions

C. Program of Action

1. Revision of naturalization laws

2. Elimination of poll tax

3. Equal application to all citizens of voting qualificationsl.

4. Scrutiny of voting qualification laws

5. Establishing adequate machinery for appeal from Registrar's decisions

6. Combatting intimidation, threats and violence to prevent voting

7. Citiznes to watch precinct polling

8. Establishment of R. O. T. C. units in Negro schools

9. Federal legislation to provide citizenship privileges to residents of possessions.

III. Freedom of Conscience and Expression

A. Types of Problems

1. Press)mailing privileges and hate sheets)

2. Radio

3. Hate groups

4. Religion

(a) Jehavah's Witnesses and other unpopular sects)

(b) Freedom to have no religion

5. Communists

6. Loyalty tests

7. Movies

B. The Record and Present Conditions

C. Program of action

1. Federal Communications Commission

2. Police protection to assure right to organize

3. Principle of disclosure of hate groups

4. Protection of rights of legal minority parties

5. Adequate control and right to appeal in Government loyalty tests

6. Guaranteeing freedom of expression of all public media

IV. The Rights to Equality of Opportunity

A. Types of Problems

1. Employment (Private business, Federal and other Government agencies)

a. Discriminatory hiring

b. On-the-job practices

2. Education

a. Public elementary and secondary schools

(1) Allotment of funds

(2) Teacher qualifications

(3) Teacher-pupil ration

(4) Facilities

(5) Academic requirements

(6) Transportation

b. Public institutions of higher education

(1) Discriminatory entrance requirements

(2) Allotment of funds to "separate but equal"

(3) Out-of-state scholarships

(4) Inter-state compacts for higher education

(5) Quota system

3. Housing

a. Bars to expansion of segregated residential areas

(1) Community prejudice and pressure

(2) Real estate practices

(3) Residents' convenants

(4) Discriminatory housing projects

b. Discriminatory rents

c. Sub-standard housing

(1) Inadequate facilities

(2) Inadequate community services

4. Health

a. Shortage of hospital beds and health clinics for Negroes

b. Discrimination in hospital training facilities

c. Discrimination against Negro doctors and dentists in use of hospital facilities

d. Lack of opportunity for medical education for Negroes

e. Medical societies

5. Public Services and accommodations

   a. Federal Services - Discriminatory distribution of benefits due to prejudice of local administrators

   b. State or local facilities

      (1) Streets, lights

      (2) Parks

      (3) Public buildings

      (4) Employment services

   c. Public accommodations

      (1) Transportation

      (2) Restaurants

      (3) Hotels

      (4) Comfort stations

B. The Record and Present Conditions

C. Program of Action

1. Condition Federal grants

2. Community surveys and publication of findings and follow-up action

3. F.E.P.C. (Federal and state)

4. Equal opportunity for employment in Federal and other agencies

5. Labor union practices

6. Through labor unions attempt agreements on non-discriminatory practices

7. Equal application of entrance requirements

8. Open graduate schools

9. Press for non-discriminatory Federal public housing legislation

10. State fair health practice statutes

11. The enactment of Federal legislation to assure the rendering of public service on equal basis to all people.

12. Equal facilities in transportation

The New York Times

FEBRUARY 28, 1948.

LYNCH BAN UPHELD BY SOUTHERN GROUP

Meeting at Atlanta Also Calls for FEPC and Asks Ban on Segregation in Schools

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., Feb. 27—A southwide conference on human and civil rights here today agreed with "the principle of Federal anti-lynching legislation," called for enactment of an FEPC law and urged that segregation be eliminated in all graduate and professional schools, both state and private.

The recommendations approved by the meeting also urged the training of police in the field of civil rights, abolition of the poll tax, and jury service for all.

Sponsored by the Southern Regional Council, an inter-racial organization of busniess men, educators, civic, church and labor leaders, and twelve other civic and religious groups, the conference was attended by 300 delegates from eleven Southern states. They represented fifty organizations and seventy-two towns.

The conference called upon President Truman to revoke his "executive order which set up the new, unnecessary, and in practice intimidating program of so-called 'loyalty' investigations in the Federal service."

For 'More Qualified Police'

In its anti-lynching recommendation, the Southern group urged "courageous watchfulness of private individuals, sharing of information by private citizens, setting up and maintaining local organizations for prompt action."

It also urged "more highly qualified" police authorities, "full application of existing laws against intimidating an assemblance and strengthening of these laws if necessary."

Police training in the field of civil rights was asked, along with adequate salaries for the officers, to replace the fee system.

As to education, the conference recommended that segregation be eliminated in graduate and professional schools and strongly opposed the Southern Governors' plan for regional schools, described as designed "to perpetuate segregation."

Endorsing the FEPC, the Southerners declared themselves as standing "for equal opportunity to be employed, with opportunities for advancement according to ability and skill."

They charged that "discrimination in Federal Employment not only continues unabated, but is actually increasing at the present time."

President Truman was urged to establish a fair employment agency in the executive branch of the Government to stop "discriminatory practices" and guarantee equality of opportunity.

Barriers to Ballot Opposed

Calling for the end of the poll tax, the meeting asked removal of "ther barriers to the ballot," full citizenship for American Indians, revision of naturalization laws and abolition of "exclusion laws."

It declared itself as working to ban the poll tax "either by action within the state or by influencing national representatives for national legislation."

Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Va., president of the Southern Regional Council and chairman of the conference, said in an address that "we in the council have thought it a proper part of our function to help build in the South a knowledge of the duty which confronts the South in strengthening our region's respect for individual human rights."

A. Abbot Rosen, chief of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice, told the conference that the United States was subject to embarrassment in international affairs through civil-rights violations. He said that the country must "set our house in order" and that without proper public opinion "all the lynching statutes in the world won't do any good."

Sponsors of the meeting, other than the Regional Council, included: the United Council of Church Women; American Veterans Committee, Southeastern Region; Southeastern Inter-Council Office; National Urban League, Southeastern Regional Office; Congress of Industrial Organizations, Georgia Council of Church Women; American Federation of Labor; National Board, Young Women's Christian Association; Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith; Atlanta Urban League; Georgia Workers' Education Service, and the Southern Regional Association for Adult Education.

THE SAVANNAH EVENING PRESS

February 28, 1948

MRS. TILLY DEFENDS PRESIDENT TRUMAN

CONVINCED HIS CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM NOT POLITICAL MOVE

BY BEN HAMMET

ATLANTA, Feb. 28 (INS).—Fired up by the recent criticism of President Truman, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Atlanta member of his civil rights committee, said today she is convinced that the President's civil rights proposals were not a political move.

The Methodist Church leader added:

"While serving on the committee, I was impressed by the utter sincerity of the President."

She pointed out that the program did not just happen, but is the product of a great swelling movement which must not be suppressed. Mrs. Tilly said:

"Time is short in this atomic age. We cannot continue the way we have been, or it will mean destruction."

Mrs. Tilly was included among a roster of national human rights leaders who addressed a meeting sponsored by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta yesterday.

Over 300 white and negro leaders of Southern communities attended the round-table discussions on civil rights. The conference wound up its business with the adoption of resolutions yesterday afternoon. And last night its members joined the college study in inter-relations at Atlanta College for a panel discussion.

A strong exponent of all of the civil rights proposals, Mrs. Tilly is certain they can and will be pushed through. She thinks education and Christian guidance will do it.

Of the proposals, the woman crusader felt that the F. E. P. C. is the most important. And its widespread unpopularity in the South she attributed mostly to the bad connotation carried by the very mention of the name. She said:

"If we could change it from F. E. P. C. to some other title, I'm sure the Southern people would find the measure more agreeable."

It was the F. E. P. C. measure that caused a ripple on the otherwise tranquil surface of yesterday's meeting. When a resolution urging enactment of the bill came up for vote, even some members of that progressive group expressed doubts.

Two negro women gave impassioned pleas for fairness and brotherhood in pushing the act. But others said the South is not prepared for it or argued there is such a thing as civil rights for employers, too.

The Southern council also recommended that all graduate and professional schools, both state and private, abolish racial segregation. It went on record opposing the Southern governors' plan of regional schools and made this statement:

"The governors' plan is designed to perpetuate the present pattern of segregation."

Other resolutions adopted by the council include the right to citizenship and privileges, centering primarily around voting, and the right to safety and security of person. To safeguard the security right the group recommended a professionalized police force, better jury service, an attack on lynching and the elimination of peonage.

Last night the Southern council group combined with a gathering of Southern college students for a joint meeting. Speakers on the panel then included Ira D. Reid, sociology department head at Atlanta University; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution; P. L. Prattis, editor of the Pittsburg Courier; Abbott Rosen, chief of the U. S. Justice Department's civil rights section; Boris Shishkin, A. F. of L. economist and a member of the President's civil rights committee, and Mrs. Tilly.

The students will meet again today.

Mrs. Tilly and Rosen spoke yesterday morning before the council gathering. Shishkin was scheduled to talk then, but arrived late. Presiding over the conference was Paul D. Williams of Richmond, Va., president of the Southern Regional Council.

A distinct feature of all council panels and discussions yesterday was the complete absence of politics. The meeting had been planned before President Truman presented his civil rights program. And there was little reference to the fireworks it had set off in the South. However, council leaders thought that the meeting had cast some "sane light on the situation."

Church, labor, civic and educational leaders at the meeting represented 52 organizations from 11 Southern states and the District of Columbia. They came from 70 cities.

Women predominated by a 3-to-1 majority. And they acquitted themselves with all the zeal of the old suffragettes.

Throughout the meeting an atmosphere of gentle fellowship prevailed and swept the group like a warm wave. President Williams summed it up in his closing address. He concluded:

"Dreams have a way of coming true and when they do, they liberate our spirit, make men of us and save the world."

OFFICIALS
~~OFFICERS~~ OF SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS, CIVIL RIGHTS CONFERENCE 1948

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Southeastern Executive Secretary
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Georgia Workers Education Service
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Atlanta 3, Georgia

J. R. Morton, Chairman
Southeastern Regional Association
for Adult Education
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

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Civil Rights Conference
1961

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE SOUTH

Chairman: Paul D. Williams

WORKSHOP I.

Leader: George S. Mitchell
Resource Persons: Dr. William Holmes Borders, Attorney Neil Andrews, Dr. R. L. Russell, Mr. A. Abbot Rosen, Miss Janie McGaughey, Dr. Will Alexander, Mrs. H. D. Haberyan

WORKSHOP II.

Leaders: Ira DeA. Reid, Frank McCallister
Resource Persons: Miss Josephine Wilkins, Col. A. T. Walden, Dr. E. G. Mackay, Calvin Kytle, Miss Mary Jane Willet

WORKSHOP III.

Leader: Warren Hall
Resource Persons: The Rev. Mr. Isaiah J. Domas, Mrs. W. H. Ratliff, Rabbi Rothschild, Mr. Jamie Mackay, Mr. Phil Hammer, Matthew Warren, Alex Miller, E. L. Prattis

WORKSHOP IV.

Leader: Thelma Stevens
Resource Persons: The Rev. Mr. Harrison McMains, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Willimm George, Boris Shishkin, Miss Elizabeth Bowles, Miss Helen Bullard, Mrs. W. B. Suddeth

PROPOSED PROGRAM

SOUTHWIDE MEETING ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Chairman: Paul D. Williams

First Session: 1. Devotional
Leader: Dr. Swilley

2. Purpose of Meeting
Speakers: Dr. Mitchell
Mrs. Tilly

3. Why and How the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights came into being.

Speaker: Mrs. Tilly

5 min

Present 4. Contents of the Report
Speaker: ~~Status of Civil Rights in the South~~
(Setting in the South)

Second Session: Workshops on Civil Rights Problems in the South

1. As citizens of a region containing the largest minority citizens group, what shall our part be in strengthening the right to safety and security of the person?
Suggested leader: Neil Andrews
Supporters: Borders and Carey
Allotted time:

2. How is the right to citizenship and its privileges to be strengthened?
Suggested leader: Ira Reid
Supporters: Col. Walden, M. Blalock, Mackay, A. Hurd
Allotted time:

3. What is the right to freedom of conscience and expression, and how can it be strengthened?
Suggested leader: Mrs. L. Rundle
Supporters: Rev. Domas, Rabbi Rothschild, Bryan, Warren (Alex Miller)

5 min.

4. Wherein have we failed to assure the right of equality of opportunity, and what remedial action can be taken?

Suggested leader: Francis Williams
Thelma Stevens
Supporters: McMains, G. Hamilton, William George, Boris Shishkin Mrs Sadie Alexander

Third Session: Using and strengthening the existing machinery for the protection and obtaining of civil rights under law.
Suggested speaker: Turner Smith
Allotted time:

Fourth Session: 1. Report of Findings and Conclusions of Workshops.

2. Inspirational speech on what each conferee whould do when he returns home.
How to go into action now!
Suggested speaker:
Allotted time:

PARTICIPANTS

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE SOUTH

Chairman: Paul D. Williams, President, Southern Regional Council; Publisher, Richmond, Virginia

Speakers: Alexander F. Miller, Director, Southeastern Regional Office, Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith; Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council; Atlanta, Georgia

A. Abbott Rosen, Chief, Civil Rights Section, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Boris Shiskin, Economist, American Federation of Labor; Member, President's Committee on Civil Rights; Washington, D.C.

Mrs. M.E. Tilly, Secretary, Christian Social Relations, Women's Society of Christian Service, The Methodist Church; Field Secretary, Southern Regional Council; Member, President's Committee on Civil Rights; Atlanta, Georgia.

Workshop Leaders: Warren Hall, attorney; Atlanta, Georgia

Frank McCallister, Director, Georgia Workers Education Service; Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Mitchell

Dr. Ira De A. Reid, Chairman, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University; Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Thelma Stevens, Secretary, Department of Christian Social Relations, Women's Division, Board of Missions, The Methodist Church; New York, N.Y.

Forum:

Moderator: Dr. Reid

Panel: Ralph McGill, Editor, Atlanta Constitution; Atlanta, Georgia.

P.L. Prattis, Executive Editor, Pittsburgh Courier; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Shiskin

Mrs. Tilly

Mr. A.T. Walden, attorney; Atlanta, Georgia.

I. The Right to Safety and Security of the Person

A. Types of Problems

1. Lynchings

a. Quiet lynching

b. "Legal" lynching (actual or collusion)

c. Mob lynching

2. Police Brutality

a. Undue force with arrest

b. Forced "confessions"

c. Fee system

d. Prison brutality

3. Administration of Justice

a. Exclusion of minorities from jury service

b. Dignified court procedure

c. Justice of Peace System

4. Involuntary Servitude

a. Parole systems and court labor

b. Debt and physical intimidation

c. Undue use of wartime powers

d. Restrictions on free movement

B. The Record and Present Conditions

C. Program of Action

1. Lynchings

a. Local community's part in Federal legislation

b. Enforcement of counties' and states' responsibilities in apprehension and conviction of lynchers

c. Education through citizens' groups

(1) School

(2) Public media

(3) Churches

(4) Law enforcement

(5) Rotary, Lions, Kiwanis

2. Police Brutality

a. Improved selection of law enforcement personnel

b. Professionalized police training

c. Punishment of offenders

3. Administration of Justice

a. Equal opportunity for jury service

b. Election of competent court officials

c. Elimination of Justice of Peace

4. Involuntary Servitude

a. Continuous study of parole system by citizens' group

b. Enforcement of Supreme Court decisions, laws, etc.

c. Civil sanctions (declaratory judgments)

II. The Right to Citizenship and its Privileges

A. Types of Problems

1. Naturalization laws.

2. The vote

3. Military service

4. Citizenship rights of residents of U. S. Possessions

5. Defranchised Indians

6. Distortion of intended purpose of the vote

7.. Violating secrecy of ballot

B. The Record and Prsent Conditions

C. Program of Action

1. Revision of naturalization laws

2. Elimination of poll tax

3. Equal application to all citizens of voting qualificationsl.

4. Scrutiny of voting qualification laws

5. Establishing adequate machinery for appeal from Registrar's decisions

6. Combatting intimidation, threats and violence to prevent voting

7. Citiznes to watch precinct polling

8. Establishment of R. O. T. C. units in Negro schools

9. Federal legislation to provide citizenship privileges to residents of possessions.

III. Freedom of Conscience and Expression

A. Types of Problems

1. Press)mailing privileges and hate sheets)

2. Radio

3. Hate groups

4. Religion

(a) Jehavah's Witnesses and other unpopular sects)

(b) Freedom to have no religion

5. Communists

6. Loyalty tests

7. Movies

B. The Record and Present Conditions

C. Program of action

1. Federal Communications Commission

2. Police protection to assure right to organize

3. Principle of disclosure of hate groups

4. Protection of rights of legal minority parties

5. Adequate control and right to appeal in Government loyalty tests

6. Guaranteeing freedom of expression of all public media

IV. The Rights to Equality of Opportunity

A. Types of Problems

1. Employment (Private business, Federal and other Government agencies)

a. Discriminatory hiring

b. On-the-job practices

2. Education

a. Public elementary and secondary schools

(1) Allotment of funds

(

(2) Teacher qualifications

(3) Teacher-pupil ratios

(4) Facilities

(5) Academic requirements

(6) Transportation

b. Public institutions of higher education

(1) Discriminatory entrance requirements

(2) Allotment of funds to "separate but equal"

(3) Out-of-state scholarships

(4) Inter-state compacts for higher education

(5) Quota system

3. Housing

a. Bars to expansion of segregated residential areas

(1) Community prejudice and pressure

(2) Real estate practices

(3) Residents' convenants

(4) Discriminatory housing projects

b. Discriminatory rents

c. Sub-standard housing

(1) Inadequate facilities

(2) Inadequate community services

4. Health

a. Shortage of hospital beds and health clinics for Negroes

b. Discrimination in hospital training facilities

c. Discrimination against Negro doctors and dentists in use of hospital facilities

d. Lack of opportunity for medical education for Negroes

e. Medical societies

5. Public Services and accommodations

   a. Federal Services - Discriminatory distribution of benefits due to prejudice of local administrators

   b. State or local facilities

      (1) Streets, lights

      (2) Parks

      (3) Public buildings

      (4) Employment services

   c. Public accommodations

      (1) Transportation

      (2) Restaurants

      (3) Hotels

      (4) Comfort stations

B. The Record and Present Conditions

C. Program of Action

1. Condition Federal grants

2. Community surveys and publication of findings and follow-up action

3. F.E.P.C. (Federal and state)

4. Equal opportunity for employment in Federal and other agencies

5. Labor union practices

6. Through labor unions attempt agreements on non-discriminatory practices

7. Equal application of entrance requirements

8. Open graduate schools

9. Press for non-discriminatory Federal public housing legislation

10. State fair health practice statutes

11. The enactment of Federal legislation to assure the rendering of public service on equal basis to all people.

12. Equal facilities in transportation

1. The South will stop lynching.

   Immaterial whether the undertaking is fulfilled through passage of fresh state legislation or by enforcement of existing laws. Everybody knows that it is against the law to lynch.

2. The South will open jury service without quibble to Negro voters.

   That furthers the whole process of clearing up the traditional shortcomings of police administration and law enforcement in the South.

3. Negro voting will not be impeded.

   This or that state may use educational qualifications, but each must undertake to enforce the law fairly as between the races.

4. The South will open equal opportunity to its Negro citizens in the fields of education, health, transportation, and housing.

   (As to education and health, the South has only to undertake convincingly to administer fairly, whereupon the nation will gladly make available through Federal aid to education and to health and medical services sufficient Federal funds to enable these services to be made equal to both races.)

5. In the field of employment, the South agrees as a matter of morals that discrimination should not be shown in private employment. The Southern states undertake to open employment to Negroes in their own state administrative services, with at least that degree of fairness in the matter shown by offices of the Federal Government within the borders of the several states.

Grou s
Pr esbys 18
Meth 30
Baptist

Ga. Cncl of Ch. Women

Bnai Brith
Cncl of Jewish Women
Episcopal Women
Catholic Women P Wms
Lgue of Wmn Voters
Soc. Ser Commisn of the So. Bap. Convtn.
WYCA
Lutheran Women
Womens Clubs
Cath Comm f the So.
Ga. Laymen's Assn
K of C.

Meth. Bap?

Ntl Conf. of Atns and Jews
Labor Groups
YMCA's
Avc
BB
So Rgn.
Farm Groups
NFLU
Farmers Union
Southern Editors

Tom Clark
Louis A. Novin
Chas. Luckman
What is the Report
T C or Chas. Luckman
Bishop Haas
Jim Carey
Boris Shiskin

How does it apply to the South
International Implications
National Implications
Local etc.

What do we do about achieving the goal
Douglas ~~xxxxxx~~ Arent Bm
Neil Andrews
J. Edgar Hoover

Chas. Johnson (Walter Packard?) Hal wrote
Frank Graham
Ralph McGill
Hodding Carter

Underwood?

Hal's phone call Clayton's office

Information

Hal wrote vd
Sadie Alexander
Charming Fortas
Bill Hastie
Tom Clark
Filley.

Make note in sister's chapel
Tom Clark say? (available)

All's Salam wont work